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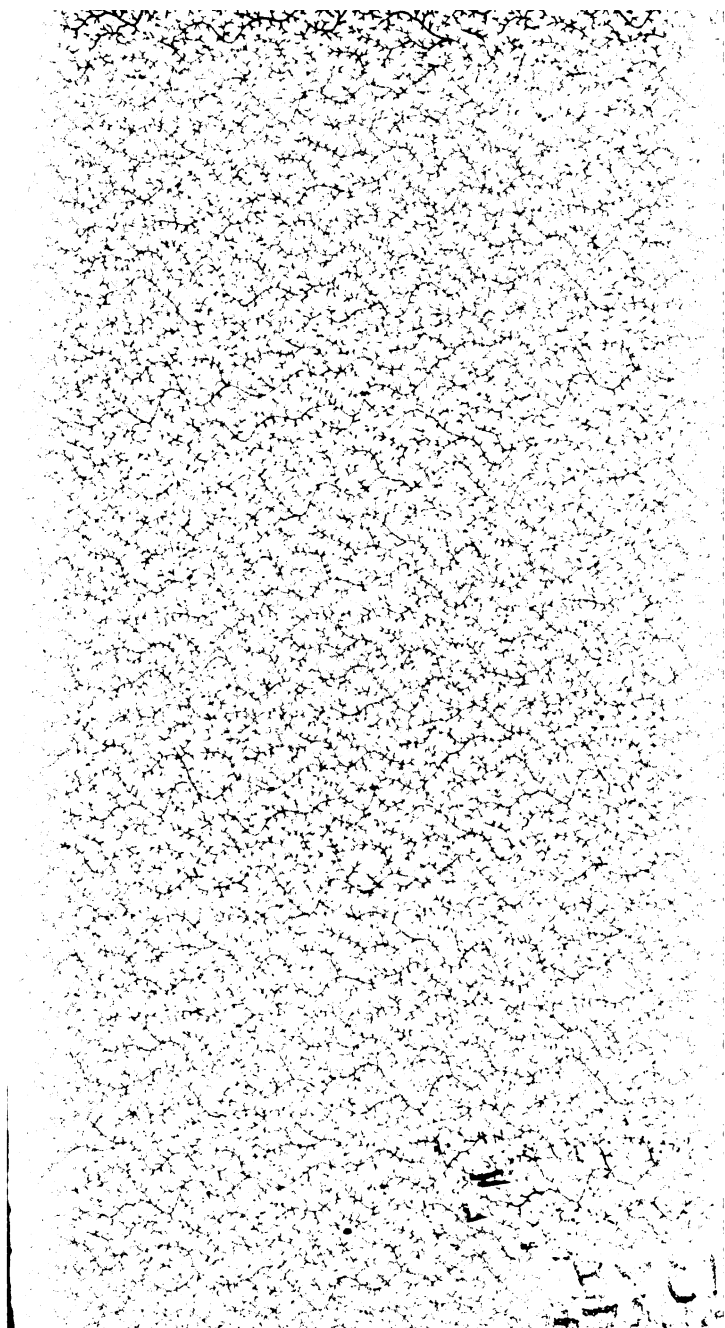
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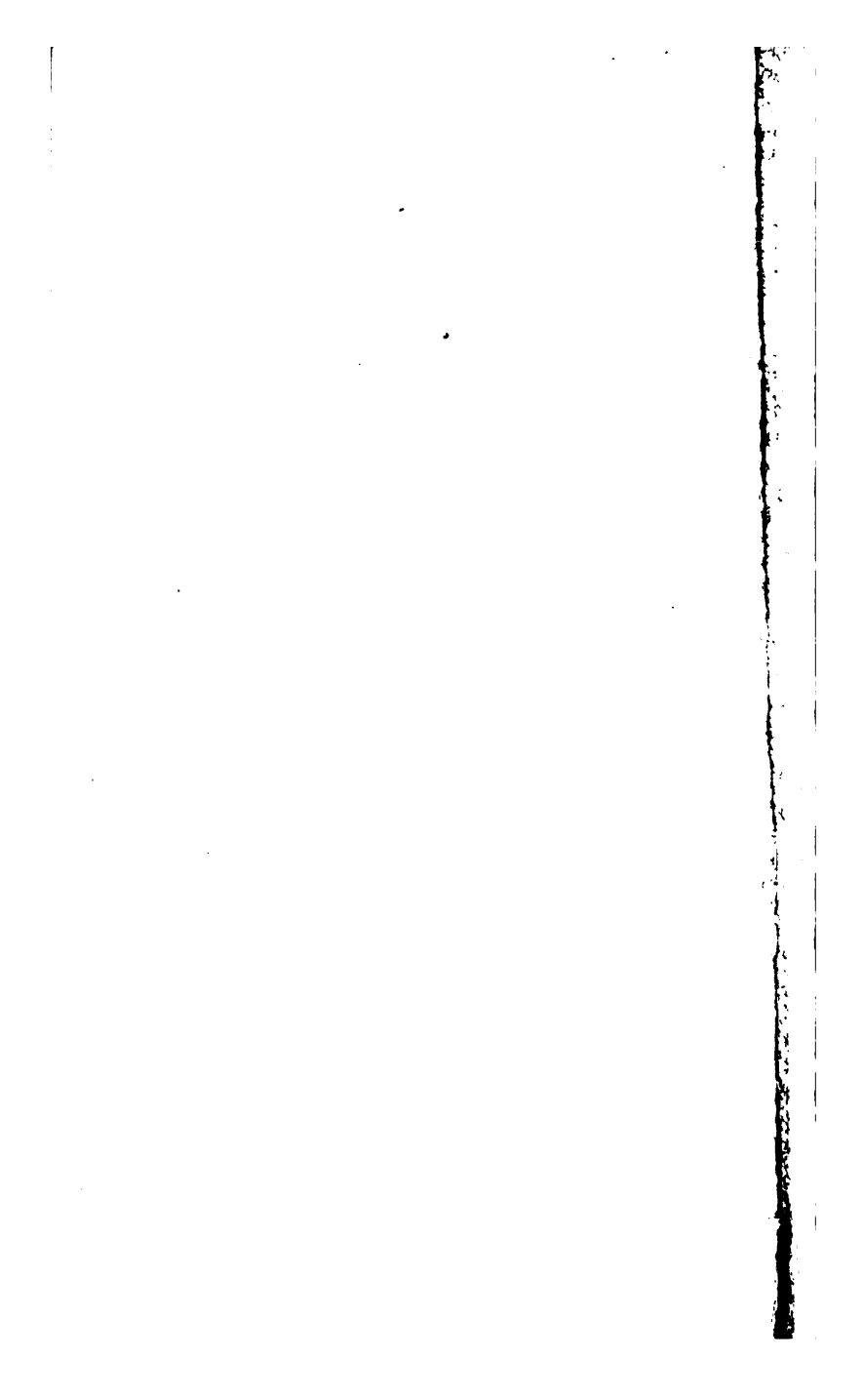
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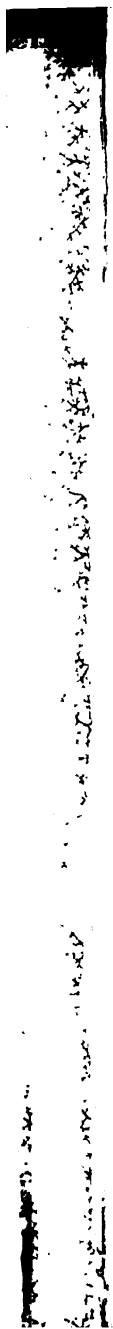
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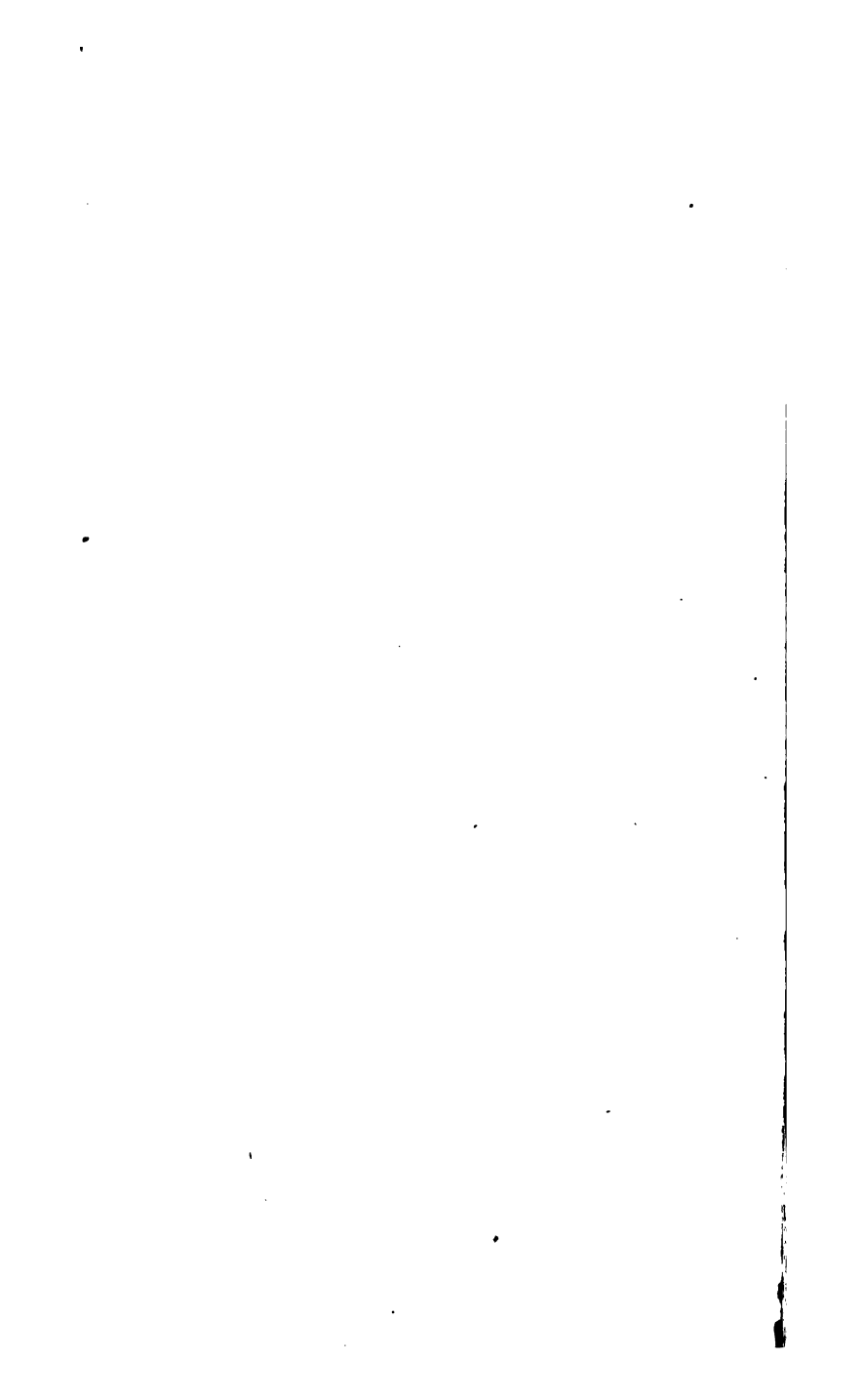


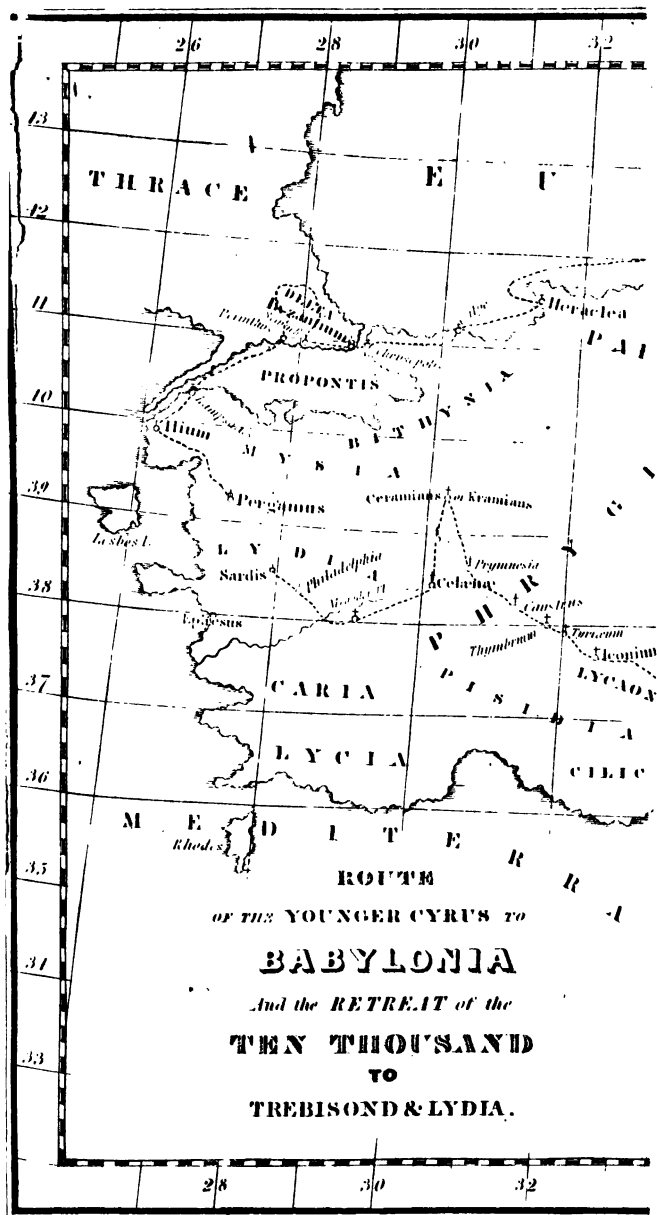
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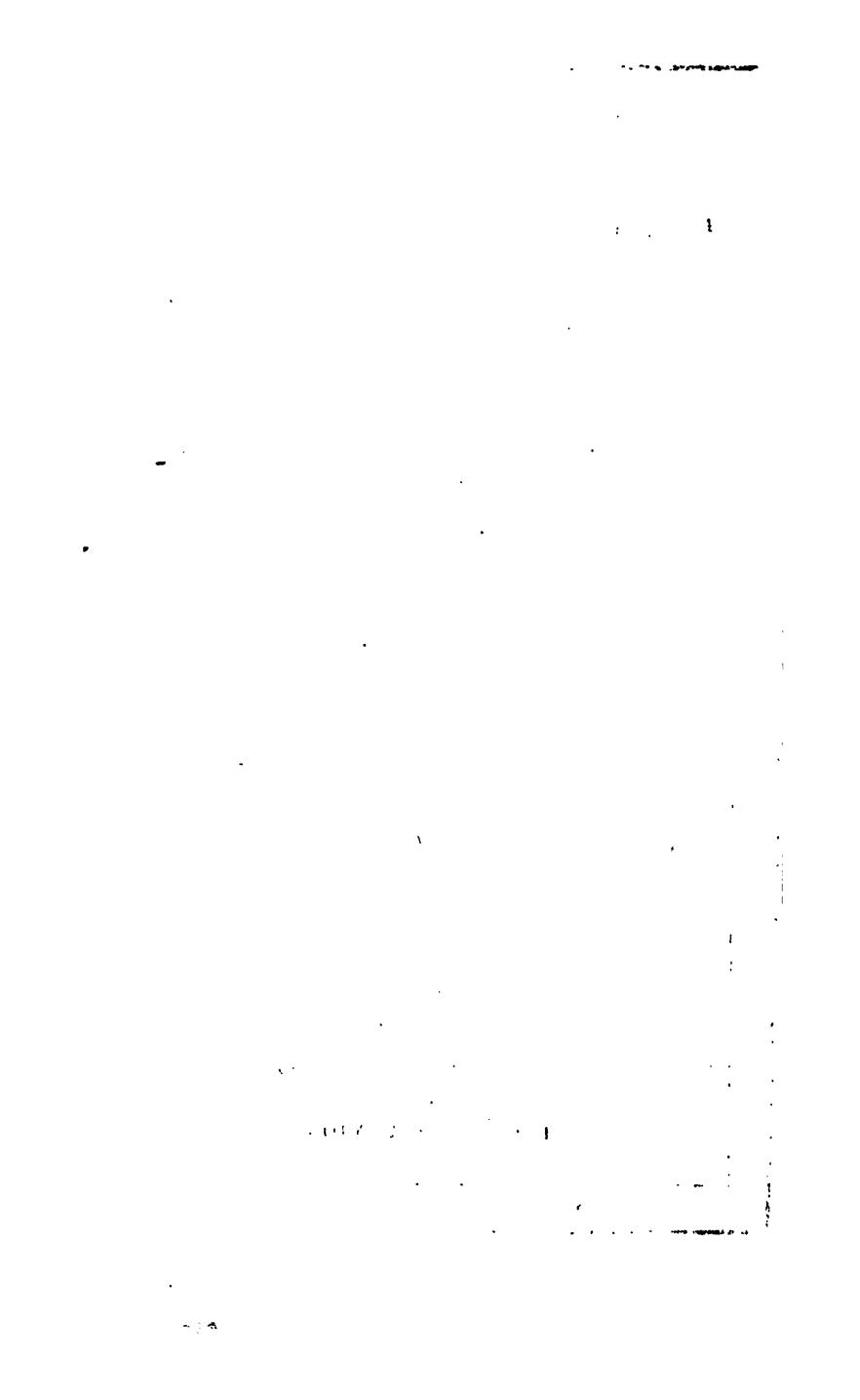












**ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ**  
**ΑΝΑΒΑΣΙΣ ΚΥΡΟΥ.**

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**XENOPHON'S**  
**EXPEDITION OF CYRUS,**

WITH  
ENGLISH NOTES,

PREPARED  
FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES,

WITH  
A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

BY  
CHARLES DEXTER CLEVELAND,  
PROFESSOR OF THE LATIN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN THE  
UNIVERSITY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

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BOSTON:  
BENJAMIN B. MUSSEY.

1844.  
C. W. H.

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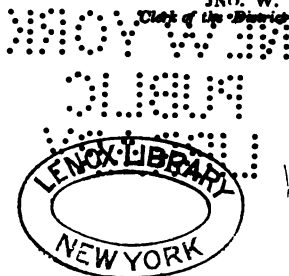
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JNO. W. DAVIS,

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451  
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## THE LIFE OF XENOPHON.

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XENOPHON the son of Gryllus, an Athenian, was born about four hundred and fifty years before the Christian era. The precise period of his birth, however, cannot be satisfactorily ascertained. In early life, while walking through the streets of Athens, he was met by Socrates, the philosopher, who stopped him, and asked, where the best provisions could be found. Upon Xenophon's telling him immediately, Socrates again asked, where the best and wisest men could be found. At this Xenophon hesitated, when the philosopher said to him, *"Επου τοιων, και μάθανε,"* \* "Then follow me and learn." This simple incident seemed to give a direction to his thoughts, to his studies, and to his whole future life. Thenceforth he became a most devoted and faithful disciple of Socrates. He was the first who committed to writing the sayings and principles of his great master, and his account of him, styled "The Memorabilia," is among the most pleasing, instructive, and valuable writings which have been left us by antiquity.

During the Peloponnesian war Xenophon, when about twenty-six years of age, entered into the service of his country, and was at the battle before Delium, between the Athenians and Bœotians. The Athenians having been defeated, Xenophon, in the retreat, was unhorsed and thrown down; but Socrates, whose horse had been killed under him, and who was fighting

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\* Diogenes Laërtius.

on foot, came immediately to his assistance, and helped him from the field.\* So inauspicious was the commencement of a military career, which, in after time, covered him with imperishable laurels.

The cause of Xenophon's enlisting in the service of the younger Cyrus was as follows. He had a particular friend, by the name of Proxenus, who was at the court of Cyrus, when he was meditating the expedition against his brother. Being desirous of gaining as many auxiliary troops as possible, Cyrus requested Proxenus to exert his influence to this effect. Proxenus, therefore, wrote to Xenophon, with whom he had formerly been on the most intimate terms of hospitality, and requested him to come into Asia, and connect himself with the fortunes of Cyrus, assuring him that he would gain thereby the favor of a most powerful friend, and a reward far greater than he could expect ever to acquire at Athens. Xenophon, upon the receipt of this letter, showed it to Socrates, and asked his advice. The

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\* Although this incident is related by Diogenes Laërtius and Strabo, yet Mitchell, in the "Preliminary Discourse" to his Aristophanes, does not hesitate to say, that it *could not* have occurred. But it is not a little remarkable that he grounds his denial of it on what is now generally rejected as a spurious reading. His words are, "This expedition is settled by chronologists as taking place just twenty-one years after the battle of Delium, and Xenophon calls himself at the time a young man (*νεανίας*).<sup>1</sup>" The passage referred to, is in Book ii. Chap. 1, the speech to Phalinus. Weiske, Schneider, Bornemann, and Dindorf, however, read *Θεόπομπος* instead of *Ξενοφών*, on the authority of the best manuscripts. Schneider remarks on *νεανίας*, a few lines below, "Ex hoc ætatis indicio, comparato cum loco altero infra (Book iii. Chap. 1.), annos ætatis Xenophontis colligere conatus est Zeune, cujus tamen rationes non bene procedunt. Nunc vero *Xenophonti Theopompus successit, et tota illa argumentatio concidit.*" We shall therefore continue to believe the early Greek historians, in their accounts of this incident in our author's life.

philosopher advised him to go to Delphi,\* and consult the oracle. Accordingly Xenophon repaired thither, but did not inquire of Apollo whether it would be expedient for him to undertake the journey, but, to which of the deities he should offer sacrifices for his future success. Socrates, therefore, blamed him, on his return, because he had asked the direction of Apollo, not upon his going into Asia, but upon his duty before going, as if he had previously decided upon the step. However, he directed him to follow the injunctions of the oracle. Having sacrificed accordingly, Xenophon set sail for Asia, and arrived at Sardis, where he found Proxenus and Cyrus ready for the expedition. He entered the service of the latter not as an officer, but as a private soldier, and so conducted himself as to gain immediately the esteem and confidence of Cyrus, which, ever after, he continued to preserve.

The events connected with the two succeeding years of our author's life, which are minutely detailed in the *Anabasis*, are eminently interesting. In those two years he reaped the proudest honors, — honors which the most victorious general† the world has seen, well might envy. To have entered the territory of a powerful foreign monarch; to have subdued him battle after battle; to have pushed a conquering career to the farthest confines of his empire, were indeed splendid achievements for a youthful king. But the army of Alexander was comparatively a numerous one. The country through which he marched presented few obstacles. He conquered as he went. He left no enemy in his rear. But he lived not to see again his native land. Subduing all but himself, he died at last, a prey to his own evil passions, ingloriously at Babylon.

But to have accompanied a young and ambitious prince in an expedition to dethrone the King of Persia; to have had that prince defeated and slain; to have been treacherously deserted by those allies who had implored the aid of Greece; to have

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\* B. iii. c. 1.

† Alexander the Great

found himself thus situated, in the heart of an enemy's country, near the very gates of Babylon, at the head of a very small band, with nothing left them but their courage and their arms; to have conducted this small band, with enemies hovering on every side, through the midst of tribes barbarous and powerful, through regions trackless and unexplored, across rivers deep and rapid, over mountains covered with perpetual snow; to have led such a band, through such difficulties, safe to their native shores; and then to have retired, a philosopher, to instruct mankind by his writings, and to have rivalled even his sword with his pen,—such are the merits and such is the fame of Xenophon.

As Cyrus had assisted the Lacedæmonians against the Athenians, in the Peloponnesian war, Xenophon, during his absence, was banished by his countrymen, for having joined the forces of that prince against his brother. But it may be doubted whether the lustre of any character could be tarnished by the censure of that people, who, on one day, condemned the virtuous and gifted Socrates to drink the hemlock, and, on the next, raised a splendid monument to his memory.

After he had thus successfully conducted the celebrated Retreat of the Ten Thousand, Xenophon connected himself with Agesilaus, who had been sent by the Lacedæmonians into Asia to carry on the war against the Persian king. But Agesilaus did not long remain in Asia. He was soon recalled by his countrymen, to assist them in repelling the attacks of the Thebans and their allies. Xenophon accompanied him, and was present at the battle of Coronea, in which the Thebans were defeated. As a reward for his distinguished services the Lacedæmonians presented Xenophon with an estate delightfully situated at Scillus,\* near Olympia, whither he retired with his

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\* "It is difficult to imagine a more rational or more delightful life, than a few words of Diogenes Laërtius describe Xenophon as leading in that "loop-hole of retreat." *Τὸν τε ὕθεν διέτελει κυνηγετῶν, καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐστιῶν, καὶ τὰς ἱστορίας συγγρά-*

wife and two sons. Before Xenophon left Asia \* he deposited some money in the hands of Megabysus, the keeper of the temple of Diana, with directions, if he should fall in battle, to dedicate it to the goddess, but restore it to him if he should survive. Megabysus, therefore, coming to Olympia to see the games, called upon Xenophon and returned him the money. With this he built an elegant temple to Diana, near Scillus. From this retirement, however, Xenophon was soon driven by the Eleans, who made war upon the Lacedæmonians. He then went, with his family, to Corinth, where he passed the rest of his life.

While he was at Corinth, the Thebans united with their allies to subdue the Lacedæmonians. The Athenians determined to assist the latter, and Xenophon sent his two sons, Diodorus and Gryllus, to the aid of his countrymen. At the great battle of Mantinea (A. C. 363), both these sons were present. The former did not distinguish himself, but safely survived the conflict. But Gryllus, eager for military fame, rushed into the hottest of the battle, killed Epaminondas, the Theban general, with his own hand, and was instantly cut to pieces by the surrounding enemy. When the news of his son's death reached him, Xenophon was devotedly engaged in sacrificing. He immediately laid aside the garland with which he was crowned, and inquired into the particulars of his son's death. When he was told that he had fallen bravely, in the midst of the enemy, having killed Epaminondas with his own hand, he resumed the garland and continued the sacrifice, saying briefly, *"ἤδεν θνητὸν γεγεννηκώς"*, "I KNEW THAT I HAD BEGOT A MORTAL." But his own end was near at hand. In three years from this battle, in the first year of the 105th Olympiad (A. C. 360), he

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φωρ. Books, study, composition, the healthy sports of the field, and the enjoyments of social recreation ; — nothing seems wanting to the picture, which our imaginations are accustomed to draw of an accomplished heathen philosopher." Mitchell.

\* B. v. c. 3.

departed this life at Corinth, in the full possession of his mental powers.

Thus died Xenophon, in the ninety-first year of his age. As a philosopher, as an historian, as a general, and as a man, he united qualities which are rarely found in the same individual. His manners and personal appearance are described by Laërtius in one short but comprehensive sentence, *αἰδήμων δὲ καὶ εὐειδέστατος εἰς ὑπερβολήν*, "modest in deportment, and beautiful in person to a remarkable degree."

As a philosopher he was strictly of the Socratic sect. Strongly attached to his illustrious master, to him also he became particularly endeared. Endeavouring to follow in practice the precepts which he had learned from his lips, he disdained to waste his time upon mere verbal quibbles and useless disputes, striving only to be practical; to do good to his fellow men; to instil into them the purest principles of morality; to inculcate a most profound reverence for the gods; in short, to make himself the worthy disciple of him who was said to have "brought down philosophy from heaven to earth."

As a writer he has universally been held up as a model for purity, elegance, and ease. By some of his contemporaries, he was styled "The Attic Muse," by others, "The Athenian Bee." He has the happy faculty of varying his style according to the subjects he may be discussing; so that in philosophy, history, politics, and personal narrative, he appears equally at home. If in either of these departments he excels, it is in historical narration. Had he written nothing else, the "Anabasis" alone would have fixed him, as one of the most brilliant stars in that lustrous constellation which blazed upon Greece in her earlier days, and whose beams, undiminished in lustre, have steadily illumined all after time.

But if the "Anabasis" of Xenophon has done so much to distinguish him as a writer, it has done no less to exalt him as a

general. His knowledge of human nature, and of those latent springs by the touch of which the human heart is moved, is as remarkable, as the moral influence which he exerts over his soldiers is unbounded. They love him for his virtues, and obey him for his superior wisdom and courage. His presence of mind seems never to forsake him. He never appears at a loss either what to say or do. Is the rear of the army annoyed by the cavalry of the enemy, against which the heavy-armed men cannot act? Immediately his genius suggests a plan, and his energy executes it, by which the horse of the enemy are kept at a distance, and the army secured.\* Are the soldiers, after the battle, deploring their situation, in the midst of a desert and hostile land?† Xenophon addresses them in a most animated and spirit-stirring harangue, and, by contrasting their own superior discipline with the unmanageable multitude of the king, by reminding them of the deeds of their ancestors, of the immortal honors they gained upon the plains of Marathon, and by every allusion which would be of thrilling power to a Grecian breast, prepares them to resist the foe, and to overcome every obstacle which may oppose their retreat. Are many of the army, when dragging their way over the rugged mountains and amid the deep snows of Armenia, disposed to give up in despair?‡ Xenophon revives their drooping spirits, by bringing to their minds the fertile shores and the delicious climate of Greece, and their beloved wives and children and kindred awaiting their return. Do the soldiers, exasperated by pledges repeatedly violated, rush into the midst of a Grecian city, and commence a universal plunder? Instantly Xenophon appears among them, calls them to arms, demonstrates to them their rashness and folly, calms their minds, and conducts them out pacified, and perfectly submissive to his will; thus displaying the greatest of all oratorical power, that of calming the 'stormy passions of an infuriated soldiery. §

Finally, it is as a man that Xenophon excites our fondest admiration, our warmest esteem. By his unaffected modesty

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\* B. iii. c. 3.    † B. iii. c. 2.    ‡ B. iv. c. 5.    § B. vii. c. 1.

and urbanity he gains the one; by his firm principles, moral and religious, he commands the other. His intimacy with Socrates, the testimony of his contemporaries, and the sentiments which pervade the whole of his writings, attest his great moral worth. That he was temperate, appears evident from his often-repeated maxim, "It is pleasant, when hungry, to eat herbs; when thirsty, to drink water." That he was benevolent, may be seen from his distributing among his soldiers many valuable presents which were made to himself. That he was a faithful friend, we have abundant evidence in the character and permanency of all his friendships, but particularly in his eulogium of Agesilaus, and his defence of his master, Socrates. That he was honest, is clear from his publishing the writings of Thucydides as he did, when he might easily, and without the least suspicion, have given them to the world as his own.

But were we desired to name the most prominent trait in his character, we should say it was his reverence for the gods of his country. He does nothing, he attempts nothing, without first appealing to them. Is he desirous of going into Asia to join the forces of Cyrus? He first repairs to the oracle of Apollo, to learn the mind and purposes of the deity.\* Do the soldiers, nearly destitute of provisions,† importune him to lead them out to obtain supplies? He steadily and constantly refuses, so long as the victims appear unfavorable. Does the army unanimously elect him their sole general?‡ Grateful for the honor, and ambitious to signalize, still more, both himself and his country; yet feeling the weight of responsibility that would be consequent upon his accepting so high a trust, he offers up solemn sacrifices to Jupiter, to ascertain his duty, and immediately declines the proffered honor, when the omens do not seem clearly to signify the expediency of his assuming it. Is he about to enter into a solemn treaty of peace with the enemy? In the presence of all, he first calls upon the gods, the guardians of friendship and the avengers of perjury, to witness their

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\* B. iii. c. 1.

† B. vi. c. 1.

‡ B. vi. c. 2.

mutual oaths of fidelity, and imprecates, upon the head of the faithless and the treacherous, the vengeance of Him, "who pervades all space, who governs all," and from whom "no swiftness can save, no darkness hide, no strong place defend." \*

But in order to form a correct judgment of one's piety, we must try him by no false standard. Though we venerate Xenophon as a philosopher, we must bear in mind that he was but a heathen philosopher; though he deserves our highest praise for making the best use of the only light he had, we must not forget that it was but the glimmering light of Nature, and that neither he, nor his still more gifted compeer, the Master of the Academy, had any faint perceptions of the spirit of that precept, which is the foundation of Christian ethics and shines on every page of Revelation, "Do unto others as you would wish others to do unto you."

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\* B. ii. c. 5.



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## BOOK FIRST.

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Cyrus the younger, being accused of meditating the destruction of his brother Artaxerxes, who had succeeded to the throne, is nearly subjected to the punishment of treason ; but, through the entreaties of his mother, he is sent back to the government of his own province, of which he was satrap. Here he secretly prepares to make war against his sovereign, and assembles an army, partly composed of Greek troops which his friends collect for him, as though a very different expedition were intended. . . . 1

### CHAPTER II.

Cyrus sets out from Sardis, and marches through various countries, Lydia, Phrygia, Cappadocia, &c. Tissaphernes, in the mean time, hastens to the king, to inform him of Cyrus' movements. Epyaxa, the wife of the king of Cilicia, visits Cyrus. At her request the army is reviewed. The evolutions of the Greek infantry strike great terror into the queen, and into all the barbarians present at the review. Having reached Tarsus, Cyrus summons to his presence Syennesis, the Cilician king. At first he declines going ; but, at length, yielding to the entreaties of his wife, he trusts himself within the power of Cyrus, and assists him with sums of money. . . . . 3

## CHAPTER III.

Cyrus is compelled to remain at Tarsus twenty days, in consequence of a mutiny among the Greeks, who, suspecting that the expedition was against the king, nearly stone Clearchus to death, who endeavoured to urge them to proceed. A deputation is sent to question Cyrus on the design of the expedition. He replies, that he was leading them against a certain Abrocomas, and promises them additional pay. The Greeks, therefore, determine to march onward with him. . . . . 9

## CHAPTER IV.

As soon as the army reach Issus, the last city in Cilicia, they are joined by the fleet. They then pass the defiles, and proceed through Syria. While they are at Myriandrus, two of the generals, Xenias and Pasion, secretly leave the army, and sail away with all their effects. But from the mildness of Cyrus, on the occasion, the soldiers become more attached to him. As soon as they reach Thapsacus, Cyrus opens to them his design. At first the soldiers are indignant at the deception; but, excited by promises, they all cross the Euphrates, Menon displaying his crafty character, by gaining to himself without risk the entire credit of setting the example. . . . . 12

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After passing the Euphrates Cyrus continues his march, keeping this river upon the right. The journey, however, is impeded, in consequence of the badness of the roads and the difficulty of obtaining provisions. As soon as the army enters the country opposite the city Charmande, the soldiers cross the river upon rafts made of skins stuffed with hay, and obtain supplies. A dangerous quarrel arises among the Greeks, in which the soldiers of the opposite factions come to blows; but Cyrus, by a seasonable address, quells the tumult, and calms their animosity. 16

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the third time endeavours to desert to the king. But his plans are discovered, he himself is apprehended, and, being convicted on the judgment of Clearchus and others, is condemned to death and executed. . . . . 20

CHAPTER VII.

Cyrus, after having marched a short distance through Babylonia, suspecting that the army of the king was near, draws up his forces at midnight, and reviews them, promising the Greeks magnificent presents, if victorious. The army then, drawn up in order of battle, cross the large trench, which the king had cut through the plain. As Artaxerxes does not appear, Cyrus thinks he has given up the design of fighting, and therefore marches with little circumspection, and order. . . . . 22

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At length Artaxerxes approaches, unexpectedly, with his army drawn up in order of battle. All the troops of Cyrus, therefore, both Greeks and Persians, are thrown into confusion, and immediately hurry to their arms. They soon, however, form the line of battle. The Greeks, who form the right wing next to the Euphrates, easily rout the Barbarians opposed to them. Cyrus, attended by a few faithful friends, fights too eagerly, and, attacking the king in person, is himself slain. . . . . 25

CHAPTER IX.

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CHAPTER X.

The king, in his pursuit of Ariæus, takes possession of the camp of Cyrus, and plunders it. Then, having collected together his forces, he returns to march against the Greeks, who had conquered the wing of the enemy opposed to them. But he is a second time put to flight by the Greeks, who, having recovered their lost baggage, return to their own camp. . . . . 33

## BOOK SECOND.

## CHAPTER I.

The Greeks receive intelligence of the death of Cyrus, and of the design of Arisæus to return to Ionia. Clearchus endeavours to divert him from this intention, and promises him the empire of Persia. Artaxerxes first orders the Greeks to deliver up their arms, which they manfully refuse to do. Then he promises peace, if they remain where they are, but threatens war if they depart : to which the Greeks reply, " Tell the king that we agree to his sentiment, — peace if we remain, war if we depart." 37

## CHAPTER II.

The Greeks repair to Arisæus, who invited them to join him, having refused to be made king. After a solemn league had been made between them, and mutual pledges of fidelity had been given, they consult concerning their return. Arisæus advises a different route from the one by which they had come, in order to obtain a better supply of provisions. Early in the morning they commence their march, and towards evening they draw near the suburbs of Babylon, where they perceive marks of the king's camp. As his soldiers are much fatigued, Clearchus does not lead them against the enemy, neither does he appear to decline an engagement. The army, during their encampment at night, are somewhat alarmed, but are soon quieted by a stratagem of Clearchus. . . . 41

## CHAPTER III.

The king, alarmed at the unexpected approach of the Greeks, sends ambassadors to effect a treaty of peace. The Greeks reply, with great coolness, that it was rather necessary for them to fight, as they had nothing on which they could dine. Therefore, at the command of the king, in order that they may conclude the treaty, they are led into villages abounding in provisions. After three days Tissaphernes is sent to ask them why they had taken arms against the king. Clearchus replies with freedom and truth. Tissa-

phernes, when he had reported the answer to the king, after three days makes a treaty with them, on the condition that the Persians lead them back faithfully to their own country, and afford them provisions, which the Greeks may buy peaceably, or take without laying waste the country. . . . . 44

## CHAPTER IV.

While the Greeks are awaiting the arrival of Tissaphernes from the king, Ariæus is suspected of treachery. Therefore when Tissaphernes, who is to conduct the journey, arrives with his forces, the Greeks, having no confidence in his integrity, march by themselves, and pitch their camp at a considerable distance from that of the Barbarians.\* In this manner the march is conducted. Soon they pass two canals, and arrive at Sitace, a city upon the banks of the Tigris. Then, apprehensive of treachery on the part of the Persians, the Greeks cross the Tigris, and after that the Phycus, on the other side of which was the city Opis. Here they meet a brother of Artaxerxes, advancing with an army to his assistance. Clearchus marches his soldiers, so as to display them to the greatest advantage. The Persians are struck with their number and appearance. After six days' march they reach some villages belonging to Parysatis, which Tissaphernes permits them to plunder. After five days' march they arrive at the river Zabatus. . . . 48

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\* The Greeks called all people but themselves, *oi βαρβάρου*.

saphernes (agreeably to his request) in order to learn who they were that had been raising suspicions in either army, of the other's fidelity. While they are in the camp, on a given signal, the Persian cavalry rush in upon them and seize them. The Greeks are then ordered to deliver up their arms, but they return a most reproachful answer. . . . . 52

## CHAPTER VI.

The characters of the generals who were put to death are described. **CLERCHUS** is represented as perfectly skilled in military affairs; ready to meet danger; prompt in procuring supplies for the soldiers; so rigid in his military discipline, that the soldiers, while they loved him, feared him more than the enemy; and, finally, as one born to command rather than obey. **PROXENUS** is described as one who had been ambitious of fame even from a child. Hence, that he might, by honorable means, obtain glory and wealth, he entered the service of Cyrus. His disposition was so mild, that he stood more in awe of the soldiers than they of him; whence he was much beloved by the good, while the bad took advantage of his kindness and good nature. On the other hand, **MENO** was one of the most depraved of men. Avaricious, perfidious, fraudulent, he plotted against his friends more than his enemies. Whoever was inferior to him in any species of vice, was despised by him as ignorant and stupid, while he never failed to slander every good man. He was not put to death with the other generals, on account of his having betrayed them; but afterwards he suffered, as he deserved, a most severe death. **AGIAS** and **SOCRATES** are spoken well of, both as soldiers and friends. . 58

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## BOOK THIRD.

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### CHAPTER I.

Much confusion and dejection prevails in the Grecian army thus deprived of its leaders. Xenophon relates, in a few words, the manner in which he came to serve under Cyrus. He has a remarkable

dream, from which he arouses himself early in the morning, and assembles the officers of the army, to consult for the general good. When they are assembled he exhorts them to be of good courage, and to elect generals in the place of those who have been put to death, declaring it as his opinion that, if the king appeared, they should give him battle. One Apollonides, opposing this advice, is ejected from his place. Xenophon harangues the officers and soldiers, in an eloquent and manly speech, which is approved by all; when immediately new generals are elected. . . . 63

## CHAPTER II.

The soldiers being called together about day-break, Chrisophus first speaks, exhorting them either to conquer bravely or die gloriously. Then Cleanor, who dwells chiefly upon the perjury of the king and the treachery of Tissaphernes and Ariæus. Lastly, Xenophon, clad in rich armour, rises and harangues the troops. First he raises the spirits of the men, by telling them, that they would have the favor and protection of the gods, while the Persians must be subject to the divine wrath for their perjury; that in days long past superior courage had overcome the great forces of Darius and Xerxes; that they themselves had just defeated Artaxerxes; that they should now fight with as much firmness for safety as they had done for empire. Then he removes every obstacle which seems to oppose them, — their not having Tissaphernes for a guide, — the king's not furnishing them provisions, — the deep rivers they have to pass, — by saying that they might easily, if they wished, remain and settle in the king's territory. Finally, he points out the method of conducting their journey, and of preparing for battle: declaring that every thing must be left, which is not absolutely necessary; that the generals must be more vigilant, the soldiers more obedient; and that every thing should be done without delay. The sentiments of Xenophon are approved, and generals are chosen to superintend the particular parts of the army. . . . 70

## CHAPTER III.

When the Greeks are about to march, Mithridates approaches with thirty horse, and desires a consultation, professing to be friendly to

them. When the Greeks reply that they were going home, he tries to convince them that this is not possible, unless they have the permission of the king. But they determine never again to enter into any alliance with him. After they have passed the river Zabatus, Mithridates returns with two hundred horse, and four hundred light-armed soldiers, and attacks the rear of the Greeks, who are somewhat molested. As soon, however, as they reach some villages, at the instigation of Xenophon, companies of slingers and horsemen are equipped, in order to keep off the enemy, . . . 77

#### CHAPTER IV.

On the next day, Mithridates, with a larger number of forces, attacks the Greeks, but is easily repulsed by their slingers and horsemen, though not without the loss of many men. The Greeks then reach the Tigris, and pitch their camp at Larissa. On the following day they arrive at Mespila, but on the next they are attacked by Tissaphernes, who is driven back. They remain encamped three days, and during this time change the form of their army. They then make four days' marches, and on the fifth day begin to ascend the hills, but are harassed by the enemy until they reach some villages. Having remained here three days, to take care of their wounded and procure supplies, on the fourth they take up their march, but by an attack of the enemy they are compelled to return into the village. After the departure of the enemy, towards evening, they leave the village, and gain so much this night, that the enemy do not overtake them till the fourth day. The Persians then seize upon the hills and narrow passes, but, by the activity and bravery of Xenophon, they are driven from their ground. . . . 80

#### CHAPTER V.

Towards evening the enemy suddenly return, cut off a few Greeks, who were in the plains for provisions, and burn the villages. After they have been driven back, the Grecian generals consult upon the most expedient route; for on one side was the Tigris, which could not be passed without a bridge, and on the other the steep mountains of the Carduchi. A certain Rhodian proposes a plan for crossing the river, which is rejected. On the next day they re-

trace their steps a little, and having made every inquiry, as to the nature and situation of the country, of some captives whom they took, they determined to march over the mountains. . . . 86

## BOOK FOURTH.

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### CHAPTER I.

Early the next day the Greeks enter the territory of the Carduchi-ans, and consume the whole day in ascending and descending the hills. They are considerably harassed by the barbarians. On the following day they leave most of their sumpter-horses and slaves, that their march may not be impeded, and proceed over the mountains, but are much molested. A severe storm arises, but in consequence of a dearth of provisions in the army they march on with all possible expedition. The enemy follow them, and attack their rear. Towards evening they reach an eminence which is entirely besieged by the Barbarians. They then question two captives, acquainted with the country, whether there was any other road. One of them affecting ignorance, they cut him in pieces before the eyes of the other, who, fearing the same fate, promises to lead them by a circuitous and more convenient path. . . . 90

### CHAPTER II.

At night two thousand soldiers, under the direction of the guide, are sent to occupy the heights in another direction. They rout the Barbarians in the morning, and thus enable the rest of the troops to march on. Xenophou, with the baggage and rear of the army, takes a road a little distant from the others, as the most convenient for the horses. But although he acts with great prudence and courage, some of his men are killed. At length, after being much harassed by the enemy, the Greeks take their way over the mountains, and reach some settlements, where they find an abundance of provisions and enjoy repose. . . . 94

## CHAPTER III.

At length, after a most toilsome and perilous march of seven days over the mountains, the Greeks arrive at the river Centrites, where they halt for repose. Here new difficulties are presented to them. Three obstacles seem to prevent their crossing the river,—the great number of Barbarians on the other side,—the depth and rapidity of the stream,—and the enemy who were pressing hard upon their rear. But encouraged by Xenophon's dream, the army crosses by a ford, and the skilful management of Xenophon crowns the whole with complete success. . 98

## CHAPTER IV.

After the passage of the Centrites the Greeks march through Armenia, and soon reach the sources of the Tigris. In a few days they arrive at the river Teleboas, in western Armenia. Here they enter into a friendly alliance with Teribazus, the governor of the country, at his request. Notwithstanding his oath of fidelity Teribazus follows the Greeks, with a large force, and lays snares for their destruction. Wherefore they leave the villages where they were encamped, and pass the night in the open fields during a heavy fall of snow. . . . . 102

## CHAPTER V.

In order that the enemy may not again overtake them, the Greeks depart the next day. For many days the army suffer much from the great severity of the weather, and the depth of the snow, as the Barbarians are continually annoying them. At length they reach some villages, where they find provisions in great plenty. Here they remain seven days. . . . . 105

## CHAPTER VI.

On the eighth day after their encampment the Greeks take up their march, with the *καμάχης* for their guide, who, on the third day, secretly leaves the army, having been badly treated by Chirso-phus. The Greeks then continue their journey without a guide, and on the seventh day reach the river Phasis. After two days

more they arrive at the mountains inhabited by the Chalybians, Taochians, and Phasians. The Barbarians oppose the progress of the Greeks. A council is held. By the advice of Xenophon a select number of soldiers are sent privately, by night, to the tops of those mountains on which the enemy are not stationed, in order to fall upon them early in the morning. All this is done. The enemy are routed; the Greeks pass the mountains, descend into fertile plains, and arrive at some villages in which are all kinds of provisions in plenty. . . . . 110

### CHAPTER VII.

The Greeks suffer somewhat from the want of supplies (the Taochians having carried all their provisions into the fortifications), until, by the advice and bravery of Xenophon, some of the castles are attacked and taken, when the soldiers supply all their wants. The Greeks carry with them sufficient to last them seven days, during their march through the territory of the Chalybians, who are represented as the bravest of all the Barbarians. Then they arrive at the river Harpasus, and, after a journey of four days through the territory of the Scythians, they reach some villages where they remain four days. The governor of this region affords them a guide, who, in five days, leads them to the summit of mount Theche, from which they espy the sea. With exulting shouts they exclaim "The sea, the sea," and throwing together a large heap of stones as a trophy, they crown it with offerings to the gods. The guide then takes his leave, laden with valuable presents. . . . 114

### CHAPTER VIII.

Having marched through the provinces of the Macronians, with whom they entered into a treaty of peace, in six days the Greeks arrive at the Colchian Mountains. Here they are opposed by the inhabitants, who are soon routed, when the army again reach some fertile villages. In two days they arrive at Trapezus, a city of the Greeks, on the borders of the Euxine sea. Here they remain thirty days, during which time they go out into the neighbouring country to procure supplies. In the mean time they offer solemn sacrifices to the gods for their safe return, and celebrate festive games and entertainments. . . . . 118

## BOOK FIFTH.

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### CHAPTER I.

A consultation is held upon the best manner of prosecuting the rest of the journey. Antileon proposes to go by sea, which all approve. Chirisophus is sent in quest of ships. In the mean time Xenophon harangues the troops upon the manner of employing their time. He remarks that in procuring supplies from an enemy's country great caution must be used; that they should go out in large bodies, but leave enough behind to guard the camp; — that the ships which sail by the port should be stopped, and brought in for their use; — and that, lest they should not have ships enough, the towns upon the sea-coast should be instructed to repair their roads. The soldiers approve all his remarks excepting those upon the mending of the roads, for they dread to go any more by land. Dexippus is sent to procure ships, but sails away. Polycrates is then sent, who faithfully discharges his duty. . . . . 123

### CHAPTER II.

The Greeks begin to be in want of provisions, and therefore prepare for an excursion. A part of the army is led against the Drilæ, a most warlike nation, inhabiting a rough and mountainous country. At first the Greeks take but little booty, as the inhabitants burn every thing and quit their homes. At length they reach a city strongly fortified, in which all the enemy, with their effects, were collected. The assault is made upon the city, which is taken, but the citadel is impregnable. The situation of the Greeks within the city is perilous, but at length they return in safety to their camp. 126

### CHAPTER III.

When the Greeks could not any longer wait for the arrival of Chirisophus, in consequence of the scarcity of provisions, they put on board some vessels the feeble and sick, together with the women and children, while they themselves march over land to Cerasus.

The army is reviewed. The money received from the sale of the captives is divided among the soldiers. The tenth part, however, is consecrated to Apollo and Diana. Xenophon, particularly, erects a splendid temple and altar, in after time, in honor of the goddess. 130

## CHAPTER IV.

When the Greeks reach the territory of the Mosynœci, the people make a stand against them, and endeavour to prevent their passing. The Greeks enter into an alliance with another nation at enmity with the former. But these allies are soon defeated. On the next day Xenophon himself, after he had animated his troops, attacks the enemy and puts them to flight. Two castles are burnt, together with the soldiers in them; the capital of the kingdom is taken, and some other places are either assaulted or taken into alliance. The chapter closes with a description of the manners of the Mosynœci. . . . . 132

## CHAPTER V.

In eight days the Greeks arrive at the boundaries of the Tibareni, with whom, by the advice of the soothsayers, they make a treaty, and in two days reach the city Cotyora. Here they remain forty-five days, and collect their supplies partly from Paphlagonia and partly from the Cotyorensian territory, which they plunder. The Sinopeans send ambassadors to the Grecians, complaining of their injuries against the Cotyorensians, and threatening revenge. Xenophon replies to them with great firmness, and thus effects a change in their feelings and tone of address. . . . . 136

## CHAPTER VI.

Agreeably to the advice of an ambassador of the Sinopeans, the Greeks conclude to go by sea, instead of marching through Paphlagonia. Xenophon proposes to found a city on the Euxine, which proposition the sacrifices favor. But his plans are opposed by the deceit and falsehood of the soothsayer, by the envy of some of the generals, and by the empty promises of the Heracleotæ. Therefore he yields this point, and advises that they should all depart together, contrary to the desire of Silanus. The Heracleotæ

send ships, but no stipendiary rewards to the soldiers. In consequence of this, those generals who had excited the hopes of the soldiers begin to fear, and say to Xenophon that they are now ready to adopt his course and settle on the Euxine. When Xenophon refuses to make the proposition to the soldiers, the generals themselves undertake to bring the subordinate officers over to their opinions. . . . . 139

## CHAPTER VII.

When the soldiers reject the plan of going to the Phasis, Neon, the Lacedæmonian, accuses Xenophon as the author of it. There being some apprehension that the soldiers may take violent measures, Xenophon rises to address them. First he shows the folly of the charge. Then he complains to them of the increasing laxity of their discipline, and proves it by adducing their cruel treatment towards the ambassadors of the Colchians, and the commissaries of the army. Should this evil increase he fears lest the whole army should become hateful both to gods and men. Influenced by this speech, the soldiers determine, that the authors of the columnies shall be brought to trial, and that if any, hereafter, shall be found guilty of such offences, they shall be severely punished. At the direction of Xenophon the army is purified. . . . . 145

## CHAPTER VIII.

When the generals are called to answer for their past conduct, agreeably to the decree of the soldiers, some accuse Xenophon of improper severity and of cruelly beating them. But he easily refutes this accusation, saying, that he had sometimes indeed resorted to stripes, but that it was through necessity, and for the safety of those very persons who now accuse him, and that he never struck any one from mere wantonness or anger. . . . . 150

## BOOK SIXTH.

## CHAPTER I.

The Paphlagonians send ambassadors to the Greeks, to propose terms of amity, which are agreed to. While they are in the camp, the Greeks entertain them with exhibitions of dancing after the custom of their country. After the departure of the embassy the army sails from Cotyora, with a fair wind, and soon arrives at the port Harmene. Here the Greeks stay five days, and determine to elect a general who shall have the sole direction of the expedition. Xenophon is chosen, but, as the sacrifices which he purposely offers are unfavorable, he declines. Chirisophus the Lacedæmonian is then elected. . . . . 154

## CHAPTER II.

The whole army sets sail for Heraclea, under the direction of Chirisophus. There a sedition arises. The army is divided into three parts. The first division, which is the greatest, consists of Arcadians and Achæians, who elect for themselves ten generals. The second division is commanded by Chirisophus, and the third by Xenophon. . . . . 159

## CHAPTER III.

The Arcadians, eager for plunder, first set sail, and reach the port Calpe. Thence they march into the country, attack the Bithynians, and obtain some booty. Soon, however, they are besieged by the enemy, upon a hill, and are in great danger of being taken. As soon as Xenophon hears this, he marches to the assistance of the Greeks, and, when at a great distance, builds large fires upon an eminence, by which the enemy are frightened, and the siege is raised. On the next day Xenophon overtakes the Arcadians at Calpe, where Chirisophus had just before arrived with his troops, so that the three divisions of the army are now there together. . 163

## CHAPTER IV.

A description of the port of Calpe. The productions of the country are enumerated. The soldiers are unwilling to pitch their camp in any of the neighbouring villages, suspecting that there is a design to use their services in building a city. They therefore encamp near the shore. After the third day a resolution is passed that whoever should use his influence to separate the army, should be capitally punished. Neon succeeds Chirisophus in the chief command. They are in want of provisions, but the victims, at every sacrifice offered, are not favorable to their going out to get supplies. Neon, however, leads out two thousand men. But the cavalry of Pharnabazus attack them, and kill five hundred. The rest retreat to a mountain. The news is brought to Xenophon, who goes to their relief and brings them back to the camp. . . 165

## CHAPTER V.

The Greeks in order to be safe from attack, pitch their camp in a strong place and fortify it. Xenophon as soon as he has offered sacrifices, which prove favorable, leads out the army, drawn up in order of battle, after he has left a guard behind to defend the camp. They soon meet with the bodies of those soldiers who were killed in battle the day before, and bury them. The enemy are discovered upon a hill, prepared for an engagement. The Greeks march against them, but are stopped by a deep valley. Animated by an address from Xenophon they cross the valley, engage with the Barbarians, and put them to flight. . . . 170

## CHAPTER VI.

The Greeks now collect provisions from every part of the Bithynian territory. Cleander, the Spartan magistrate, arrives with two galleys. By the duplicity and dishonesty of Dexippus, he becomes alienated from the Grecian army. Xenophon is assiduous to effect a reconciliation, and succeeds. But Cleander, having offered many sacrifices which were unfavorable, declines taking the command of the army. They therefore march, with their former generals, through Bithynia, and, with great booty, soon reach the city of Chrysopolis. . . . 174

## BOOK SEVENTH.

## CHAPTER I.

Anaxibius, the admiral of the Lacedæmonian fleet, being influenced by the promises of Pharnabazus, prevails upon the Greeks, by promising them money, to cross over to Byzantium. He then deceives them again, so as to effect their removal from the city. The inhabitants shut the gates upon the army. The soldiers break through them, however, but are at length pacified by Xenophon, who prevails upon them to leave Byzantium. Coeratades offers himself to the Greeks as their general, and is accepted; but in a few days he abdicates the command. . . . . 180

## CHAPTER II.

The Grecian generals disagree about a plan of operations, and many of the soldiers leave the army, four hundred of whom are sold as slaves by Aristarchus, the governor of Byzantium. He also lays snares for Xenophon, who, with a select number of men, goes to Seuthes to learn on what terms he will employ, in his service, the Grecian army. . . . . 186

## CHAPTER III.

All the Greeks, except Neon, are pleased with the propositions of Seuthes, and march to meet him. A treaty is ratified between the two parties, and the Grecian army is entertained after the Thracian custom. Seuthes consults with the Greeks about undertaking an expedition. In the night they all march out against the enemy, whom, on the next day, they find unprepared, and easily vanquish. They obtain large supplies of slaves and cattle. . . . . 191

## CHAPTER IV.

Seuthes burns the villages of the enemy. He then, in company with the Greeks, encamps in the plain of the Thynians. There is a

great fall of snow, and the weather is very severe. The Greeks therefore go into the houses of the village. The Barbarians fly to the mountains, but pretend that they will enter into an alliance with Seuthes. At night they leave the hills, and come down and attack the Greeks who were quartered in their houses. They are at length put to flight, and commit themselves and their effects to the mercy of Seuthes. . . . . 198

## CHAPTER V.

Heraclides, having sold the booty, returns, but does not give the soldiers their full pay. Whereupon he is reprimanded by Xenophon, who orders that every thing which was set apart for himself should be distributed to the other generals. The faithless Heraclides then endeavours, not only to defame Xenophon before Seuthes, but to deprive him of the command of the army. But in vain; all the other generals refuse to act without him. Seuthes then earnestly desires the Greeks to assist him in an expedition against the inhabitants of the coast of Salmydessus, who enrich themselves by plundering the wrecks of vessels. The Greeks assent, but receive nothing which Seuthes had promised. Then the soldiers are angry with Xenophon, and Seuthes himself avoids all intercourse with him. 201

## CHAPTER VI.

The Lacedæmonians invite the Greeks to assist them in a war against Tissaphernes. Neither Seuthes nor the Greeks are averse to the plan. Then a certain Arcadian accuses Xenophon as being the cause of the soldiers not receiving their full pay, and thinks that he should be punished. Xenophon defends himself in a powerful and eloquent address to the troops. He shows first, that the Greeks assisted Seuthes voluntarily, and that, so far from his preventing their receiving the monthly stipulation, he himself received comparatively nothing. He tells them that they ought not to complain, since, without Seuthes, they would not have been able to subsist through the winter, and concludes with saying, that they have not acted gratefully towards him for kindnesses they have received, and that they have been equally unmindful of their former promises of fidelity. Xenophon is defended by Charminus the

Spartan, and Polycrates the Athenian. Seuthes then requests Xenophon to remain with him, with a thousand soldiers. But Xenophon, having offered sacrifices, determines to depart with the army. . . . . 204

## CHAPTER VII.

The Greeks plunder the villages upon the coast. Medosades, together with an ambassador from Medocus, king of Thrace, comes to Xenophon, and orders him to leave the coast. Xenophon reproaches them with ingratitude, and directs them to go to the ambassadors of the Spartans. These reply that they would depart with the forces. Xenophon, at the request of Medosades, is sent to Seuthes to demand pay for the soldiers. By many arguments he endeavours to convince him, that it would be much better for him to fulfill his promises, and he succeeds. Xenophon gives what he receives to the Spartans, to be distributed among the soldiers. . . . . 210

## CHAPTER VIII.

After the army had crossed over the Lampsacus, in Asia, Euclides, the soothsayer, advises Xenophon to sacrifice to Jupiter, which he does on the following day. Then, after passing through various places, the army reaches Pergamus in Lydia. Hellas, the mother of Gongylus and Gorgion, persuades Xenophon to attack Asidates. This he does, but the first onset is not successful. The next day the charge is renewed, and with success. Then he returns to Pergamus, and, after having, at the request of all, taken a large part of the booty, delivers the army up to Thimbron. A summary of the route and of the distance marched in the expedition and retreat. . 218

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**TABLE I.**  
**MARCHES, DISTANCES, AND HALTS OF CYRUS AND THE**  
**TEN THOUSAND.**

Names of Places.	Number of Marches.	Para- sangs.	Halt- days.
From Sardis to the Mæander River .	3	22	
Colossæ . . . . .	1	8	7
Celæne . . . . .	3	20	30
Peltæ . . . . .	2	10	3
Forum of the Ceramians . . . .	2	12	
Caystrus . . . . .	3	30	5
Thymbrium . . . . .	2	10	
Tyriæum . . . . .	2	10	3
Iconium . . . . .	3	20	3
Through Lycaonia . . . . .	5	30	
Dana (Tyana) . . . . .	4	25	3
At the Cilician Pass near Tyana .			2
Through it, to Tarsus . . . . .	4	25	20
Pharus (Sarus) River . . . . .	2	10	
Pyramus River . . . . .	1	5	
Issus . . . . .	2	15	3
Syrian Gates . . . . .	1	5	
Myriandrus . . . . .	1	5	7
Daradax River . . . . .	9	50	
Thapsacus . . . . .	3	15	5
Araxes River } * . . . . .	9	50	3
Corsote . . . . .	5	35	3
The Pylæ . . . . .	13	90	
Through Babylonia to the field of bat- tle at Cunaxa,	3 1 1	12 3 4	

\* Thought to be transposed in the text, and that the distances and marches touching these two places should be interchanged.

TABLE II.

MARCHES, DISTANCES, AND HALTS OF THE GREEKS ALONE.

Names of Places.	Number of Marches.	Para-sangs.	Halt-days.
Returned to the former camp at night	1	4	
With Ariæus, northward . . . . .	1		
Truce Villages . . . . .	1		26
To the Wall of Media . . . . .	3		
Sitace . . . . .	2	8	
Opis . . . . .	4	20	
Zabatus River . . . . .	11	50	3
To the Carduchian Mountains . . . .	15		6
Centrites River . . . . .	7		1
Teleboas River . . . . .	6	30	
Villages where they had the first snow	3	15	
Halt and attack of Teribasus' camp .			3
To the Pass . . . . .	1		
Eastern Euphrates . . . . .	3		
Through the snow . . . . .	3	15§	
To the Villages of refreshment . . .	1		
The Army came in the next day . . .	1		8
With the head man of the village . .	3		
To the river Phasis (the <i>Araxes</i> ) . .	7	35	
The fortified post of the Taochians, &c.	2	10	
Taochians' country . . . . .	5	30	
Chalybians and to the Harpasus River	7	50	
Through the Scythinians' country . .	4	20	3
Gymnias city . . . . .	4	20	
Mount Theches (first view of the sea)	5		
Through the Macronian country . . .	3	10	
Sickness, occasioned by the honey			3
To Trapezus . . . . .	2	7	30
To Cerasus . . . . .	3		10
Warfare with the Mosynæcians . . .			
Through the country . . . . .	8		
Chalybians . . . . .			
Tibarenians, to Cotyora . . . . .			

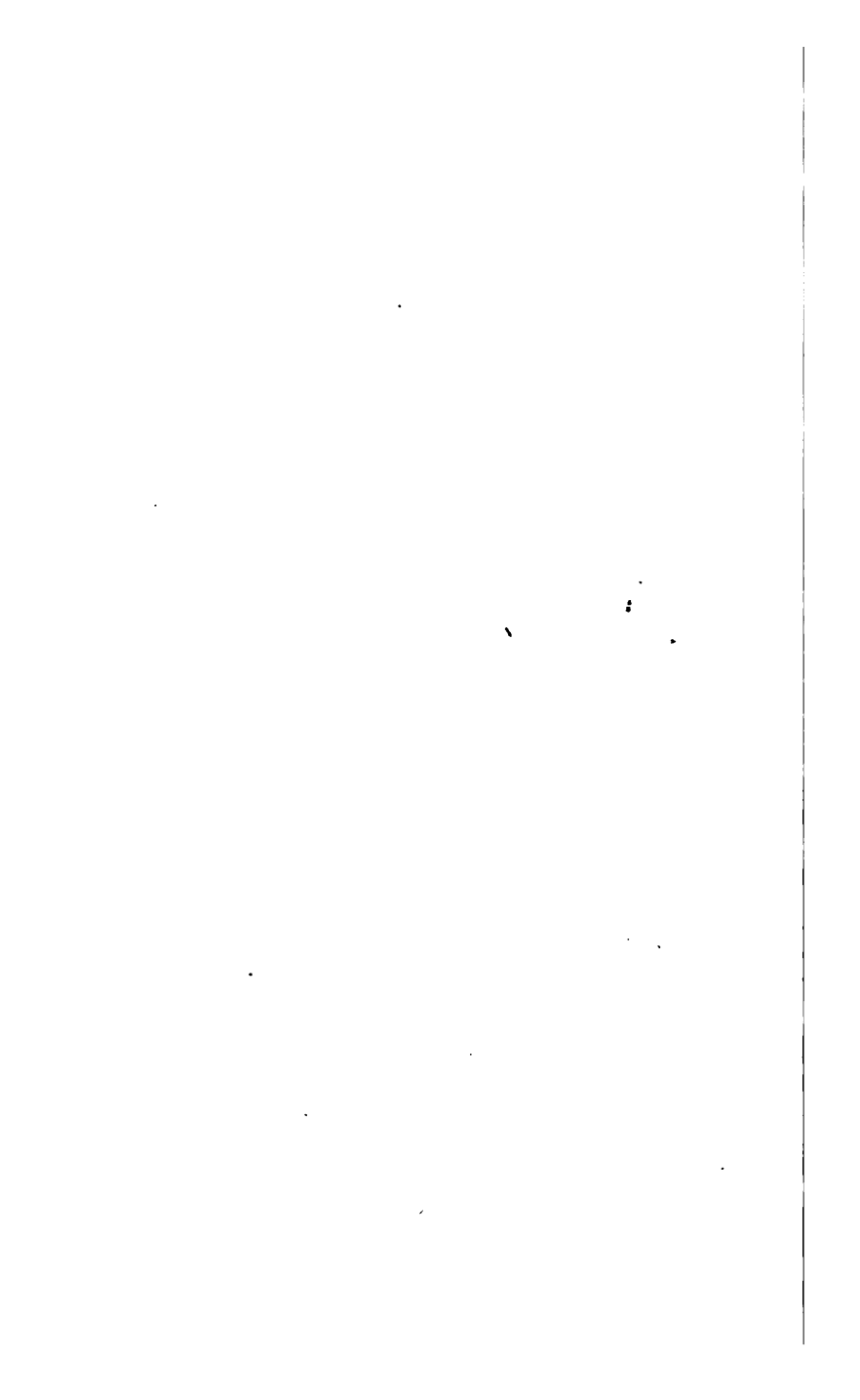
\* No distance given.

† In the snow twenty-three days.

‡ Wandering all this time.

§ The only time that the distance is mentioned in the snow

|| All this part appears to be confused or transposed.



# ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

## ΚΥΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΕΩΣ

### ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ.

#### Κεφάλαιον α'.

ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ καὶ Παρυσάτιδος γίγνονται παῖδες δύο·  
πρεσβύτερος μὲν Ἀρταξέρξης, νεώτερος δὲ Κύρος. Ἐπεὶ δὲ  
ἡσθένει Δαρεῖος, καὶ ὑπώπτευσεν τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου, ἐβού-  
λετό [οἱ] τῷ πατρὶ ἀμφοτέρῳ παρῆναι. Ὁ μὲν οὖν πρε-  
σβύτερος παρὼν ἐτύγγανε· Κύρον δὲ μεταπέμπεται ἀπὸ τῆς  
ἀρχῆς, ἧς αὐτὸν σατράπην ἐποίησε, καὶ στρατηγὸν δὲ αὐ-  
τὸν ἀπέδειξε πάντων, ὅσοι εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδῖον ἀθροίζον-  
ται. Ἀναβαίνει οὖν ὁ Κύρος, λαβὼν Τισσαφέρνην ὡς φί-  
λον· καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δὲ ἔχων ὀπλίτας ἀνέβη τριακοσίους,  
10 ἄρχοντα δὲ αὐτῶν Ξενίαν Παρμάσιον.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐτελεύτησεν Δαρεῖος, καὶ κατέστη εἰς τὴν βα-  
σιλείαν Ἀρταξέρξης, Τισσαφέρνης διαβάλλει τὸν Κύρον πρὸς  
τὸν ἀδελφόν, ὡς ἐπιβουλεύει αὐτῷ. Ὁ δὲ πείθεται τε καὶ  
συλλαμβάνει Κύρον, ὡς ἀποκτενῶν· ἡ δὲ μήτηρ, ἕξαιτη-  
15 σαμένη αὐτὸν, ἀποπέμπει πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. Ὁ δ' ὡς  
ἀπῆλθε κινδυνεύσας καὶ ἀτιμασθίς, βουλευεται, ὅπως μή-  
ποτε ἔτι ἔσται ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, ἀλλ', ἣν δύνηται, βασιλεύ-  
σει αὐτ' ἐκείνου. Παρυσάτις μὲν δὴ ἡ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχεν τῷ  
Κύρῳ, φιλοῦσα αὐτὸν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν βασιλεύοντα Ἀρταξέρ-  
20 ξην. Ὅστις δ' ἀφικνοῖτο τῶν παρὰ βασιλείῃς πρὸς αὐτόν,

πάντας οὕτω διατιθεῖς ἀπεπέμπετο, ὥςθ' ἑαυτῷ μᾶλλον φίλους εἶναι ἢ βασιλεῖ. Καὶ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτῷ δὲ βαρβάρων ἐπιμελεῖτο, ὥς πολεμῆν τε ἱκανοὶ εἴησαν, καὶ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοιεν αὐτῷ. Τὴν δὲ Ἑλληνικὴν δύναμιν ἤθροισεν, ὥς μάλιστα ἐδύνατο ἐπικρυπτόμενος, ὅπως ὅτι ἀπαρασκευότατον ἴσχυοι λαβοῖ βασιλεία. Ὡς οὖν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν συλλογὴν ὁπόσας εἶχε φυλακὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, παρήγγειλε τοῖς φρουράρχοις ἐκάστοις, λαμβάνειν ἄνδρας Πελοποννησίους ὅτι πλείστους καὶ βελτίστους, ὥς ἐπιβουλευόντος Τισσαφέρους ταῖς πόλεσι. Καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ Ἰωνικαὶ πόλεις Τισσαφέρους τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἐκ βασιλείως δεδομένα· τότε δ' ἀφιστήκεισαν πρὸς Κύρον πᾶσαι, πλὴν Μιλήτου· ἐν Μιλήτῳ δὲ Τισσαφέρους, προαίσιθός τις τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα βουλευομένους [ἀποστέλλει πρὸς Κύρον,] τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δ' ἐξέβαλεν. Ὁ δὲ Κύρος, ὑπολαβὼν τοὺς φεύγοντας, συλλέξας στράτευμα, ἐπολιόρκει Μιλήτον καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ ἐπειράτο κατάγειν τοὺς ἐκπεπωκότας. Καὶ αὕτη αὐτῷ ἄλλη πρόφασις ἦν αὐτῷ τοῦ ἀθροῖσθαι στράτευμα. Πρὸς δὲ βασιλεία πέμπων, ἤξιον, ἀδελφὸς ὢν αὐτοῦ, δοθῆναι οἱ ταύτας τὰς πόλεις μᾶλλον ἢ Τισσαφέρην ἄρχειν αὐτῶν· καὶ ἡ μήτηρ συνέπραττεν αὐτῷ ταῦτα, ὥστε βασιλεὺς τῆς μὲν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιβουλῆς οὐκ ἤσθάνετο, Τισσαφέρην δὲ ἐνόμιζε πολεμοῦντα αὐτὸν ἀμφὶ τὰ στρατεύματα διαπαντ· ὥστε οὐδὲν ἤχθετο αὐτῶν πολεμούντων· καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κύρος ἀπέπεμπε τοὺς γιγνομένους δασμοὺς βασιλεῖ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων, ὧν Τισσαφέρης ἐτύγγαεν, ἔχων.

Ἄλλο δὲ στράτευμα συνελέγεται αὐτῷ ἐν Χερρόνησῳ τῇ καταντιπέρας Ἀβύδου, τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. Κλέαρχος ἦν Λακεδαιμόνιος, φυγὰς τούτῳ συγγενόμενος ὁ Κύρος, ἡγάσθη τε αὐτόν, καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ μυριάς δαρκινούς. Ὁ δὲ λαβὼν τὸ χρυσίον, στράτευμα συνέλεξεν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων, καὶ ἐπολέμει, ἐκ Χερρόνησου ὁρμώμενος, τοῖς Θραξὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήσποντον οἰκοῦσι, καὶ ὠφέλει τοὺς

Ἕλληνας· ὥστε καὶ χρήματα <sup>Conclutur</sup> συνεβάλλοντο αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν τροφήν τῶν στρατιωτῶν αἱ Ἑλλήσπορι καὶ πόλεις ἐκούσαι. Τοῦτο δ' αὖ οὕτω τρεφόμενον ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῷ τὸ στρατεύμα. Ἀριστίππος δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς ἐτύγγαγε ξένος ὦν αὐτῷ, καὶ πιέζομενος ὑπὸ τῶν οἴκοι ἀντιστασιωτῶν, ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον, καὶ αἰτεῖ αὐτὸν εἰς διςχιλίους ξένους καὶ τριῶν μηνῶν μισθόν, ἅς οὕτω περιγεννησόμενος ἂν τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν. Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος δίδωσιν αὐτῷ εἰς τετρακισχιλίους, καὶ ἑξ μηνῶν μισθόν· καὶ δεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ, μὴ 10 πρόσθεν καταλῦσαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας, πρὶν ἂν αὐτῷ συμβουλευσῇται. Οὕτω δὲ αὖ τὸ ἐν Θετταλίᾳ ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῷ τρεφόμενον στρατεύμα. Πρόξενον δὲ τὸν Βοιωτίον, ξένον ὄντα αὐτῷ, ἐκέλευσε λαβόντα ἄνδρας ὅτι πλείστους παραγενέσθαι, ὥς ἐπὶ Πεισίδας βουλόμενος στρατεύ- 15 εσθαι, ὥς πράγματα παρεχόντων [τῶν] Πεισιδῶν τῇ ἐαυτοῦ χώρᾳ. Σοφαίνετον δὲ τὸν Στυμφάλιον, καὶ Σωκράτην τὸν Ἀχαιόν, ξένους ὄντας καὶ τούτους, ἐκέλευσεν ἄνδρας λαβόντας ἐλθεῖν ὅτι πλείστους, ὥς πολεμήσων Τισσαφέρνει σὺν τοῖς φυγάσι τῶν Μιλησίων. Καὶ ἐποιοῦν οὕτως 20 οὗτοι.

### Κεφάλαιον β'.

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἰδόκει αὐτῷ ἤδη πορεύεσθαι ἄνω, τὴν μὲν πρόφασιν ἐποιεῖτο, ὥς Πεισίδας βουλόμενος ἐκβαλεῖν παντάπασιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας· καὶ ἀθροίζει ὥς ἐπὶ τούτους τό τε βαρβαρικὸν καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐνταῦθα στρατεύμα· καὶ 25 παραγγέλλει τῷ τε Κλεάρχῳ, λαβόντι ἥκειν ὄσον ἦν αὐτῷ στρατεύμα· καὶ τῷ Ἀριστίππῳ <sup>Conclutur</sup> συναλλάγεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς οἴκοι, ἀποπέμψαι πρὸς ἐαυτὸν ὃ εἶχε στρατεύμα· καὶ Ξενία τῷ Ἀρκάδι, ὃς αὐτῷ <sup>had been</sup> προειστήκει του ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ξενικοῦ, ἥκειν παρήγγειλε, λαβόντα τοὺς ἄνδρας, πλὴν ὁπό- 30 σοι ἱκανοὶ ἦσαν τὰς ἀκροπόλεις φυλάττειν. Ἐκάλεσε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Μίλητον πολιορκοῦντας, καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας ἐκ-

λευσε σὺν αὐτῷ στρατεῦσθαι, ὑποσχόμενος αὐτοῖς, εἰ καλῶς καταπράξειεν ἐφ' ᾧ εὐστρατεῖτο, μὴ προσθεῖν παύσασθαι, πρὶν αὐτοὺς καταγάγοι οἴκαθε. Οἱ δὲ ἡδίως ἐπέθοντο· ἐπίστενον γὰρ αὐτῷ· καὶ λαβόντες τὰ ὄπλα, παρῆσαν εἰς Σάρδεις. Ξενίας μὲν δὴ τῶν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων λαβὼν παρεγένετο εἰς Σάρδεις, ὀπλίτας εἰς τετρακισχιλίους· Πρόξενος δὲ παρῆν, ἔχων ὀπλίτας μὲν εἰς πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, γυμνητάς δὲ πεντακοσίους· Σοφαίνετος δὲ ὁ Στυμφάλιος, ὀπλίτας ἔχων χιλίους· Σωκράτης δὲ ὁ Ἀχαιός, ὀπλίτας ἔχων ὡς πεντακοσίους· Πασίων δὲ ὁ Μεγαρεύς εἰς 10 τριακοσίους μὲν ὀπλίτας, τριακοσίους δὲ πελταστιάς ἔχων παρεγένετο· ἦν δὲ καὶ οὗτος καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης τῶν ἀμφὶ Μίλητον στρατενομένων. Οὗτοι μὲν εἰς Σάρδεις αὐτῷ ἀφίκοντο. Τισσαφέρνης δὲ, κατανοήσας ταῦτα, καὶ μείζονα ἡγησάμενος εἶναι ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ Πεισίδας τὴν παρασκευὴν, πο- 15 ρεῖται ὡς βασιλεῖα, ἣ ἰδύνατο τάχιστα, ἱππίας ἔχων ὡς πεντακοσίους. Καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν θῆ, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε παρὰ Τισσαφέρνητος τὸν Κύρον στόλον ἀντιπαροκένευετο.

Κύρος δὲ ἔχων οὓς εἶπον, ὥρματο ἀπὸ Σάρδεων· καὶ ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Λυδίας σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας εἴκο- 20 σι καὶ δύο, ἐπὶ τὸν Μαλιανδρον ποταμόν. Τοῦτου τὸ εὐρος δύο πλέθρα· γέφυρα δὲ ἐπὶν ἐξενγμένη πλοίοις ἐπτά. Τοῦτον διαβὰς ἐξελαύνει διὰ Φρυγίας σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασάγγας ὀκτὼ εἰς Κελοσσάς, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας ἐπτά· καὶ ἦκε 25 Μένων ὁ Θετταλός, ἔχων ὀπλίτας χιλίους, καὶ πελταστιάς πεντακοσίους, Δόλοπας καὶ Αἰνιᾶνας καὶ Ὀλυνθίους. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν εἰς Κελαινάς, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. Ἐνταῦθα Κύρω βασιλεῖα ἦν καὶ παραδείσιος 30 μέγας, ἀγρίων θηρίων πλήρης, ᾧ ἐκείνος ἐθήρευνεν ἀπὸ ἵππου, ὅποτε γυμνάσαι βούλοιτο ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἵππους. Διὰ μέσου δὲ τοῦ παραδείσου ῥεῖ ὁ Μαλιανδρος πο-

ταμός· αἱ δὲ πηγαὶ αὐτοῦ εἰσὶν ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς Κελαινῶν πέλειως. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ μεγάλου βασιλείως βασιλεία ἐν Κελαιναῖς ἐρυμνὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Μαρσίου ποταμοῦ, ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκρόπολει· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ αὐτός·  
 5 διὰ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὸν Μαλανδρον· τοῦ δὲ Μαρσίου τὸ εὐρὸς ἐστὶν ἑξοσι καὶ πέντε ποδῶν. Ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Ἀπόλλων ἐκδεῖραι Μαρσίαν, νικήσας ἐρίζοντά οἱ περὶ σοφίας, καὶ τὸ δῆρμα κρεμάσαι ἐν τῇ ἄντρῳ, ὅθεν αἱ πηγαί· διὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ ποταμὸς καλεῖται Μαρσίου·  
 10 ας. Ἐνταῦθα Ξέρξης, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς Ἰλλάδος ἤτηθεῖς τῇ μάχῃ ἀπεχώρει, λέγεται οἰκοδομῆσαι ταῦτά τε τὰ βασίλεια, καὶ τὴν Κελαινῶν ἀκρόπολιν. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε Κύρος ἡμέρας τριάκοντα· καὶ ἦκε Κλέαρχος, ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, φυγὰς, ἔχων ὀπλίτας χίλους, καὶ πελταστὰς Θοῤῃκας ὀκτακο-  
 15 σίους, καὶ τοξότας Κρήτας διακοσίους. Ἄμα δὲ καὶ Σωσίτας παρῆν ὁ Συρακούσιος, ἔχων ὀπλίτας χίλους, καὶ Σοφαίνετος ὁ Ἀρκάς, ἔχων ὀπλίτας χίλους. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα Κύρος ἐξέτασιν καὶ ἀριθμὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ σύμπαντες, ὀπλῖται μὲν ρύριοι καὶ  
 20 χίλιοι, πελτασταὶ δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς διςχίλους.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα εἰς Πέλτας, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν αἷς Ξενίας ὁ Ἀρκάς τὰ Λύκαϊα ἔθυσσε, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε· τὰ δὲ ἄθλα ἦσαν στλεγγίδες χρυσαῖ· ἐθελῶρει δὲ τὸν  
 25 ἀγῶνα καὶ Κύρος. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δώδεκα εἰς Κεραμῶν ἀγορὰν, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, εὐχάτην πρὸς τῇ Μυσίᾳ χώρᾳ. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας τριάκοντα, εἰς Καῦστρου πεδίον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε ἡμέρας πέντε· καὶ  
 30 τοῖς στρατιώταις ὠφείλετο μισθὸς πλεον ἢ τριῶν μηνῶν· καὶ πολλάκις ἰόντες ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας ἀπήτουν. Ὁ δὲ ἐλπιδας λέγων διεῖγε, καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἀνιώμενος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν πρὸς τοῦ Κύρου τρόπου, ἔχοντα μὴ ἀποδιδόναι.

Ἐνταῦθα ἀφικνεῖται Ἐπύουσα, ἡ Συεννέσιος γυνή, τοῦ Κίλικων βασιλέως, παρὰ Κῦρον· καὶ ἐλέγετο Κύρῳ δοῦναι χρήματα πολλά. Τῇ δ' οὖν στρατιᾷ τότε ἀπέδωκε Κύρος μισθὸν τεττάρων μηνῶν. Εἶχε δὲ ἡ Κίλισσα καὶ φύλακας περὶ αὐτήν, Κίλικας καὶ Ἀσπενθίους· ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ συ- 5 γενέσθαι Κῦρον τῇ Κίλισσῃ. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς δύο παρασύγγας δέκα εἰς Θύμβριον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. Ἐνταῦθα ἦν παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν κρήνη ἡ Μίδου καλουμένη, τοῦ Φρυγῶν βασιλέως· ἐφ' ἣ λέγεται Μίδας τὸν Σάτυρον θηρεῦσαι, οἷον κεράσας αὐτήν. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξε- 10 λαύνει σταθμούς δύο παρασύγγας δέκα εἰς Τυριαῖον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην· ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας τρεῖς. Καὶ λέγεται δεηθῆναι ἡ Κίλισσα Κύρου, ἐπιδεῖξαι τὸ στράτευμα αὐτῇ· βουλόμενος οὖν ἐπιδεῖξαι, ἐξέτασιν ποιεῖται ἐν τῇ πεδίῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων. Ἐκέλευσε δὲ τοὺς Ἑλλη- 15 νας, ὥς νόμος αὐτοῖς εἰς μάχην, οὕτω ταχθῆναι καὶ στήναι, συντάξαι δὲ ἕκαστον τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ. Ἐτάχθησαν οὖν ἐπὶ τεττάρων· εἶχε δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν Μένων καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ· τὸ δ' ἐκὼνυμον, Κλέαρχος καὶ οἱ ἐκείνου· τὸ δὲ μέσον, οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοί. Ἐθωρεῖ οὖν ὁ Κύρος πρῶτον 20 μὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους· οἱ δὲ παρήλασπον ταταγμένοι κατ' ἴλας καὶ κατὰ τάξεις· εἶτα δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, παρελαύνων ἐφ' ἄρματος, καὶ ἡ Κίλισσα ἐφ' ἄρμαμάξης. Εἶχον δὲ πάντες κράνη χαλκᾶ, καὶ χιτῶνας φοινικοῦς, καὶ κνημίδας, καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐκκεκαθαρμένας. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντας παρή- 25 λασε, στήσας τὸ ἄρμα πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος, πέμψας Πίγρητα τὸν ἑρμηνέα παρὰ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐκέλευσε προβαλέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ ἐπιχωρῆσαι ὅλην τὴν φάλαγγα. Οἱ δὲ ταῦτα προεῖπον τοῖς στρατιώταις· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐσάλπιγξε, προβαλλόμενοι τὰ ὄπλα ἐπήεσαν. Ἐκ δὲ τού- 30 του θάπτον προΐόντων σὺν κραυγῇ, ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου δρόμος ἐγένετο τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς. Τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων φόβος πολὺς καὶ ἄλλοις, καὶ ἡ τε Κίλισσα ἔφω-

γεν ἐκ τῆς ἀρμαμάξης, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καταλιπόντες  
τὰ ὄνια ἔφυγον· οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες σὺν γέλωτι ἐπὶ τὰς σκη-  
νὰς ἦλθον. Ἢ δὲ Κίλισσα, ἰδοῦσα τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ  
τὴν τάξιν τοῦ στρατεύματος, ἐθαύμαζε. Κῦρος δὲ ἦσθη,  
6 τὸν ἐκ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους φόβον ἰδὼν.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας εἰκοσιν  
εἰς Ἰκύνιον, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν ἐσχάτην. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε  
τρεῖς ἡμέρας. Ἐντεῦθεν διελαύνει διὰ τῆς Λυκαονίας  
σταθμοὺς πέντε παρασάγγας τριάκοντα. Ταύτην τὴν χώ-  
10 ραν ἐπέτρεψε διαρπάσαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὥς πολέμῳ οὖσαν.  
Ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Κῦρος τὴν Κίλισσαν εἰς Κιλικίαν ἀποπέμπει  
τὴν ταχύτεν ὁδόν· καὶ συνέπεμψεν αὐτῇ στρατιώτας, οὓς  
Μένων εἶχε, καὶ αὐτόν [Μένωνα τὸν Θεσσαλόν.] Κῦρος δὲ  
μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξελαύνει διὰ Καππαδοκίας σταθμοὺς τέτ-  
15 ταρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε πρὸς Λάαν, πόλιν  
οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν  
ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν ᾧ Κῦρος ἀπέκτεινεν ἄνδρα Πέρσην, Με-  
γαφέρνην, φοινικιστὴν βασιλεῖον, καὶ ἑτερόν τινα τῶν ὑπάρ-  
χων δυνάστην, αἰτιασάμενος ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ. Ἐντεῦθεν  
20 ἐπειρωῆντο ἐμβάλλειν εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν· ἡ δὲ εἰσβολὴ ἦν ὁ-  
δὸς ἀμαξιτός, ὀρθία ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ ἀμήχανος εἰσελθεῖν στρα-  
τεύματι, εἴ τις ἐκώλυεν. Ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ Συέννεσις εἶναι  
ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων, φυλάττων τὴν εἰσβολήν· δι' ὃ ἔμεινε ἡμέ-  
ραν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἦκεν ἄγγελος λέγων, ὅτι  
25 λειοπῶς εἶη Συέννεσις τὰ ἄκρα, ἐπεὶ ἦσθητο τό τε Μένωνος  
στράτευμα ὅτι ἦδη ἐν Κιλικίᾳ εἶη εἰσω τῶν ὀρέων, καὶ ὅτι  
τριῖρες ἦκουε περιπλεύσας ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας εἰς Κιλικίαν, Τα-  
μῶν ἔχοντα τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ αὐτοῦ Κύρου. Κῦρος  
δ' οὖν ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη, οὐδενὸς κωλύοντος, καὶ εἶδε τὰς  
30 σκηνάς, οὗ ἐφύλαττον οἱ Κίλικες. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ κατέβαιναν  
εἰς πεδῖον μέγα, καλὸν καὶ ἐπὶ ῥύτον, καὶ δένδρων παντο-  
δαπῶν ἔμπλειον καὶ ἀμπέλων· πολὺ δὲ καὶ σῆσαμον καὶ  
μυλὴν καὶ κέγχρον καὶ πυρούς καὶ κριθὰς φέρει. Ὅρος

δ' αὐτὸ περιέχει ὄχυρόν καὶ ὑψηλὸν πάντῃ ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν.

Καταβὰς δὲ διὰ τούτου τοῦ πεδίου, ἤλασε σταθμούς τέσσαρας παρασύγγας πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν εἰς Ταρσοὺς, πόλιν τῆς Κιλικίας μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. Ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν τὰ Συεννέσιος βασιλεία, τοῦ Κιλικίων βασιλέως· διὰ μέσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως ῥεῖ ποταμός, Κύνδος ὄνομα, εὖρος δύο πλέθρων. Ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἐξέλιπον οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες, μετὰ Συεννέσιος, εἰς χωρίον ὄχυρόν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη· πλὴν οἱ τὰ καπηλεία ἔχοντες ἔμειναν δὲ καὶ οἱ παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν οἰκοῦντες ἐν Σόλοις καὶ ἐν Ἰσοῦς. Ἐπύαζα δὲ, ἡ Συεννέσιος γυνή, πρότερά Κύρου πέντε ἡμέρας εἰς Ταρσοὺς ἀφίκετο· ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῶν ὁρέων τῶν εἰς τὸ πεδίου, δύο λόχοι τοῦ Μένωρος στρατεύματος ἀπώλοντο· οἱ μὲν ἔφασαν, ἀρπάζοντάς τι κατακοπῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν Κιλικίων, οἱ δὲ, ὑπολειφθέντας ἰσχυροὺς, εἴτα πλανομένους ἀπωλέσθαι· ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι ἑκατὸν ὀπλῖται. Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐπειδὴ ἦκον, τὴν τε πόλιν τοὺς Ταρσοὺς διήρπασαν, διὰ τὸν ὄλεθρον τῶν συστρατιωτῶν ὀργιζόμενοι, καὶ τὰ βασιλεία τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ. Κύρος δὲ, ἐπεὶ εἰς ἤλασεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, μεταπέμπετο Συέννεσιν πρὸς ἑαυτόν· ὃ δὲ οὔτε πρότερον οὐδενὶ πω κρείττονι ἑαυτοῦ εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἔφη, οὔτε τότε Κύρῳ ἵνα ἤθελε, πρὶν ἢ γυνὴ αὐτὸν ἔπεισε, καὶ πίστει ἔλαβε. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεὶ συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις, Συέννεσις μὲν Κύρῳ ἔδωκε χρήματα πολλὰ εἰς τὴν στρατιάν, Κύρος δ' ἐκείνῳ δῶρα, ἃ νομίζεται παρὰ βασιλεῖ τίμια, ἵππον χρυσοχάλινον καὶ στρεπτόν χρυσοῦν καὶ ψέλλια καὶ ἀκινάκην χρυσοῦν καὶ στολὴν Περσικὴν, καὶ τὴν χώραν μηκέτι ἀρπάζεσθαι· τὰ δὲ ἡρπασμένα ἀνδράποδα, ἣν που ἐντυγχάνωσιν, ἀπολαμβάνειν. 20

## Κεφάλαιον γ'.

Ἐνταῦθ' ἔμεινε Κῦρος καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ ἡμέρας εἴκοσιν· οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται οὐκ ἔφασαν ἵναί τοις πρόσω· ἰπώ-  
 πτεον γὰρ ἦδη ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ ἵναί· μισθωθῆναι δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ  
 τούτῳ ἔφασαν. Πρῶτος δὲ Κλέαρχος τοὺς αὐτοῦ στρατιώ-  
 5 τας ἐδιδάξετο ἵναί· οἱ δὲ αὐτόν τε ἔβαλλον, καὶ τὰ ὑπο-  
 ζύγια τὰ ἐκείνου, ἐπεὶ ἤρξατο προΐναί. Κλέαρχος δὲ τότε  
 μὲν μικρὸν ἐξέφυγε τοῦ μὴ καταπετρωθῆναι· ὅστιρον δέ,  
 ἐπεὶ ἔγνω, ὅτι οὐ δύνησεται βιάσασθαι, συνήγαγεν ἐκκλη-  
 σίαν τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐδάκρυε  
 10 πολὺν χρόνον ἐστώς· οἱ δὲ ὀρώοντες ἐθαύμαζον καὶ ἐσιώ-  
 πων· εἴτα ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

“Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, μὴ θαυμάζετε, ὅτι χαλεπῶς φέρω  
 τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν. Ἐμοὶ γὰρ Κῦρος ξένος ἐγένετο,  
 καὶ με, φεύγοντα ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐτίμιζε,  
 15 καὶ μυρίους ἔδωκε δαρεικούς· οὗς ἐγὼ λαβὼν οὐκ εἰς τὸ  
 ἴδιον κατεθέμην ἐμοί, ἀλλ' εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐδαπάνων. Καὶ πρῶ-  
 τον μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Θρᾷκας ἐολέμησα, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλ-  
 λάδος ἐτιμωροῦμην μεθ' ὑμῶν, ἐκ τῆς Χερρόνησον αὐτοὺς  
 ἐξελαύνων, βουλομένους ἀφαιμεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας Ἑλ-  
 20 ληνας τὴν γῆν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Κῦρος ἐκάλει, λαβὼν ὑμᾶς  
 ἐπορευόμεν, ἵνα εἴ τι δέοιτο, ὠφελολὴν αὐτὸν ἀνθ' ὧν  
 εὖ ἔπαθον ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑμεῖς οὐ βούλεσθε συμ-  
 πορεύεσθαι, ἀνάγκη δὴ μοι, ἢ ὑμᾶς προδόντα τῇ Κύρου  
 φιλίᾳ χρῆσθαι, ἢ πρὸς ἐκείνον ψευσάμενον μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰ-  
 25 ναι. Εἰ μὲν δὴ δίκαια ποιήσω, οὐκ οἶδα· αἰρήσομαι δ'  
 οὐκ ὑμᾶς, καὶ σὺν ὑμῖν ὃ τι ἂν δέη πείσομαι. Καὶ οὐ-  
 ποτ' ἐρεῖ οὐδεὶς, ὡς ἐγὼ Ἕλληνας ἀγαγὼν εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους,  
 προδοὺς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων φιλίαν εἰλό-  
 30 σθαι, ἐγὼ σὺν ὑμῖν ἔψομαι, καὶ ὃ τι ἂν δέη πείσομαι.

Νομίζω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ εἶναι καὶ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους καὶ  
 συμμάχους, καὶ σὺν ὑμῖν μὲν ἂν εἶναι τίμιος, ὅπου ἂν ὦ-  
 ὑμῶν δ' ἐρημωθεῖς, οὐκ ἂν ἱκανὸς εἶναι οἶμαι, οὔτ' ἂν φίλον  
 ὠφελῆσαι, οὔτ' ἂν ἐχθρὸν ἀλέξασθαι. Ὡς ἐμοῦ οὖν ἰόντος,  
 ὅπη ἂν καὶ ὑμεῖς, οὕτω τὴν γράμην ἔχετε." Ταῦτα εἶπεν· οἱ δ'  
 δὲ στρατιῶται, οἳ τε αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ταῦτα ἀκού-  
 σαντες, ὅτι οὐ φαίη παρὰ βασιλέα πορεύεσθαι, ἐπήνεσαν·  
 παρὰ δὲ Ξενίου καὶ Πασίωνος πλείους ἢ δις χίλιοι, λαβόντες  
 τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο παρὰ Κλε-  
 άρχῳ. Κῦρος δὲ τούτοις ἀπορῶν τε καὶ λυπούμενος, μετε- 10  
 πέμπετο τὸν Κλέαρχον· ὃ δ' ἵεται μὲν οὐκ ἴθιλε, λάθρα δὲ  
 τῶν στρατιωτῶν πέμπων αὐτῷ ἄγγελον, ἔλεγε θαρρύειν, ὥς  
 καταστησομένων τούτων εἰς τὸ δέον· μεταπέμπεσθαι δ'  
 ἐκέλευεν αὐτόν· αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκ ἔφη ἵεται. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα  
 συναγαγὼν τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας καὶ τοὺς προςελ- 15  
 θόντας αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὸν βουλόμενον, ἔλεξε τοιαῦτα·

"Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, τὰ μὲν δὴ Κύρου δῆλον ὅτι οὕτως  
 ἔχει πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὥς περ τὰ ἡμέτερα πρὸς ἐκείνον· οὔτε γὰρ  
 ἡμεῖς ἔτι ἐκείνου στρατιῶται, ἐπεὶ γε οὐ συνεπόμεθα αὐτῷ,  
 οὔτε ἐκεῖνος ἡμῖν ἔτι μισθ. δότης. "Ὅτι μέντοι ἀδικεῖσθαι 20  
 νομίζει ὑφ' ἡμῶν, οἶδα· ὥς τε καὶ μεταπεμπομένου αὐτοῦ  
 οὐκ ἐθέλω ἐλθεῖν, τὸ μὲν μέγιστον, αἰσχυρόμενος, ὅτι σύνοι-  
 दा ἑμαυτῷ πάντα ἐψευσμένος αὐτόν· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ δεδιώς,  
 μὴ λαβὼν με δίκην ἐπιθῇ, ὣν νομίζει ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἡδικῆσθαι.  
 Ἐμοὶ οὖν δοκεῖ οὐχ ὥρα εἶναι ἡμῖν καθεύδειν, οὐδ' ἀμελεῖν 25  
 ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ βουλευέσθαι, ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν ἐκ τούτων.  
 Καὶ εἴτε μένομεν αὐτοῦ, σκεπτέον μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὅπως ὥς  
 ἀσφαλέστατα μένωμεν· εἴτε δὴ δοκεῖ ἀπέναι, ὅπως ὥς  
 ἀσφαλέστατα ἄπιμεν, καὶ ὅπως τὰ ἐπιτίδεια ἔξομεν· ἄνευ  
 γὰρ τούτων οὔτε στρατηγοῦ οὔτε ιδιώτου ὄφελος οὐδέν. 30  
 Ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ πολλοῦ μὲν ἄξιος φίλος, ὃ ἂν φίλος ἢ· χαλεπώ-  
 τος δ' ἐχθρός, ὃ ἂν πολέμιος ἢ. "Εἴτι δὲ δύναμιν ἔχει καὶ  
 πέζην καὶ ἱππικὴν καὶ ναυτικὴν, ἣν πάντες ὁμοίως ὀρωμέν

τε καὶ ἐπιστάμεθα· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ πόρρω δοκοῦμέν μοι αὐτοῦ καθῆσθαι· ὥστε ὦρα λέγειν ὃ τί τις γιγνώσκει ἄριστον εἶναι.” Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν, ἐπαύσατο.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἀνίσταντο, οἱ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, λείπον-  
 5 τες, ἃ ἐγίγνωσκον· οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἐγκελεύστοι, φει-  
 δεικνύντες, οἷα εἴη ἡ ἀπορία, ἄνευ τῆς Κύρου γνώμης καὶ  
 μένειν καὶ ἀπιέναι. Εἷς δὲ δὴ εἶπε, πρὸς ποιοῦμένους σπεύ-  
 δειν ὡς τάχιστα πορευεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, “στρατηγούς  
 μὲν ἐλεσθαι ἄλλους ὡς τάχιστα, εἰ μὴ βούλεται Κλέαρχος  
 10 ἀπάγειν· τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια ἀγοράζεσθαι (ἡ δ' ἀγορά ἦν ἐν τῷ  
 βαρβαρικῷ στρατεύματι), καὶ συσκευάζεσθαι. Ἀθροίας δὲ  
 Κύρον αἰτεῖν πλοῖα, ὡς ἀποπλέοιεν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ διδῷ ταῦτα,  
 ἡγεμόνα αἰτεῖν Κύρον, ὅστις ὡς διὰ φιλίας τῆς χώρας ἀπά-  
 ξει· ἐὰν δὲ μὴδὲ ἡγεμόνα διδῷ, συντάττεσθαι τὴν ταχίστην·  
 15 πέμψαι δὲ καὶ προκαταληψομένους τὰ ἄκρα, ὅπως μὴ  
 φθάσωσι μήτε ὁ Κίρος, μήτε οἱ Κίλικες, καταλαβόντες, ὧν  
 πολλοὺς καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἔχομεν ἀνθρώποις.” Οὗτος  
 μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα εἶπε· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Κλέαρχος εἶπε τοσοῦτον·  
 “Ὡς μὲν στρατηγήσονται ἐμὲ ταύτην τὴν στρατηγίαν μηδεὶς  
 20 ὑμῶν λεγέτω· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐνορῶ, δι' ἃ ἐμοὶ τοῦτο οὐ πωλη-  
 τέον· ὡς δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ, ὃν ἂν ἐλησθε, πείσομαι ἢ δυνατόν  
 μάλιστα· ἵνα εἰδῆτε, ὅτι καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἐπίσταμαι, ὡς τις  
 καὶ ἄλλος μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων.” Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἄλλος ἀνέ-  
 στη, ἐπιδεικνὺς μὲν τὴν εὐθήθειαν τοῦ τὰ πλοῖα αἰτεῖν κειν-  
 25 οντος, ὥς περ πάλιν [τὸν] στόλον Κύρου μὴ ποιομένου·  
 ἐπιδεικνὺς δὲ, “ὡς εὐθες εἶη, ἡγεμόνα αἰτεῖν παρὰ τούτου,  
 ᾧ λυμαινόμεθα τὴν προᾶξιν. Εἰ δὲ τι καὶ τῷ ἡγεμόνι πι-  
 στεύσομεν, ᾧ ἂν Κύρος διδῷ, τί κωλύει, καὶ τὰ ἄκρα ἡμῶν  
 κειλεύειν Κύρον προκαταλαμβάνειν; Ἐγὼ γὰρ ὀκνοῖν μὲν  
 30 ἂν εἰς τὰ πλοῖα ἐμβαίνειν, ἃ ἡμῶν δολη, μὴ ἡμᾶς αὐταῖς  
 ταῖς τριήρεσι κατὰ δύσιν· φοβοίμην δ' ἂν τῷ ἡγεμόνι, ᾧ  
 [ἂν] δολῇ, ἐπισθαι, μὴ ἡμᾶς ἀγάγῃ, ὅθεν οὐχ οἷόν τε ἔσται  
 ἐξελθεῖν· βουλοίμην δ' ἂν, ἄκοντος ἀπὼν Κύρου, λαθεῖν

αὐτὸν ἀπελθών· ὃ οὐ δυνατόν ἐστιν. Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ γε φημί, ταῦτα μὲν φλναρίας εἶναι· δοκεῖ δέ μοι, ἄνδρας ἐλθόντας πρὸς Κύρον, οἵτινες ἐπιτήδεοι, σὺν Κλεάρχῳ, ἐρωτᾶν ἐκείνον, τί βούλεται ἡμῖν χρῆσθαι· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἡ πρᾶξις ἢ παραπλησία, οἴαπερ καὶ πρόσθεν ἐχρήτο τοῖς ξένοις, ἔπεισθαι καὶ ἡμᾶς, καὶ μὴ κακίους εἶναι τῶν πρόσθεν τούτῳ συναναβάντων· εἰ δὲ μείζων ἡ πρᾶξις, τῆς πρόσθεν φαίνεται, καὶ ἐπιπικνωτέρα, καὶ ἐπικινδυνότερα, ἄξιον, ἢ πείσαντα ἡμᾶς ἄγειν, ἢ ἡγισθέντα πρὸς φιλίαν ἀφιέναι· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἐπόμενοι ἂν φίλοι αὐτῷ καὶ πρόθυμοι ἐποίμεθα, καὶ ἀπίοντες, ἀσφαλῶς ἂν ἀπίοιμεν· ὃ τι δ' ἂν πρὸς ταῦτα λέγη, ἀπαγγεῖλαι δεῦρο· ἡμᾶς δ' ἀκούσαντας πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευέσθαι." Ἐδοξε ταῦτα· καὶ ἄνδρας ἐλόμενοι σὺν Κλεάρχῳ πέμπουσιν, οἱ ἡρώτων Κύρον τὰ δόξαντα τῇ στρατιᾷ. Ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο, "ὅτι ἀκούοι Ἀβροκόμαν, ἐχθρὸν ἄνδρα, ἐπὶ 18 τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ εἶναι, ἀπέχοντα δώδεκα σταθμούς· πρὸς τούτον οὖν" ἔφη "βούλεσθαι ἐλθεῖν· καὶ μὲν ἢ ἐκεῖ, τὴν δίκην" ἔφη "χρηῖεν ἐπιθεῖναι αὐτῷ· ἣν δὲ φεύγη, ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖ πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευσόμεθα." Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ αἰρετοί, ἀναγγέλλουσι τοῖς στρατιώταις. Τοῖς δὲ ὑποφία μὲν 20 ἦν, ὅτι ἄγει πρὸς βασιλεία, ὅμως δὲ ἐδόκει ἔπεισθαι· προσαιτούσαι δὲ μισθόν. Ὁ δὲ Κύρος ὑπιαχνεῖται ἡμιόλιον πᾶσι δώσειν, οὗ πρότερον ἔφερον, ἀντὶ δαρεικοῦ τρία ἡμιδαρειακά τοῦ μηνὸς τῷ στρατιώτῃ· ὅτι δ' ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ ἄγοι, οὐδ' ἐνταῦθ' ἤκουεν οὐδεὶς ἐν τῷ τότε φανερωῶς. 25

### Κεφάλαιον δ'.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα ἐπὶ τὸν Σάρον ποταμόν, οὗ ἦν τὸ εὖρος τρία πλεθρα. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμόν ἕνα παρασάγγας πέντε ἐπὶ τὸν Πύραμον ποταμόν, οὗ τὸ εὖρος στάδιον. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς δύο παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα εἰς Ἰσοῦς, τῆς 30

Κιλικίας ἐσχάτην πόλιν ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· καὶ Κύρῳ παρήσαν αἱ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου νῆες τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε, καὶ ἐπ' αὐταῖς ναυαρχὸς Πυθαγόρας Λακεδαιμόνιος. <sup>6</sup> ἦλθον δ' αὐτῶν Ταμῶς, Αἰγύπτιος, καὶ Εφίεσσον, ἔχοντες ναῦς ἑτέρας Κύρῳ· πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν· αἷς ἐπολιόρχει Μιλησιον, ὅτε Τισσαφέρνει φίλη ἦν, καὶ συνεπολέμει Κύρῳ πρὸς αὐτόν. Πυρὴν δὲ καὶ Χειρίσοφος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, μετάπεμπτος ὑπὸ Κύρου, ἐπταχσίλους ἔχων ὀπλί-  
 10 τας, ὧν ἐντρατῆγει παρὰ Κύρῳ. Αἱ δὲ νῆες ὥρμουσι κατὰ τὴν Κύρου σκηνήν. Ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ παρ' Ἀβροκόμα μισθοφόροι Ἕλληνες ἀποστάντες ἦλθον παρὰ Κύρον, τετρακόσιοι ὀκλήται, καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασάγγας πέντε ἐπὶ  
 15 πύλας τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ τῆς Συρίας. Ἦσαν δὲ ταῦτα δύο τεῖχη· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔσωθεν πρὸ τῆς Κιλικίας Σύννεσις εἶχε καὶ Κιλικῶν φυλακή· τὰ δ' ἔσω τὸ πρὸ τῆς Συρίας βασιλέως ἐλέγετο φυλακή φυλάττειν. Διὰ μέσου δὲ τούτων ῥεῖ ποταμός, Κύρσος ὄνομα, εὖρος πλέθρου. Ἄπαν δὲ τὸ μέ-  
 20 σον τῶν τευχῶν ἦσαν στάδιοι τρεῖς· καὶ παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἦν βία· ἦν γὰρ ἡ παράδος στενὴ, καὶ τὰ τεῖχη εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καθήκοντα, ὑπερθεῖν δὲ ἦσαν πέτραι ἡλίβατοι· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς τεύχεσιν ἀμφοτέροις ἐφεισθήκεσαν πύλαι. Ταύτης οὖν ἕνεκα τῆς παρόδου Κύρος τὰς ναῦς μετεπέμψατο, ὅ-  
 25 πως ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποβιβάσειεν εἰσω καὶ ἔσω τῶν πυλῶν, καὶ βιασάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους παρέλθοιεν, εἰ φυλάττοιεν ἐπὶ ταῖς Συρίαις πύλαις· ὅπερ ᾤετο ποιήσειν τὸν Ἀβροκόμαν ὁ Κύρος, ἔχοντα πολὺ στρατεύμα. Ἀβροκόμας δὲ οὐ τοῦτο ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἤκουε Κύρον ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ὄντα, ἀνα-  
 30 στρέψας ἐκ Φοινίκης παρὰ βασιλείᾳ ἀπηλαύνει, ἔχων, ὡς ἐλέγετο, τριάκοντα μυριάδας στρατιᾶς.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ Συρίας σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασάγγας πέντε εἰς Μυριάνδρον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην ὑπὸ Φοινίκων ἐπὶ

τῇ θαλάττῃ· ἐμπόριον δ' ἦν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ὥρμουν αὐτόθι ὀλκάδες πολλαί. <sup>ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖ</sup> Ἐνταῦθ' ἔμειναν ἡμέρας ἐπτά· καὶ Ξένιος ὁ Ἀρκάς, στρατηγός, καὶ Πασίων ὁ Μεγαρέυς, ἐμβάντες εἰς πλοῖον, καὶ τὰ πλείστον ἄξια ἐνδέμενοι, ἀπέπλευσαν, ὡς μὲν τοῖς πλείστοις ἐδόκουν, φιλοτιμηθέντες, <sup>ὅτι</sup> τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτῶν, τοὺς παρὰ Κλέαρχον ἀπελθόντας, ὡς ἀπλέοντας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάλιν, καὶ οὐ πρὸς βασιλέα, εἶα Κύρος τὸν Κλέαρχον ἔχειν. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἦσαν ἀφανείς, διήλθε λόγος, ὅτι διρίκοι αὐτοὺς Κύρος τριήρεσι· καὶ οἱ μὲν εὐχοντο, ὡς δαλίως ὄντας αὐτοὺς ληφθῆναι· οἱ δ' ἰοφκτερον, εἰ ἀλώσοιντο.

Κύρος δέ, συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγούς, εἶπεν· “Ἀπολειπαῖν ἡμᾶς Ξένιος καὶ Πασίων· ἀλλ' εὖ γε μέντοι ἐπιστάσθωσαν, ὅτι οὔτε ἀποδεδράκασιν· οἶδα γὰρ ὅση οἰχονται· οὔτε ἀποπεφύγασιν· ἔχω γὰρ τριήρεις, ὥστε ἔλεῖν τὸ ἐκείνων πλοῖον. Ἀλλά, μὰ τοὺς θεούς, οὐκ ἔγωγε αὐτοὺς διώξω· οὐδὲ ἐρεῖ οὐδεὶς, ὡς ἐγὼ ἕως μὲν ἂν παρῇ τις χροῖμαί, ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἀπείναι βούληται, συλλαβῶν καὶ αὐτοὺς κακῶς ποιῶ, καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀποσυνάμω. Ἀλλὰ ἰόντων [ἂν] εἰδότες, ὅτι κακίους εἶσι περὶ ἡμᾶς, ἢ ἡμεῖς περὶ ἐκείνους. Καίτοι ἔγωγε αὐτῶν καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας ἐν Τράλλεσι φρουρούμενα· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τούτων στερήσονται· ἀλλ' ἀπολήφονται, τῆς πρόσθεν ἔνεκα περὶ ἐμὲ ἀρετῆς.” Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπεν· οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες, εἰ τις καὶ ἀνιμότερος ἦν πρὸς τὴν ἀνάβασιν, ἀκούοντες τὴν Κύρου ἀρετὴν, ἡδύναι καὶ προθυμότερον ἰσυνεπορεύοντο.

Μετὰ [δὲ] ταῦτα Κύρος ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς τέτταρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Χάλον ποταμόν, ὄντα τὸ εὖρος πλείθρου, πλήρη δ' ἰχθύων μεγάλων καὶ πρᾶσιον, οὓς οἱ Σύροι θεοὺς ἐνόμιζον, καὶ ἀδικεῖν οὐκ εἶον, οὐδὲ τὰς περὶ ῥιστεράς. Αἱ δὲ κῶμαι, ἐν αἷς ἐσκήνουν, Παρυσάτιδος ἦσαν, εἰς ζώνην δεδομένα. Ἐνταῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς πέντε παρασάγγας τριάκοντα ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Δαρμάδα-

κος ποταμοῦ, οὗ τὸ εὖρος πλείθρου. Ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν τὰ Βελέσσυος βασιλεία, τοῦ Συρίας ἄρξαντος, καὶ παραδείκας πάνυ μέγας καὶ καλὸς, ἔχων πάντα, ὅσα ἔραι φουοῖ. *μεγίστη*  
Κῦρος δ' αὐτὸν ἐξέκοψε, καὶ τὰ βασιλεία κατέκασεν.

- Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν, ὄντα τὸ εὖρος τεττάρων σταδίων· καὶ πόλις ἀντόθι ᾠκεῖτο μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων, Θάψακος ὀνόματι. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας πέντε· καὶ Κῦρος μεταπεμφάμενος τοὺς στρατηγούς τῶν Ἑλλήνων
- 10 ἔλεγεν, ὅτι ἡ ὁδὸς ἔσοιτο πρὸς βασιλεία μέγαν, εἰς Βαβυλῶνα· καὶ κελεύει αὐτοὺς λέγειν ταῦτα τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ ἀναπεῖθαι ἐπισθαι. Οἱ δὲ ποιήσαντες ἐκκλησίαν, ἀπήγγελλον ταῦτα· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται *ἐκκλησίαν* ἐχάλεπαινον τοῖς στρατηγού, καὶ ἔφασαν, αὐτοὺς πάσαι ταῦτα εἰδότες *κεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ*
- 15 καὶ οὐκ ἔφασαν ἵνα, ἂν μὴ τις αὐτοῖς χημάτα διδῷ, ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς πρότερον μετὰ Κύρου ἀναβῆαι παρὰ τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Κύρου· καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐπὶ μάχην ἰόντων, ἀλλὰ καλοῦντος τοῦ πατρὸς Κύρον. Ταῦτα οἱ στρατηγοὶ Κύρῳ ἀπήγγελλον· ὁ δ' ὑπέσχετο, ἀνδρὶ ἐκάστῳ δώσειν πέντε
- 20 ἀργυρίου μνᾶς, ἐπὰν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἦκησι, καὶ τὸν μισθὸν ἐντελῆ, μέχρις ἂν καταστήσῃ τοὺς Ἑλληνας εἰς Ἰωνίαν πάλιν. Τὸ μὲν δὴ πολὺ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ οὕτως ἐπέσθη. Μένων δὲ, πρὶν δῆλον εἶναι, τί ποιήσουσιν οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιῶται, πότερον ἔφονται Κύρῳ ἢ οὐ, συνέλεξε τὸ αὐτοῦ στράτευμα
- 25 χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ ἔλεξε τάδε·

“Ἄνδρες, ἐὰν ἐμοὶ πεισθῇτε, οὔτε κινδυνεύσαντες, οὔτε πονήσαντες, τῶν ἄλλων πλεον προτιμήσεσθε στρατιωτῶν ὑπὸ Κύρου. Τί οὖν κελεύω ποιῆσαι; Νῦν δεῖται Κῦρος ἐπισθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ βασιλεία· ἐγὼ οὖν φημί, ὑμᾶς

30 χρῆναι διαβῆναι τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν, πρὶν δῆλον εἶναι, ὅτι οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἀποκρίνονταί Κῦρι. Ἦν μὲν γὰρ ψηφισώμεθα ἐπισθαι, ὑμεῖς δόξετε αἴτιοι εἶναι ἄρξαντες τοῦ διαβαίνειν· καὶ ὥς προθυμοτάτοις ὑμῖν οὐσι χάριν εἴσται

Κῦρος καὶ ἀποδώσει· [ἐπίσταται δ' εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος].

ἣν δ' ἀποψήφισάντων οἱ ἄλλοι, ἅπιμεν μὲν πάντες εἰς τοῦμ-  
 παλιν· ὑμῖν δέ, ὡς μόνοις πειθομένοις, πιστοτάτοις χρή-  
 σεται καὶ εἰς φρονεῖν καὶ εἰς λογάριον καὶ ἄλλου οὔτινος  
 ἂν δέησθε, οἶδα, ὅτι ὡς φίλου τεύξεσθε Κῦρου." Ἀκού-  
 σαντες ταῦτα ἐπειθόντο καὶ διέβησαν, πρὶν τοὺς ἄλλους  
 ἀποκρίνασθαι. Κῦρος δ' ἐπεὶ ἦσθετο διαβεβηκότας, ἦσθη  
 τε, καὶ τῷ στρατεύματι πέμπας Γλοῦν, εἶπεν· "Εγὼ μὲν,  
 ὦ ἄνδρες, ἦδη ὑμᾶς ἐκαινῶ· ὅπως δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐμέ ἐκαι-  
 νέσετε, ἐμοὶ μελήσει, ἢ μηκέτι με Κῦρον νομίζετε." Οἱ μὲν 10  
 δὴ στρατιῶται, ἐν ἐλπίσι μεγάλας ὄντες, εὐχοντο αὐτὸν εὐ-  
 τυγῆσαι· Μένωνι δὲ καὶ δῶρα ἐλέγγοτο πέμπειν μεγαλοπρε-  
 πῶς. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας διέβαινε· συνείπετο δὲ καὶ τὸ

ἄλλο στρατεύμα αὐτῷ ἅπαν· καὶ τῶν διαβαινόντων τὸν  
 ποταμὸν οὐδεὶς ἐβρίχθη ἀνὰ τῶν τῶν μασθῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ 15  
 ποταμοῦ. Οἱ δὲ Θασακηνοὶ ἔλεγον, ὅτι οὐ πώποθ' οὗτος  
 ὁ ποταμὸς διαβάτος γένοιτο πέσῃ, εἰ μὴ τότε, ἀλλὰ πλὴν  
 οἷς· ἃ τότε Ἀβροκόμας προῖων κατεφάρσεν, ἵνα μὴ Κῦρος  
 διαβῇ. Ἐδόκει δὲ θεῖον εἶναι, καὶ σάφως υποχωρεῖν τὸν  
 ποταμὸν Κῦρι, ὡς βασιλεύσονται. 20

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Συρίας σταθμοὺς ἐννέα πα-  
 ρασάγγας πεντήκοντα, καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται πρὸς τὸν Ἀράξην  
 ποταμόν. Ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν κώμαι πολλαί, μεσαιαί οἴτου καὶ  
 οἴνου. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς, καὶ ἐπειστίσαντο.

### Κεφάλαιον ε'.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Ἀραβίας, τὸν Εὐφράτην πο-  
 25 ταμὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων, σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους πέντε παρασάγγας  
 τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τόπῳ ἦν μὲν ἡ γῆ  
 πεδῖον ἅπαν ὁμαλὸν ὥσπερ θάλαττα, ἀφινθίου δὲ πλήρες·

- being run ahead, stood still  
+ missed the char concerning the matter with  
their horses

Κεφ. ε'.]

ΚΤΡΟΤ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΙΣ.

17

εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἄλλο ἐνὴν ὕλης ἢ καλάμου, ἅπαντα ἦσαν εὐ-  
ώδη, ὥσπερ ἄρώματα· δένδρον δ' οὐδὲν ἐνὴν. Θηρία δὲ  
παντοῖα, πλείστοι μὲν ὄνοι <sup>ἄγριοι</sup> οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ στρουθοὶ  
αἱ μεγάλοι· ἐνῆσαν δὲ καὶ <sup>καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγοι</sup> ὠπίδες καὶ δορκάδες· ταῦτα δὲ  
8 τὰ θηρία οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐδίωκον ἐνίοτε. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ὄνοι, ἐπεὶ  
τις διώκοι, προδραμόντες ἂν εἰστήκεσαν· πολὺ γὰρ τῶν  
ἱππῶν θᾶπτον ἔτρεχον· καὶ πάλιν ἐπεὶ πλησιάζουσιν οἱ ἱπ-  
ποὶ, ταὐτὸν ἐποιοῦν· καὶ οὐκ ἦν λαβεῖν, εἰ μὴ <sup>σταθμεύειν</sup> διαστάντες  
οἱ ἱππεῖς θηρῶν διαδεχόμενοι τοῖς ἱπποῖς. Τὰ δὲ κρέα  
10 τῶν ἀλισκομένων ἦν παραπλήσια τοῖς ἐλαφείοις, ἀπαλώτετρα  
δὲ. Στρουθὸν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔλαβεν· οἱ δὲ διώξαντες τῶν ἱπ-  
πέων ταχὺ ἐπαύοντο· πολὺ γὰρ ἀπέσπα ἀποφεύγουσα,  
τοῖς μὲν ποσὶ δρόμῳ, ταῖς δὲ πτέρυξιν, ἄρασα, ὥσπερ ἰστίῳ  
χρωμένη. Τὰς δὲ ὠτίδας, ἂν τις ταχὺ ἀνίστη, ἔστι λαμβά-  
16 νειν· πέτονται γὰρ βραχύ, ὥσπερ πέριδικες, καὶ ταχὺ ἀπα-  
γορεύουσι. Τὰ δὲ κρέα αὐτῶν ἡδίστα ἦν.

Πόρευόμενοι δὲ διὰ ταύτης τῆς χώρας ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ  
τὸν Μασκαῖν ποταμόν, τὸ εὖρος πλεθριαῖον. Ἐνταῦθα ἦν  
πόλις ἐρήμη, μεγάλη, ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῇ Κορσωτή· περιεφθέ-  
20 το δὲ αὕτη ὑπὸ τοῦ Μασκαῖ κύνελφ. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡ-  
μέρας τρεῖς, καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθ-  
μοὺς ἐρήμους τρεῖς καὶ δέκα παρασάγγας ἐνενήκοντα τὸν  
Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων, καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ Πύλας.  
Ἐν τούτοις τοῖς σταθμοῖς πολλὰ τῶν ὑπόζυγιων ἀπώλετο  
25 ὑπὸ [τοῦ] λιμοῦ· οὐ γὰρ ἦν χόρτος, οὐδὲ ἄλλο δένδρον  
οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ ψιλὴ ἦν ἅπασα ἡ χώρα· οἱ δὲ ἐνοικούντες  
ὄνους ἀλέτας παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ὀρύττοντες καὶ ποιοῦντες,  
εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἤγον καὶ ἐπώλουν, καὶ ἀνταγοφάζοντες σίτον  
ἔζων. Τὸ δὲ στρατεύμα ὃ σίτος ἐπέλειπε, καὶ πρίασθαι  
30 οὐκ ἦν, εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ Αὐδία ἀγορᾷ, ἐν τῷ Κύρου βαρβαρι-  
κῷ, τὴν καπίθην ἀλεύρων ἢ ἀλφίτων τεττάρων σίλων· Ὁ  
δὲ σίγλος δύναιται ἐπτὰ ὀβολοὺς καὶ ἡμιστόλιον Ἀττικῶς·  
ἡ δὲ καπίθη δύο χοίτικας Ἀττικῶς ἐχώρει. Κρέα οὖν ἐ-

for it withdrawn 2<sup>o</sup> a great deal of time  
in the state of it

σθλιότες οἱ στρατιῶται διεγίγνοντο. <sup>continues</sup> Ἦν δὲ τούτων τῶν  
σταθμῶν οὗς πᾶν μακροὺς ἤλαυνεν, ὁπότε ἢ πρὸς ὕδωρ  
βούλοιο διατελλέσθαι ἢ πρὸς χιλόν. Καὶ δὴ ποτε στεννο-  
ρίας καὶ πηλοῦ φανέντος ταῖς ἀμάξαις δυσπορεύτου, ἐπέβη  
ὁ Κύρος σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρίστοις καὶ εὐδαιμονεστά-  
τοις, καὶ ἔταξε Ἰλοῦν καὶ Πίγρητα, λαβόντας τοῦ βαρβα-  
ρικοῦ στρατοῦ συνεκβιβάσειν τὰς ἀμάξας. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκουν  
αὐτῷ σχολαίως ποιεῖν, ὥς περ ὀργῇ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς περὶ αὐ-  
τὸν Πέρσας τοὺς κραυγὰς συνεπισπεύσαι τὰς ἀμάξας.

Ἐνθα δὴ μέρος τι τῆς ἐταξίας ἦν θεάσασθαι. Ῥίπαντες 10  
γὰρ τοὺς πορφυροῦς κανόνας, ὅπου ἕκαστος ἔτυχεν ἰσθηκῶς  
ἔεντο, ὥς περ ἂν δράμοι τις περὶ νίκης, καὶ μάλα κατὰ πρό-  
θεσιν γηλόφου, ἔχοντες τοὺς τε τοὺς πολυτελεῖς χιτῶνας,  
καὶ τὰς ποικίλας ἀναξυρίδας· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ στρέπτους περὶ  
τοῖς τραχήλοις, καὶ ψέλλια περὶ ταῖς χερσίν· εὐθύς δὲ σὺν 15  
τούτοις ἐκπύδοντες εἰς τὸν πηλόν, θᾶπτον ἢ ὥς τις ἂν  
ῥετο, μετῴρους ἐξεκόμισαν τὰς ἀμάξας. Τὸ δὲ συμπαν  
δῆλος ἦν Κύρος ὥς σπεύδων πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδόν, καὶ οὐ δια-  
τρέβων, ὅπου μὴ ἐπισιτισμοῦ ἕνεκα ἢ τινὸς ἄλλου ἀναγκαί-  
ου ἐκαθέζετο· γομίζων, ὅσῳ μὲν ἂν θᾶπτον ἔλθοι, τοσού- 20  
τῳ ἀπαρασκευαστοτέρῳ βασιλεῖ μαχεσθαι, ὅσῳ δὲ σχολαιό-  
τερον, τοσούτῳ πλέον βασιλεῖ συναγείρεσθαι στρατεύμα.

Καὶ συνιδεῖν δ' ἦν τῷ προσέχοντι τὸν ροῦν ἢ βασιλέως  
ἀρχὴ πλήθει μὲν χώρας καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἰσχυρὰ οὖσα, τοῖς δὲ  
μήκεσι τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ τῷ διεσπασθαι τὰς θύνας αὐτῆς 25  
νῆς, εἴ τις οὐκ ταχέως τὸν πόλεμον ποιοῖτο.

Πέραν δὲ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ κατὰ τοὺς ἐρήμους  
σταθμούς ἦν πόλις εὐδαίων καὶ μεγάλη, ὄνομα δὲ Χαρ-  
μάδη· ἐκ ταύτης οἱ στρατιῶται ἠγορεύον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια,  
σχεδόντις διαβαλόντες ὧδε· Διφθέρας, ὡς εἶχον σκεπάσμα- 30  
τα, ἐπιμπλασαν χόρτου κούφου, εἰτα συνήγον καὶ συνεσπών,  
ὥς μὴ ἄπτεσθαι τῆς κάρφης τὸ ὕδωρ· ἐπὶ τούτων διέβαι-  
νον, καὶ ἐλάμβανον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, οἶνόν τε ἐκ τῆς βαλάνου

being disputed about something - having decided the  
Meno's soldier was in the wrong?

Κεφ. ε'.]

ΚΤΡΟΤ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΙΣ.

19

πεπονημένον τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ φοίνικος, καὶ οἶτον μέλινος.  
τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ πλείστον.

Ἀμφιλεξάντων δέ τι ἐνταῦθα τῶν τε τοῦ Μένωνος στρα-  
τιωτῶν καὶ τῶν τοῦ Κλεάρχου, ὁ Κλέαρχος, κρίνας ἀδικεῖν  
τὸν τοῦ Μένωνος, πλεῖστας ἐνέβαλεν, ὁ δ' ἔλθων πρὸς τὸ  
ἑαυτοῦ στρατεύμα ἐλεγεν· ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ στρατιῶται, ἐχα-  
λέπαινον, καὶ ὠργίζοντο ἰσχυρῶς τῷ Κλεάρχῳ. Τῇ δ' αὐτῇ  
ἡμέρᾳ Κλέαρχος, ἔλθων ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ  
ἐκεῖ κατασκεψάμενος τὴν ἀγοράν, ἀφίππευε ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ  
σκηνὴν διὰ τοῦ Μένωνος στρατεύματος σὺν ὀλίγοις τοῖς περὶ  
αὐτόν. [Κῦρος δ' οὐπὼ ἦκεν] ἀλλ' ἐτι προσήλανε τῶν δὲ  
Μένωνος στρατιωτῶν ξύλα σελῶν τις, ὡς εἶδε τὸν Κλέαρχον  
διακιννοῦν, ἵησι τῇ ἀσίνῃ· καὶ οὗτος μὲν αὐτοῦ ἤμαρτεν·  
ἄλλος δὲ λίθῳ καὶ ἄλλος, εἰτα πολλοί, κραυγῆς γενομένης.

15 Ὁ δὲ καταφεύγει εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στρατεύμα, καὶ εὐθὺς πα-  
ραγγελλεῖ εἰς τὰ ὅπλα· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας ἐκέλευσεν αὐ-  
τοῦ μείναι, τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὰ γόνατα θέντας· αὐτὸς δὲ  
λαβὼν τοὺς Θοράκας καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας, οἳ ἦσαν αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ  
στρατεύματι πλείους ἢ τετταράκοντα, [τούτων δὲ οἱ πλείστοι  
Θοράκες], ἤλυνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μένωνος, ὥστε ἐκείνους ἐκτε-  
πλήχθαι, καὶ αὐτὸν Μένωνα καὶ τοῦτον ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα. Οἱ  
δὲ καὶ ἔστασαν ἀποροῦντες τῷ πράγματι. Ὁ δὲ Πρόξενος  
(ἔτυχε γὰρ ὑστερος προσιών, καὶ τάξις αὐτῷ ἐπομένῃ τῶν  
ὀπλιτῶν) εὐθὺς οὖν εἰς τὸ μέσον ἀμφοτέρων ἄγων, εὐτετο

20 τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ εἰδεῖτο τοῦ Κλεάρχου, μὴ ποιεῖν τρυφά. Ὁ δὲ  
ἐγγέλωνται, ὅτι αὐτοῦ ὀλίγου δεήσαντος καταλεσθῆναι,  
πρὸς λέγει τὸ αὐτοῦ πάθος ἐκέλευε τε αὐτόν ἐκ τοῦ μέ-  
σου ἐξιστασθαι. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐπῆει καὶ Κῦρος καὶ ἐπύ-  
θετο τὸ πρᾶγμα· εὐθὺς δὲ ἔλαβε τὰ παλὰ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας,  
20 καὶ σὺν τοῖς παρούσι τῶν πιστῶν ἦκεν ἐλαύνων εἰς τὸ μέσον,  
καὶ λέγει ὧδε· “Κλέαρχε καὶ Πρόξενε, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ πα-  
ρόντες Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἴστε, ὃ τι ποιεῖτε. Εἰ γὰρ τινα ἀλλή-  
λοις μάχην συνάψετε, νομίζετε, ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐμέ τε κα-

will be instantly cut & pieces

τακενοψασθαι, καὶ ὑμᾶς οὐ πολὺ ἔμοῦ ὕστερον· κακῶς γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐχόντων, πάντες οὗτοι, οὓς ὁράτε, δούρβαροι πολεμιώτεροι ἡμῖν ἔσονται τῶν παρὰ βασιλεῖ ὄντων." Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κλέαρχος, ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔγενετο· καὶ πανσάμενοι ἀμφότεροι, κατὰ χώραν ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα.

### Κεφάλαιον 5'.

Ἐντεῦθεν προϊόντων, ἐφαίνετο ἵχνια ἵππων καὶ κόπρος· εἰκάζετο δὲ εἶναι ὁ στίβος ὥς διςχιλίων ἵππων. Οὗτοι προϊόντες ἔκαιον καὶ χιλὸν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο χρήσιμον ἦν. Ὁρόντης δέ, Πέρσης ἄνθρωπος, γένοι τε προσήκων βασιλεῖ, καὶ τὰ πολέμια λεγόμενος ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις Περσῶν, ἐπιβουλεύει το Κῦρῳ, καὶ πρόσθεν πολεμήσας, καταλλαγείς δέ. Οὗτος Κῦρῳ εἶπεν, εἰ αὐτῷ δολίῳ ἵππείας χιλούς, ὅτι τοὺς προκατακαίοντας ἵππείας ἢ κατακανοὶ ἂν ἐνεδρεύσας, ἢ ζώντας πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἔλοι, καὶ κωλύσεις τοῦ καλεῖν ἐπιόντας, καὶ ποιήσεις, ὥστε μήποτε δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς ἰδόντας τὸ Κίρου στράτευμα, βασιλεῖ διαγγεῖλαι. Τῷ δὲ Κῦρῳ ἀκούσαντι ταῦτα ἐδόκει ὠφέλιμα εἶναι· καὶ ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν λαμβάνειν μέρος παρ' ἐκάστου τῶν ἡγεμόνων.

Ὁ δὲ Ὁρόντης, νομίσας ἐτοιμούς αὐτῷ εἶναι τοὺς ἵππείας, γράφει ἐπιστολὴν παρὰ βασιλέα, ὅτι ἤξοι ἔχων ἵππείας ὥς ἂν δύνηται πλείστους· ἀλλὰ φράσαι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἵππεῦσιν ἐκέλευεν, ὥς φέλιον αὐτὸν ὑποδέχεσθαι. Ἐνῆν δ' ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ καὶ τῆς πρόσθεν φιλικῆς ὑπομνήματα καὶ πίστεως. Ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν δίδωσι πιστῷ ἀνδρὶ, ὥς ᾧτιο· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν Κῦρῳ δίδωσιν. Ἀναγνοὺς δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ Κῦρος, συλαλαμβάνει Ὁρόντην, καὶ συγκαλεῖ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκηνὴν Περσῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ· καὶ τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγούς ἐκέλευεν ὀπλίτας ἀγαγεῖν, τούτους δὲ θέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα περὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ σκηνήν. Οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίη-

σαν, ἀγαγόντες ὡς τρισχίλους ὀπλίτας. Κλέαρχον δὲ καὶ  
 εἰσὼ παρέκαλεσε σύμβουλον, ὃς καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 ἐδόκει προτιμηθῆναι μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξηλ-  
 θεν, ἐξηγγεῖλε τοῖς φίλοις τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ Ὀρόντου, ὡς ἐγέ-  
 νετο· οὐ γὰρ ἀπόρρητον ἦν. Ἐφη δὲ Κύρος ἄρχειν τοῦ

λόγου ὧδε·  
 Παρεκαλεσα ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὅπως σὺν ὑμῖν βουλευό-  
 μενος, ὅ τι δίκαιόν ἐστι καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων,  
 τοῦτο πράξω περὶ Ὀρόντου τούτου. Τούτον γὰρ πρῶτον

10 μὲν ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ ἔδωκεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμῶν εἶναι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 ταχθεὶς, ὡς ἔφη αὐτός, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοῦ οὗτος ἐπολέ-  
 μησεν ἐμοί, ἔγων τὴν ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν  
 15 πρὸς πολέμων ἐποίησα, ὥστε δοῦναι τούτῳ τοῦ πρὸς ἐμὲ πο-  
 λέμου παύσασθαι, καὶ δεξιὰν ἔλαβον καὶ ἔδωκα. Μετὰ

ταῦτα," ἔφη, "ὦ Ὀρόντα, ἔστιν, ὃ τί σε ἡδίκησα;" Ὁ δὲ  
 ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι οὐ. Πάλιν ὁ Κύρος ἠρώτα· "Οὐκοῦν ὕπαρ-  
 ρον, ὡς αὐτὸς σὺ ὁμολογεῖς, οὐδὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἀδικούμενος, απο-  
 20 σταὺς εἰς Μυσσοὺς κακῶς ἐποίηεις τὴν ἐμὴν χώραν ὃ τι ἐδύνω;"

Ἐφη ὁ Ὀρόντης. "Οὐκοῦν," ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, "ὅποι' αὖ ἔγ-  
 25 νως τὴν σεαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀρτεμίδος βω-  
 μόν, μεταμέλειν τέ σοι ἔφησθα, καὶ πείσας ἐμέ, πιστὰ πάντα  
 ἔδοκάς μοι, καὶ ἔλαβες παρ' ἐμοῦ;" Καὶ ταῦθ' ὁμολόγει ὁ

Ὀρόντης. "Τί οὖν," ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, "ἀδικηθεὶς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, νῦν  
 τὸ τρίτον ἐπιβουλευῶν μοι φανερός γέγονας;" Εἰπόντιος δὲ  
 30 τοῦ Ὀρόντου, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀδικηθεὶς, ἠρώτησεν ὁ Κύρος αὐ-  
 τόν· "Ὁμολογεῖς οὖν, περὶ ἐμὲ ἄδικος γεγενῆσθαι;" "Ἦ

35 γὰρ ἀνάγκη," ἔφη ὁ Ὀρόντης. Ἐκ τούτου πάλιν ἠρώτησεν  
 ὁ Κύρος· "Ἔτι οὖν ἂν γένοιο τῷ ἐμῷ ἀδελφῷ πολέμιος,  
 ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ φίλος καὶ πιστός;" Ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι "οὐδ'  
 40 εἰ γενοίμην, ὦ Κύρε, σοὶ γ' ἂν ἔτι ποτὲ δόξαιμι."

Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Κύρος εἶπε τοῖς παροῦσιν· "Ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ  
 τοιαῦτα μὲν πεποίηκε, τοιαῦτα δὲ λέγει· ὑμῶν δὲ σὺ πρῶ-  
 45 τος, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἀπόφηναι γνώμην, ὃ τι σοι δοκεῖ." Κλέαρ-

χος δὲ εἶπε τάδε· “ Συμβουλευόμενος ἐγώ, τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐκ-  
 πωδὼν ποιέεσθαι ὡς τάχιστα· ὡς μηκέτι δέη τοῦτον φυλάτ-  
 τεσθαι, ἀλλὰ σχολή ἢ ἡμῖν, τὸ κατὰ τοῦτον εἶναι, τοὺς ἐθε-  
 λοντάς φίλους τούτους ἐν ποιεῖν.” Ταύτη δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ ἔφη  
 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσθέσθαι. Μετὰ ταῦτα, κειμένους Κῦ-  
 ρου, ἐλάβοντο τῆς ζώνης τὸν Ὀρόντην ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, ἅπαντες  
 ἀνασταίντες καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς· εἶτα δὲ ἐξήγον αὐτὸν οἷς προς-  
 ετάχθη. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον αὐτὸν οἵπερ πρόουθεν προσκύνουν,  
 καὶ τότε προσκύνησαν, καί περ εἰδότες, ὅτι ἐπὶ θανάτῳ  
 ἄγοιτο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀρταπάτα σκηπὴν εἰσῆλθῃ, τοῦ  
 πιστοτάτου τῶν Κύρου σκηπτούχων, μετὰ ταῦτα οὔτε ζῶντα  
 Ὀρόντην, οὔτε τεθνηκότα οὐδεὶς πώποτε εἶδεν, οὐδ’ ὅπως  
 ἀπέθανεν οὐδεὶς εἰδὼς· ἔλεγεν· ἔκαστον δ’ ἄλλοι ἄλλως· τά-  
 φος δ’ οὐδεὶς πώποτε αὐτοῦ ἐφάνη.

### Κεφάλαιον ζ'.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας σταθμοὺς τρεῖς 15  
 παρασάγγας δώδεκα. Ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ σταθμῷ Κῦρος ἐξε-  
 τασιν ποιεῖται τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ  
 περὶ μέσας νύκτας· ἐδόκει γάρ, εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἔω ἤξειν  
 βασιλέα σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι μαχομένον· καὶ ἐκέλευε Κλέ-  
 αρχον μὲν τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως ἡγεῖσθαι, Μένωνα δὲ τὸν Θετ- 20  
 τάλον τοῦ εὐωνύμου· αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ διέταττε. Μετὰ  
 δὲ τὴν ἐξέτασιν ἅμα τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτόμολοι παρὰ με-  
 γάλου βασιλέως ἤκοντες ἀπήγγελλον Κῦρι περὶ τῆς βασι-  
 λέως στρατιᾶς. Κῦρος δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ  
 λοχαγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, συνεβουλευέτό τε, πῶς ἂν τὴν μάχην 25  
 ποιοίτο, καὶ αὐτὸς παρήγει θαρσύνων τοιαῦδε· “ Ὡς ἄνδρες  
 Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ἀπορῶν βαρβάρων συμμάχους ὑμᾶς  
 ἄγω, ἀλλὰ νομίζων, ἀμείνονας καὶ κρείττους πολλῶν βαρ-  
 βάρων ὑμᾶς εἶναι, διὰ τοῦτο προσέλαβον. Ὅπως οὖν

ἔσεσθε ἄνδρες ἄξιοι τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ἧς κέκτησθε, καὶ  
 [ὑπὲρ] ἧς ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ εὐδαιμονίζω. Εὐ γὰρ ἴατε, ὅτι τὴν  
 ἐλευθερίαν ἐλοίμην ἂν ἀντὶ ὧν ἔχω πάντων καὶ ἄλλων πολ-  
 λαπλασίων. Ὅπως δὲ καὶ εἰδῆτε, εἰς οἷον ἐρχεσθε ἀγῶνα,  
 5 ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς εἰδῶς διδάσκω. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ πλήθος πολλοί, καὶ  
 πολλῇ κραυγῇ ἐπίασιν· ἂν δὲ ταῦτα ἀνάσχησθε, τᾶλλα καὶ  
 αἰσχύνεσθαι μοι δοκῶ οἷους ἡμῶν γνώσεσθε τοὺς ἐν τῇ χώ-  
 ρῃ ὄντας ἀνθρώπους. Ἑμῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν ὄντων, καὶ εὐτόλ-  
 μων γενομένων, ἐγὼ ὑμῶν τὸν μὲν οἶκαδε βουλόμενον ἀπιέ-  
 10 ναι τοῖς οἴκοι ζηλωτὸν ποιήσω ἀπελθεῖν· πολλοὺς δ' οἶμαι  
 ποιήσιν τὰ παρ' ἐμοὶ ἐλῆσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν οἴκοι.

Ἐνταῦθα Γυνάτις παρών, φυγὰς Σάμιος, πιστὸς δὲ Κύ-  
 ρῳ, εἶπε· “Καὶ μὴν, ὦ Κύρε, λέγουσί τινες, ὅτι πολλὰ  
 ὑπισχνῇ νῦν, διὰ τὸ ἐν τοιούτῳ εἶναι τοῦ κινδύνου προσιόν-  
 15 τος· ἂν δ' εὐ γένηται τι, οὐ μεμνήσθαι σέ φασιν· ἐνιοὶ δὲ  
 οὐδ' εἰ μεμνήῳ τε καὶ βούλοιο, δύνασθαι ἂν ἀποδοῦναι, ὅσα  
 ὑπισχνῇ.” Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἔλεξεν ὁ Κύρῳ· “Ἄλλ' ἔστι μὲν  
 ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ πατρῴα, πρὸς μὲν μεσημβρίαν,  
 μέχρις οὐ διὰ καῦμα οὐ δύναται οἰκεῖν [οἱ] ἄνθρωποι·  
 20 πρὸς δὲ ἄρκτον, μέχρις ὅτου διὰ χειμῶνα· τὰ δ' ἐν μέσῳ  
 τούτων ἄπαντα σατραπεύουσιν οἱ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοῦ φίλοι.  
 “Ἴν' δ' ἡμεῖς νικήσωμεν, ἡμᾶς δεῖ τοὺς ἡμετέρους φίλους τού-  
 των ἐγκρατεῖς ποιῆσαι. Ὡστε οὐ τοῦτο δέδοικα, μὴ οὐκ  
 ἔχω ὅ τι δῶ ἐκάστω τῶν φίλων, ἂν εὐ γένηται, ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐκ  
 25 ἔχω ἱκανοὺς οἷς δῶ. Ἑμῶν δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ στέφανον  
 ἐκάστω χρυσοῦν δώσω.” Οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες αὐτοὶ τε  
 ἦσαν πολὺ προθυμότεροι, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐξήγγελλον. Εἰς-  
 ἦσαν δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν [οἱ τε στρατηγοί] καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλ-  
 λήνων τινες, <sup>οἱ δὲ ἐπιπλοῦντες εἰδέναι</sup> <sup>τὴν ἐξουσίαν</sup> ἐστὶ, ἐὰν κρατή-  
 30 σωσιν. <sup>οἱ δὲ ἐπιπλοῦντες ἁπαντῶν τὴν γνώμην ἀπέπεμπε.</sup>  
<sup>ἠαυτοὶ ἐκλεόντο</sup> αὐτῷ πάντες, ὅσοι περ διελέγοντο, μὴ  
<sup>ἠαυτοὶ ἐκλεόντο</sup> μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὀπίσθεν ἑαυτῶν ταττεῦσθαι. <sup>ἠαυτοὶ ἐκλεόντο</sup> Ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ  
 τούτῳ Κλέαρχος ὠδὲ πως ἤρετο Κύρον· “Οἷε γάρ σοι,

*ἐκτετακτοὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος*

ὦ Κύρε, μαχεῖσθαι τὸν ἀδελφόν;” “*Νή Δί’*,” ἔφη ὁ Κύρος,  
“*εἴπερ γε Δαρτίου καὶ Παρυσάτιδος ἐστὶ παῖς, καὶ ἐμὸς*  
*δὲ ἀδελφός, οὐκ ἄμαχέϊ ταῦτα ἐγὼ λήψομαι.*”

Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐν τῇ ἐξοπλιστῇ ἀριθμὸς ἐγένετο τῶν μὲν  
Ἑλλήνων ἄσπις μυρία καὶ τετρακοσία· πελτασταὶ δὲ 5  
διεχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι· τῶν δὲ μετὰ Κύρου βαρβάρων  
δέκα μυριάδες, καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα ἀμφὶ τὰ εἴκοσι.  
Τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἐλέγοντο εἶναι ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες,  
καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα διακόσια. Ἄλλοι δὲ ἦσαν ἐξα-  
κισχίλιοι ἱππεῖς, ὧν Ἀρταγέρσης ἦρχεν· οὗτοι δὲ πρὸ αὐ- 10  
τοῦ βασιλείως τεταγμένοι ἦσαν. Τοῦ δὲ βασιλείως στρα-  
τεύματος ἦσαν ἄρχοντες [καὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνες]  
τέτταρες, τριάκοντα μυριάδων ἕκαστος, Ἀβροκόμας, Τισ-  
σαφέρνης, Γωβρύας, Ἀρβιάκης. Τούτων δὲ παρεγένοντο  
ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐνενήκοντα μυριάδες, καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα 15  
ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα· Ἀβροκόμας γὰρ ὑστέρησε τῆς μά-  
χης ἡμέρας πέντε, ἐκ Φοινίκης ἐλαύνων. Ταῦτα δὲ ἡγγελ-  
λον πρὸς Κύρον οἱ αὐτομολήσαντες ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων παρὰ  
μεγάλου βασιλείως πρὸ τῆς μάχης· καὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην, οἱ  
ὑστερον ἐλήφθησαν τῶν πολεμίων, ταῦτα ἡγγελλον. Ἐν- 20  
τεῦθεν δὲ Κύρος ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἕνα παρασάγγας τρεῖς  
συντεταγμένῳ τῷ στρατεύματι παντὶ καὶ τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ καὶ  
τῷ βαρβαρικῷ· ὥς τε γὰρ ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μαχεῖσθαι βασιλεῖα·  
κατὰ γὰρ μέσον τὸν σταθμὸν τοῦτον τάφρος ἦν ὀρυκτὴ βα-  
θεῖα, τὸ μὲν εὖρος ὀργυαὶ πέντε, τὸ δὲ βάθος ὀργυαὶ 25  
τρεῖς. Παρετέτατο δὲ ἡ τάφρος ἄνω διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ἐπὶ  
δώδεκα παρασάγγας μέχρι τοῦ Μηδίας τείχους. Ἐνθα δὴ  
εἰσὶν αἱ διώρυχες ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ ῥέουσai· εἰσὶ  
δὲ τέτταρες, τὸ μὲν εὖρος πλεθριαῖαι, βαθεῖαι δὲ ἰσχυρῶς,  
καὶ πλοῖα πλεῖ ἐν αὐταῖς σιταγωγὰ· εἰσβάλλουσι δὲ εἰς τὸν 30  
Εὐφράτην, διαλεῖπουσι δὲ ἐκάστη παρασάγγην, γέφυραι δὲ  
ἔπειαι. Ἦν δὲ παρ’ αὐτὸν τὸν Εὐφράτην πάροδος στενὴ  
μεταξὺ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς τάφρου, ὡς εἴκοσι ποδῶν τὸ

εὔρος. Ταύτην δὲ τὴν τάφρον βασιλεὺς μέγας ποιεῖ ἀντὶ  
ἐρύματος, ἐπειδὴ πυνθάνεται Κῦρον προσελάνοντα. Ταύ-  
την τὴν πάροδον Κῦρός τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ παρῆλθε, καὶ  
ἐγένοντο εἰσω τῆς τάφρου. <sup>ταύτην μὲν οὖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὐκ</sup>  
<sup>ἔμαχαστο βασιλεὺς, ἀλλ' ὑποχωροῦντων</sup> φανερά ἦσαν καὶ  
ἵππων καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἰχνη πολλά. Ἐνταῦθα Κῦρος, Σι-  
λανὸν καλίσας, τὸν Ἀμβρακιώτην, μάντιν, ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ δα-  
ρεικούς τριςχιλούς, ὅτι τῇ ἑνδεκάτῃ ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας  
πρότερον θυόμενος εἶπεν αὐτῷ, ὅτι " βασιλεὺς οὐ μαχεῖται  
10 δέκα ἡμερῶν." Κῦρος δ' εἶπεν, " Οὐκ ἄρα ἐτι μαχεῖται,  
εἰ μὴ ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις μαχεῖται· ἐὰν δ' ἀληθεύσης,  
ὑπισχνοῦμαι σοι δέκα τάλαντα." Τοῦτο τὸ χρυσίον τότε  
ἀπέδωκεν, ἐπεὶ παρῆλθον αἱ δέκα ἡμέραι. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ τῇ  
τάφρῳ οὐκ ἐκώλυε βασιλεὺς τὸ Κύρου στρατεύμα διαβαίνειν,  
15 ἔδοξε καὶ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπελθεῖν αὐτῶν τοῦ μαχέ-  
σθαι· ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ Κῦρος ἐπορεύετο ἡμελημένος <sup>καὶ</sup> μα-  
λον. Τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἐπὶ τε τοῦ ἄρματος καθήμενος τὴν πο-  
ρεῖαν ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ ὀλίγους ἐν τάξει ἔχων πρὸ αὐτοῦ· τὸ  
δὲ πολὺ αὐτῷ ἀνατεταραγμένον ἐπορεύετο, καὶ τῶν ὅπλων  
20 τοῖς στρατιώταις πολλὰ ἐπὶ ἁμαζῶν καὶ ὑποζυγίων ἤγετο.

like getting carried.

### Κεφάλαιον η'.

Καὶ ἦδη τε ἦν ἀμφὶ ἀγορὰν πλήθουσιν, καὶ πλησίον ἦν  
ὁ σταθμός, ἔνθα ἔμελλε καταλύσειν, ἥνικα Παταγύας, ἀνὴρ  
Πέρσης, τῶν ἀμφὶ Κῦρον πιστῶν, προφαίνεται ἐλαύνων ἀνὰ  
κράτος ἰδροῦντι τῷ ἵππῳ· καὶ εὐθὺς πᾶσιν, οἷς ἐνετύχα-  
25 νεν, ἐβόα καὶ βαρβαρικῶς καὶ Ἑλληνικῶς, ὅτι βασιλεὺς  
[σὺν] στρατεύματι πολλῷ προσέρχεται, ὡς εἰς μάχην παρε-  
σκευασμένος. Ἐνθα δὴ πολὺς τάραχος ἐγένετο· αὐτίκα  
γὰρ ἐδόκουν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ πάντες δέ, αἰάκτοις υφίσιν ἐπι-  
πεσεῖσθαι. Καὶ Κῦρός τε καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρματος  
30 τὸν θάϊρακα ἐνίδυ, καὶ ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον, τὰ παλὰ εἰς

τὰς χεῖρας ἔλαβε, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις πᾶσι παρήγγελλεν ἐξοπλι-  
 ζεσθαι, καὶ καθίστασθαι εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τάξιν ἕκαστον. Ἐν-  
 θα δὴ σὺν πολλῇ σπουδῇ καθίσταντο, Κλέαρχος μὲν τὰ  
 δεξιὰ τοῦ κέρατος ἔχων, πρὸς τῷ Εὐφρατῇ ποταμῷ, Πρόξ-  
 ρος δὲ ἐχόμενος· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι μετὰ τοῦτον. Μένων δὲ καὶ τὸ  
 στράτευμα τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας εἶχε τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ. Τοῦ  
 δὲ βαρβαρικοῦ ἱππεῖς μὲν Παφλαγόνες εἰς χιλίους παρὰ Κλέ-  
 αρχον ἕστασαν ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ, καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πελταστικόν·  
 ἐν δὲ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ Ἀριαῖός τε ὁ Κύρου ὑπαρχος καὶ τὸ ἄλλο  
 βαρβαρικόν. Κύρος δὲ καὶ ἱππεῖς μετ' αὐτῷ ὅσον ἐξακό-  
 σιοι ὠπλισμένοι θώραξι μὲν αὐτοὶ καὶ παρυμητιδίοις καὶ  
 κράνεσι πάντες, πλὴν Κύρου· Κύρος δὲ ψιλῶν ἔχων τὴν  
 κεφαλὴν εἰς τὴν μάχην καθίστατο. Λέγεται, δὲ καὶ τοὺς  
 ἄλλους Πέρσας ψιλαῖς ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ διακιν-  
 οῦντο. Οἱ δ' ἵπποι ἅπαντες, οἱ μετὰ Κύρου, εἶχον καὶ ἱ-  
 πομετωπίδια καὶ προστερονίδια· εἶχον δὲ καὶ μαχαίρας οἱ  
 ἱππεῖς Ἑλληνικάς.

Καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν μέσον ἡμέρας, καὶ οὐπω καταφανεῖς ἦσαν  
 οἱ πολέμιοι· ἤνικα δὲ δέλη ἐγένετο, ἐφάνη κονιορτός, ὥσπερ  
 νεφέλη λευκή, χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ συχνῷ ὕστερον, ὥσπερ μελαγχρᾶ  
 τις ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐπιπολύ. Ὅτε δὲ ἐγγύτερον ἐγγίνοντο, τα-  
 χα δὴ καὶ χαλκός τις ἤστραπτε, καὶ αἱ λόγχαι καὶ αἱ μάχαι  
 καταφανεῖς ἐγίνοντο. Καὶ ἦσαν ἱππεῖς μὲν λευκοθώρακες  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου τῶν πολεμίων· Τισσαφέρνης ἐλέγετο τοῦ-  
 των ἄρχειν· ἐχόμενοι δὲ τούτων γαστροφόροι· ἐχόμενοι δὲ  
 ὀπλῖται σὺν ποδήρεσι ξυλίναις ἀσπίσιν· Αἰγύπτιοι [δὲ] οὐ-  
 τοι ἐλέγοντο εἶναι· ἄλλοι δ' ἱππεῖς, ἄλλοι τοξόται. Πάν-  
 τες [δὲ] οὗτοι κατὰ ἔθνη, ἐν πλησίῳ πληρεῖ ἀνθρώπων  
 ἕκαστον τὸ ἔθνος ἐπορεύετο. Πρὶν δ' αὐτῶν ἄρματα δια-  
 λείποντα συχρὸν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, τὰ δρεπανηφόρα καλούμενα  
 εἶχον δὲ τὰ δρέπανα ἐκ τῶν ἀξόνων εἰς πλάγιον ἀποτει-  
 μένα, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῖς δίφοις εἰς γῆν βλέποντα, ὥς διακό-  
 πτειν, ὅτῳ ἐντυχάνοιεν. Ἡ δὲ γνώμη ἦν, ὥς εἰς τὰς τάξεις

ing a considerable space between  
 the ranks

*divine into and cant. h. p. i. a. e. s. e. s.*  
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλόντων καὶ διακοφάντων. Ὁ μέντοι Κύρος  
 εἶπεν, ὅτε καλέσας παρεκελεύετο τοῖς Ἕλλησι, τὴν κραυγὴν  
 τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνέχεσθαι, ἐμμεύσθῃ τοῦτο· οὐ γὰρ κοινὴ ἦ,  
 ἀλλὰ σιγῇ ὡς *anfal as kounthi* *anfal as kounthi* *anfal as kounthi*  
 ἀνυστοὶν, καὶ ἡσυχῇ ἐν ἰσῷ καὶ βραδέως πρὸς-  
 5 ἦεσαν. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Κύρος, παρελαύνων αὐτοὺς σὺν Πί-  
 γρητι, τῷ ἑρμηνεῖ, καὶ ἄλλοις τρισὶν ἢ τέτταρσι, τῷ Κλέαρ-  
 χῳ ἐβόα, ἄγειν τὸ στράτευμα κατὰ μέσον τὸ τῶν πολεμίων,  
 ὅτι ἐκεῖ βασιλεὺς εἴη· “κᾶν τοῦτο,” ἔφη, “νικῶμεν, πάνθ’  
 ἡμῖν πεπολιῆται.” Ὅρῳν δὲ ὁ Κλέαρχος τὸ μέσον στίφος,  
 10 καὶ ἀκούων Κύρου ἔσω ὄντα τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ εὐωνύμου βα-  
 σιλία, (τοσοῦτον γὰρ *anfal as kounthi* *anfal as kounthi* *anfal as kounthi*  
 πληθεὶ περιήν βασιλεὺς, ὥστε μέσον τὸ  
 ἑαυτοῦ ἔχων τοῦ Κύρου εὐωνύμου ἔσω ἦν) ἀλλ’ ὅμως ὁ  
 Κλέαρχος οὐκ ἤθελεν ἀποσπάσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ δε-  
 ξιὸν κέρας, φοβούμενος, μὴ κυκλωθεῖη ἐκατέρωθεν· τῷ δὲ  
 15 Κύρῳ ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι αὐτῷ μέλοι, ὅπως καλῶς ἔχοι.  
*left coming*  
*in the water*  
*noted.*  
 Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ τὸ μὲν βαρβαρικὸν στράτευμα  
 ὁμαλῶς προΐει· τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικόν, ἔτι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μένον,  
 συνετάττετο ἐκ τῶν ἔτι προσιόντων. Καὶ ὁ Κύρος παρελαύ-  
 νων οὐ πάνυ πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ στρατεύματι, κατεθεᾶτο ἐκατέ-  
 20 ρωσε ἀποβλέπων εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς φίλους. Ἰδὼν  
 δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, ὑπελάσας  
 ὡς συναντῆσαι, ἤρετο, εἴ τι παραγγέλλοι· ὁ δ’ ἐπιστήσας  
 εἶπε, καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευε πᾶσιν, ὅτι τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ σφάγια κα-  
 λά [εἶη]. Ταῦτα δὲ λέγων, θορύβου ἤκυσσε διὰ τῶν τάξεων  
 25 ἰόντος, καὶ ἤρετο, τίς ὁ θόρυβος εἴη. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν, ὅτι  
 τὸ σύνθημα παρέρχεται δεύτερον ἤδη. Καὶ ὃς ἐθαύμασε, τίς  
 παραγγέλλει, καὶ ἤρετο, ὃ τι καὶ εἴη τὸ σύνθημα. Ὁ δὲ  
 ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι ΖΕΤΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΚΑΙ ΝΙΚΗ. Ὁ δὲ Κύρος  
 ἀκούσας, “Ἄλλα δέχομαι τε,” ἔφη, “καὶ τοῦτο ἔστω.” Ταῦ-  
 30 τα δὲ εἰπὼν, εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χοῖραν ἀπήλυνε· καὶ οὐκέτι  
 τρία ἢ τέτταρα στάδια ἀπειχέτην τῷ φάλαγγε ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων,  
 ἥνικα ἐπαϊάνιζόν τε οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ἤρχοντο ἀντίοι ἰέναι  
 τοῖς πολεμίοις. Ὡς δὲ πορευομένων ἐξεκύμαινέ τι τῆς φά-

λαγγος, τὸ ἐπιλειπόμενον ἤρξατο δρόμῳ θεῖν· καὶ ἄμα ἐφθίγγαντο πάντες, οἷον περ τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ ἐλελίξουσιν, καὶ πάντες δὲ ἔθενον. Λέγουσιν δὲ τινες, ὡς καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι πρὸς τὰ δόρατα ἐδούπησαν, φόβον ποιοῦντες τοῖς ἵπποις. Πρὶν δὲ τόξευμα ἐξικνεῖσθαι, ἐκκλίνουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ φεύγουσι. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐδίωκον μὲν κατὰ κράτος οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐβόων δὲ ἀλλήλοις, μὴ θεῖν δρόμῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τάξει ἔπεσθαι. Τὰ δὲ ἄρματα ἐφέρετο τὰ μὲν δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πολεμίων, τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, κενὰ ἡνιόχων. Οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ προῖδοιεν διίσταντο· ἔστι δὲ ὅστις καὶ κατελήφθη, 10 ὥς περ ἐν ἵπποδρόμῳ, ἐκπλαγείς· καὶ οὐδὲν μέντοι οὐδὲ τοῦτον παθεῖν ἔφασαν· οὐδὲ ἄλλος δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μίχῃ ἔπαθεν οὐδεὶς οὐδέν, πλὴν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ τοξευθῆναι τις ἐλέγετο.

Κῦρος δὲ ὁρῶν τοὺς Ἕλληνας νικῶντας τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς 15 καὶ διώκοντας, ἡδόμενος καὶ προσκυνούμενος ἤδη ὡς βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτόν, οὐδ' ὡς ἐξήχθη διώκειν· ἀλλὰ συνεσπειραμένην ἔχων τὴν τῶν σὺν ἑαυτῷ ἐξακοσίων ἱππέων τάξιν, ἐπεμελείτο, ὅ τι ποιήσει βασιλεὺς. Καὶ γὰρ ᾗδε αὐτόν 20 ὅτι μέσον ἔχοι τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος. Καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄρχοντες, μέσον ἔχοντες τὸ αὐτῶν ἡγοῦνται, νομίζοντες, οὕτως καὶ ἐν ἀσφαλεστάτῳ εἶναι, ἣν ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτῶν ἐκατέρωθεν ἦ, καὶ εἴ τι παραγγεῖλαι χρή- 25 ζοιεν, ἡμίσει ἂν χρόνῳ αἰσθάνεσθαι τὸ στράτευμα. Καὶ βασιλεὺς δὴ τότε μέσον ἔχων τῆς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιᾶς, ὅμως ἔξω ἐγένετο τοῦ Κύρου εὐωνύμου κέρατος. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ ἐμάχετο ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου, οὐδὲ τοῖς αὐτοῦ τεταγμένοις ἔμπροσθεν, ἐπέκαμπεν ὡς εἰς κύκλωσιν. Ἔνθα δὴ Κῦρος 30 δείσας, μὴ ὀπισθεν γενόμενος κατακόψει τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ἐλάυνει ἀντίος· καὶ ἐμβάλων σὺν τοῖς ἐξακοσίοις, νικᾷ τοὺς πρὸ βασιλείως τεταγμένους, καὶ εἰς φυγὴν ἔτρεψε τοὺς ἐξαικιχιλίους· καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι λέγεται αὐτὸς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ Ἀρταγέρσην, τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν.

Ὡς δὲ ἡ τροπὴ ἐγένετο, διασπείρονται καὶ οἱ Κύρου  
 εξακόσιοι, εἰς τὸ διώκειν ὀρμήσαντες· πλὴν πάνν ὅλλοι  
 ἀμφ' αὐτὸν κατελείφθησαν, σχεδὸν οἱ ὁμογράφευοι καλούμε-  
 νοι. Σὺν τούτοις δὲ ὢν, καθορᾷ βασιλεία καὶ τὸ ἀμφ' ἐκεί-  
 5 νον στίφος· καὶ εὐθύς οὐκ ἠνέσχετο, ἀλλ' εἰπὼν, "Ὁρῶ  
 τὸν ἄνδρα," ἔτο ἐπ' αὐτόν· καὶ παῖει κατὰ τὸ στέρνον,  
 καὶ τιτρώσκει διὰ τοῦ θώρακος, ὡς φησι Κτησίας, ὁ ἰατρός,  
 καὶ ἰᾶσθαι αὐτὸς τὸ τραῦμά φησι. Παίοντα δ' αὐτὸν ἀ-  
 κοντίζει τις παλτῶ ὑπὸ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν βιαίως· καὶ ἐνταῦθα  
 10 μαχόμενοι καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ Κύρος, καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτοὺς  
 ὑπὲρ ἑκατέρων, ὅπόσοι μὲν τῶν ἀμφὶ βασιλεία ἀπέθνησκον,  
 Κτησίας λέγει· παρ' ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἦν· Κύρος δὲ αὐτὸς τε  
 ἀπέθανε, καὶ ὁπῶ οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἔκειντο ἐπ'  
 αὐτῷ. Ἀρταπάτης δέ, ὁ πιστότατος αὐτῷ τῶν σκηπτούχων  
 15 θεράπων, λέγεται, ἐπειδὴ εἶδε πεπτωκότα Κύρον, καταπηδή-  
 σας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου περιπεσεῖν αὐτῷ. Καὶ οἱ μὲν φασι,  
 βασιλεία κελεῦσαί τινα ἐπισφάξαι αὐτὸν Κύρῳ· οἱ δέ, ἑα-  
 τὸν ἐπισφάξασθαι, σπασάμενον τὸν ἀκινάκην· εἶχε γὰρ  
 χρυσοῦν· καὶ στρεπτόν δὲ ἐφόρει καὶ ψέλλια καὶ τὰ ἄλλα,  
 20 ὡς περ οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν Περσῶν· ἐτετίμιτο γὰρ ὑπὸ Κύρου  
 δι' εὐνοίαν τε καὶ πιστότητα.

### Κεφάλαιον Θ'.

Κύρος μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀνὴρ ὢν Περσῶν τῶν  
 μετὰ Κύρον τὸν ἀρχαῖον γενομένων βασιλικωτάτος τε καὶ  
 ἀρχεῖν ἀξιώτατος, ὡς παρὰ πάντων ὁμολογεῖται τῶν Κύρου  
 25 δοκούντων ἐν πείρᾳ γενέσθαι. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ παῖς ἔτι  
 ὢν, ὅτε ἐπαιδευέτο καὶ σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 παισὶ, πάντων πάντα κράτιστος ἐνομίζετο. Πάντες γὰρ οἱ  
 τῶν ἀρίστων Περσῶν παῖδες ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλικῷς θύραις παι-  
 δεύονται· ἐνθα πολλὴν μὲν σωφροσύνην καταμάθαι ἄν τις,

αἰσχρὸν δ' οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀκούσαι, οὔτ' ἰδεῖν ἐστὶ. Θεῶνται δ' οἱ παῖδες καὶ τοὺς τιμωμένους ὑπὸ βασιλείᾳ καὶ ἄλλους τιμαζομένους· ὥστ' εὐθὺς παῖδες ὄντες μανθάνουσιν ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι. Ἐνθα Κῦρος αἰδημονεύτατος μὲν πρῶτον ὦν ἡλικιωτῶν ἐδόκει εἶναι, τοῖς τε πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὑποδεεστέρων μᾶλλον πείθεσθαι· ἔπειτα δὲ φιλιππότατος, καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις ἄριστα χρῆσθαι. Ἐκρίνον δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἔργων, τοξικῆς τε καὶ ἀκοντίσεως, ριλομαθεύτατον εἶναι καὶ μελετηρότατον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ἔπρεπε, καὶ φιλοθηρότατος ἦν, καὶ πρὸς τὰ θηρία μέντοι φιλοκινδυνότατος. Καὶ ἄρκτον ποτὲ ἐπιφερομένην οὐκ ἔτρεψεν, ἀλλὰ συμπεσὼν κατεσπᾶσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔπαθεν, ὧν καὶ τὰς ὠτειλὰς φανερὰς εἶχε, τέλος δὲ κατέκτανε· καὶ τὸν πρῶτον μέντοι βοηθήσαντα πολλοῖς μακαριστὸν εἶναι ἐποίησεν. 15

Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεπέμφθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς σατράπης Λυδίας τε καὶ Φρυγίας τῆς μεγάλης καὶ Καππαδοκίας, στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ πάντων ἀπεδείχθη, οἷς καθήκει εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδίου ἀθροῖσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπέδειξεν αὐτόν, ὅτι περὶ πλείστου ποιοῖτο, εἴ τῳ υπεῖσαιτο, καὶ εἴ τῳ συνθοῖτο, καὶ 20 εἴ τῳ ὑπόσχοιτό τι, μηδὲν ψεύδεσθαι. Καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἐπίστευον μὲν αὐτῷ αἱ πόλεις ἐπιτρεπόμεναι, ἐπίστευον δ' οἱ ἄνδρες· καὶ εἴ τις πολέμιος ἐγένετο, σπεισμένου Κύρου, ἐπίστευε, μηδὲν ἂν παρὰ τὰς σπονδὰς παθεῖν. Τοιγαροῦν ἐπεὶ Τισσαφέρνει ἐπολέμησε, πᾶσαι αἱ πόλεις ἐκοῦσαι Κῦρον εἶλοντο ἀντὶ Τισσαφέρνους, πλὴν Μιλησίων· οὗτοι δέ, ὅτι οὐκ ἤθελε τοὺς φεύγοντας προσέσθαι, ἐφοβοῦντο αὐτόν. Καὶ γὰρ ἔργῳ ἐπεδείκνυτο, καὶ ἔλεγεν, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποτε προοῖτο, ἐπεὶ ἅπαξ αὐτοῖς φίλος ἐγένετο, οὐδ' εἴ τι μὲν μέλους γένοιτο, ἔτι δὲ καὶ κάκιον πράξειαν. Φανερός δ' ἦν, 30 καὶ εἴ τις τι ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν ποιήσειεν αὐτόν, νικᾷν πειρώμενος· καὶ εὐχὴν δὲ τινες αὐτοῦ ἐξέφερον, ὥς εὐχοίτο, τοσοῦτον χρόνον ζῆν, ἔστε νικῶν καὶ τοὺς εὐ καὶ τοὺς κα-

κῶς ποιῶντας ἀλεξόμενος. Καὶ γὰρ οὖν πλεῖστοι δὴ αὐτῷ, ἐνὶ γε ἀνδρί, τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐπεθύμησαν καὶ χρήματα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα προέσθαι.

Οὐ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἂν τις εἴποι, ὥς τοὺς κακούργους  
 5 καὶ ἀδίκους εἶα καταγελαῖν, ἀλλ' ἀφειδέστατα πάντων ἐτιμωρεῖτο. Πολλάκις δ' ἦν ἰδεῖν παρὰ τὰς στιβομένους ὁδοὺς καὶ ποδῶν καὶ χειρῶν καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν στερουμένους ἀνθρώπους· ὥστε ἐν τῇ Κύρου ἀρχῇ ἐγένετο καὶ Ἑλληνι καὶ βαρβάρῳ, μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντι, ἀδεῶς πορεύεσθαι, ὅποι τις ἤθελεν, ἔχοντι  
 1) ὅ τι προχωροῖη. Τοὺς γε μέντοι ἀγαθοὺς εἰς πόλεμον ὁμολόγητο διαφερόντως τιμᾶν. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ πόλεμος πρὸς Πεισιίδας καὶ Μυσούς· στρατεύόμενος οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς ταύτας τὰς χώρας, οὓς ἑώρα ἐθελόντας κινδυνεύειν, τούτους καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐποίει, ἧς κατεστρέφετο χώρας,  
 15 ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις δώροις εἰμίμα· ὥστε φαίνεσθαι τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς, εὐδαιμονεστάτους, τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς, δούλους τούτων ἀξιοῦν εἶναι. Τοιγαροῦν πολλὴ ἦν ἀφθονία αὐτῷ τῶν ἐθελόντων κινδυνεύειν, ὅπου τις οἶοιτο Κύρον αἰσθῆσεσθαι.

20 Εἰς γε μὴν δικαιοσύνην εἴ τις αὐτῷ φανερὸς γένοιτο ἐπιδεικνυσθαι βουλόμενος, περὶ παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο τούτους πλουσιωτέρους ποιεῖν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδίκου φιλοκερδούντων. Καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ δικαίως αὐτῷ διεχειρίζετο, καὶ στρατεύματι ἀληθινῷ ἐχρήσατο. Καὶ γὰρ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχα-  
 25 γοὶ οὐ χρηματίων ἕνεκα πρὸς ἐκείνον ἐπλευσαν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσαν κερδαλειώτερον εἶναι, Κύρῳ καλῶς πειθαρχεῖν, ἢ τὸ κατὰ μῆνα κέρδος. Ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ τις γέ τι αὐτῷ προστάξαντι καλῶς ὑπηρετήσειεν, οὐδενὶ πώποτε ἀχάριστον εἶασε τὴν προθυμίαν. Τοιγαροῦν κράτιστοι δὴ ὑπηρεταὶ παντὸς  
 30 ἔργου Κύρῳ ἐλέχθησαν γενέσθαι. Εἰ δὲ τινα ὀρεγὴ δεινὸν ὄντα οἰκονόμον ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου, καὶ κατασκευάζοντά τε, ἧς ἄρχοι· χώρας, καὶ προσόδους ποιοῦντα, οὐδένα ἂν πώποτε ἀφείλετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰεὶ πλείω προσεδίδου· ὥστε καὶ ἡδίας

ἐπόνουν, καὶ θαρσάλως ἐκτῶντο, καὶ ἃ πέπατο αὐτὸς τις, ἥκιστα Κῦρον ἐκρυπτεν· οὐ γὰρ φθονῶν τοῖς φανερώς πλουτοῦσιν ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλὰ πειρώμενος χρῆσθαι τοῖς τῶν ὑποκρυπτομένων χρήμασι. Φίλους γε μὴν ὅσους ποιήσαιο, καὶ εὐνοὺς γνῶν ὄντας, καὶ ἱκανοὺς κρίνειε συνεργοὺς εἶναι, ὅτι τυγχάνει βουλόμενος κατεργάζεσθαι, ὁμολογεῖται πρὸς πάντων κράτιστος δὴ γενέσθαι θεραπεύειν. Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οὐπερ αὐτὸς ἔνεκα φίλων ᾤετο δεῖσθαι, ὡς συνεργοὺς ἔχει, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπειράτο συνεργὸς τοῖς φίλοις κράτιστος εἶναι τούτου, ὅτου ἕκαστον αἰσθάνοιτο ἐπιθυμοῦντα. 10

Δῶρα δὲ πλεῖστα μὲν, οἶμαι, εἰς γε ἀνὴρ ὢν ἐλάμβανε διὰ πολλὰ· ταῦτα δὲ πάντων δὴ μάλιστα τοῖς φίλοις διεδίδου, πρὸς τοὺς τρόπους ἑκάστου σκοπῶν, καὶ ὅτου μάλιστα ὀρώη ἕκαστον δεόμενον. Καὶ ὅσα τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ κόσμον πέμποι τις ἢ ὡς εἰς πόλεμον ἢ ὡς εἰς καλλωπισμόν, καὶ περὶ 15 τούτων λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο τούτοις πᾶσι κοσμήσαι, φίλους δὲ καλῶς κεκοσμημένους μέγιστον κόσμον ἀνδρὶ νομίζοι. Καὶ τὸ μὲν τὰ μεγάλα νικᾶν τοὺς φίλους εὖ ποιοῦντα, οὐδὲν θαναμαστόν, ἐπειδὴ γε καὶ δυνατώτερος ἦν· τὸ δὲ τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ περιεῖ- 20 ναι τῶν φίλων, καὶ τῷ προθυμεῖσθαι χαρῆς εἶναι, ταῦτα μᾶλλον ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ἀγαστὰ εἶναι. Κῦρος γὰρ ἔπεμπε βίβλους οἶνον ἡμιδεῖς πολλάκις, ὁπότε πάννυ ἡδὺν λάβοι, λέγων, ὅτι “οὐπω δὴ πολλοῦ χρόνου τούτου ἡδίστον οἶνον ἐπὶ τύχοι· τοῦτον οὖν σοι ἔπεμψε, καὶ δεῖται σου, τοῦτον ἐκ- 25 πιεῖν τήμερον σὺν οἷς μάλιστα φιλεῖς.” Πολλάκις δὲ χῆνας ἡμιβρώτους ἔπεμπε, καὶ ἄρτων ἡμίσεια, καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, ἐπιλέγειν κελύων τὸν φέροντα· “Τούτοις ἦσθι Κῦρος· βούλεται οὖν καὶ σὲ τούτων γεύσασθαι.” Ὅπου δὲ χιλὸς σπᾶνιος πάννυ εἴη, αὐτὸς δ' ἐδύνατο παρασκευάσασθαι διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς ἔχειν ὑπερήτας, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, διαπέμπων ἐκέλευε τοὺς φίλους, τοῖς τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα ἄγουσιν ἱπ- 30 ποῖς ἐμβάλλειν τοῦτον τὸν χιλόν, ὡς μὴ πεινῶντες τοὺς ἐ-

αυτοῦ φίλους ἄγωνσιν. Εἰ δὲ δὴ ποτε πορεύοιτο, καὶ πλείστοι μέλλοιεν ὄψεσθαι, προσκαλῶν τοὺς φίλους ἐσπουδαίολογείτο, ὡς δηλοῖη, οὓς τιμᾷ ὥστε ἔγωγε, ἐξ ὧν ἀκούω, οὐδένα κρίνω ὑπὸ πλειόνων πεφιλησθαι οὔτε Ἑλλήνων, οὐτε βαρβάρων. Τεκμήριον δὲ τούτου καὶ τόδε· παρὰ μὲν Κύρου, δούλου ὄντος, οὐδεὶς ἀπῆει πρὸς βασιλεία· πλήν Ὀρόντας ἐπεχείρησε· καὶ οὗτος δέ, ὃν ὤετο πιστόν οἱ εἶναι, ταχὺ αὐτὸν εὔρε Κύρῳ φιλαίτερον, ἢ ἑαυτῷ· παρὰ δὲ βασιλείως πολλοὶ πρὸς Κύρον ἀπῆλθον, ἐπεὶ πολέμιοι ἀλλήλοις ἐγένοντο, καὶ οὗτοι μέντοι οἱ μάλιστα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀγαπώμενοι, νομίζοντες, παρὰ Κύρῳ ὄντες ἀγαθοὶ ἀξιωτέρας ἂν τιμῆς τυγχάνειν ἢ παρὰ βασιλεῖ. Μῆγα δὲ τεκμήριον καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου αὐτῷ γενόμενον, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ἀγαθός, καὶ κρίνειν ὁρθῶς ἐδύνατο τοὺς πιστοὺς καὶ εὐνοὺς καὶ βεβαίους. Ἀποθνήσκοντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ, πάντες οἱ παρ' αὐτὸν φίλοι καὶ συντράπεζοι μαχόμενοι ἀπέθανον ὑπὲρ Κύρου, πλήν Ἀριαίου· οὗτος δὲ τεταγμένος ἐτύχχανεν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ, τοῦ ἵππικου ἄρχων· ὡς δ' ᾗσθητο Κύρον πεπτωκότα, ἔφυγεν, ἔχων καὶ τὸ σιδηρὸν  
 20 τευμα πᾶν, οὗ ἡγεῖτο.

### Κεφάλαιον ι'.

Ἐνταῦθα δὴ Κύρου ἀποτίμεται ἡ κεφαλὴ καὶ χεὶρ ἡ δεξιὰ. Βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ διαίκων εἰσπίπτει εἰς τὸ Κυρεῖον στρατόπεδον· καὶ οἱ μὲν μετὰ Ἀριαίου οὐκέτι ἴστανται, ἀλλὰ φεύγουσι διὰ τοῦ αὐτῶν στρατοπέδου  
 25 εἰς τὸν σταθμόν, ἐνθ' ἐν ὥρμητο· τέτταρες δὲ ἐλέγοντο παρασύγγαι τῆς ὁδοῦ εἶναι. Βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τά τε ἄλλα πολλὰ διαρπάζουσιν, καὶ τὴν Φωκαΐδα τὴν Κύρου παλλακίδα, τὴν σοφὴν καὶ καλὴν λεγομένην εἶναι, λαμβάνει. Ἡ δὲ Μηλσιὰ, ἡ νεωτέρα, ληφθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν

ἀμφὶ βασιλείᾳ, ἐκφεύγει γυμνὴ πρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οἱ ἔτυχον ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις ἔπλα ἔχοντες, καὶ ἀντιταχθέντες, πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀρπάζοντων ἀπέκτειναν, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον· οὐ μὴν ἔφυγόν γε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην ἔσωσαν, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, ὅποσα ἐντὸς αὐτῶν καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἄνθρωποι ἐγένοντο, πάντα ἔσωσαν. Ἐνταῦθα διέσχον ἀλλήλων βασιλεὺς τε καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ὡς τριάκοντα στάδια, οἱ μὲν διώκοντες τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς, ὡς πάντας νικῶντες· οἱ δὲ ἀρπάζοντες, ὡς ἤδη πάντες νικῶντες. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσθοντο οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες, ὅτι βασιλεὺς σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις εἶη, βασιλεὺς δ' αὖ ἤκουσε Τισσαφέρνους, ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληνες νικῶεν τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν οἰχοίντο διώκοντες, ἐνταῦθα δὴ βασιλεὺς μὲν ἀθροίζει τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ συντάττεται· ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἐβουλεύετο, Πρόξενον καλέσας (πλησιαιτάτος γὰρ ἦν), εἰ πέμποιεν τινας, ἧ πάντες ἴοιεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀρῆζοντες.

Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ βασιλεὺς πάλιν δῆλος ἦν προσιών, ὡς ἐδόκει, ὅπισθεν· καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες συστραφέντες παρεσκευάζοντο, ὡς ταύτῃ προσιόντες καὶ δεξόμενοι· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ταύτῃ μὲν οὐκ ἤγεν, ἧ δὲ παρῆλθεν, ἔξω τοῦ εὐωνύμου κέ-  
 ρατος, ταύτῃ καὶ ἀπήγαγεν, ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας αὐτομολήσαντας, καὶ Τισσαφέρνην, καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. Ὁ γὰρ Τισσαφέρνης ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συνόδῳ οὐκ ἔφυγεν, ἀλλὰ διήλασε παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας πελταστας· διελαύνων δὲ κατέκανε μὲν οὐδένα, δια-  
 στάντες δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔπαιον καὶ ἠκόντιζον αὐτούς· Ἐπισθίνης δὲ Ἀμφιπολίτης ἦρχε τῶν πελταστῶν, καὶ ἐλέγετο φρόνιμος γενέσθαι. Ὁ δ' οὖν Τισσαφέρνης ὡς μεῖον ἔχων ἀπηλλάγη, πάλιν μὲν οὐκ ἀναστρέφει, εἰς δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφικόμενος τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐκεῖ συντυγχάνει βασιλεῖ, καὶ  
 ὁμοῦ δὴ πάλιν συνταξάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσαν κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν Ἑλλήνων κέρας, ἔδρισαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, μὴ προσάγοιεν πρὸς τὸ κέρας, καὶ περιπτύξαντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν

- αὐτοὺς κατακόψειαν· καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ἀναπτύσσειν τὸ κέ-  
 ρας, καὶ ποιήσασθαι ὅπισθεν τὸν ποταμόν. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα  
 ἐβουλευόντο, καὶ δὴ βασιλεὺς παραμειψάμενος εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ  
 σχῆμα κατέστησεν ἀντίαν τὴν φάλαγγα, ὥσπερ τὸ πρῶτον  
 6 μαχοῦμενος συγῆει. Ὡς δὲ εἶδον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐγγὺς τε ὄντας  
 καὶ παρατεταγμένους, αὐθις παιανίσαντες ἐπήευσαν πολὺ ἔτι  
 προθυμότερον, ἢ τὸ πρόσθεν. Οἱ δ' αὖ βάρβαροι οὐκ ἐδέ-  
 χοντο, ἀλλ' ἐκ πλείονος ἢ τὸ πρόσθεν ἔφευγον· οἱ δ' ἐπεδί-  
 ωκον μέχρι κόμης τινός· ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἔστησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες·  
 10 ὑπὲρ γὰρ τῆς κόμης γήλοφος ἦν, ἐφ' οὗ ἀνεστράφησαν οἱ  
 ἀμφὶ βασιλέα, πεζοὶ μὲν οὐκέτι, τῶν δὲ ἱππέων ὁ λόφος ἐτε-  
 πλήθη, ὥστε τὸ ποιούμενον μὴ γινώσκειν. Καὶ τὸ βασι-  
 λειον σημεῖον ὁρᾶν ἔφασαν, αἰτόν τινα χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ πέλιτις  
 ἀνατεταμένον.
- 15 Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐχώρουν οἱ Ἕλληνες, λείπουσι δὴ καὶ  
 τὸν λόφον οἱ ἱππεῖς· οὐ μέντοι ἔτι ἀθρόοι, ἀλλ' ἄλλοι ἄλ-  
 λοθεν· ἐφιλοῦτο δ' ὁ λόφος τῶν ἱππέων· τέλος δὲ καὶ πάν-  
 τες ἀπεχώρησαν. Ὁ οὖν Κλέαρχος οὐκ ἀνεβίβασεν ἐπὶ τὸν  
 λόφον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ αὐτὸν στήσας τὸ στράτευμα, πέμπει Λύκιον  
 20 τὸν Συρακούσιον καὶ ἄλλον ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον, καὶ κτελέει, κατι-  
 δόντας τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λόφου, τί ἐστὶν ἀπαγγεῖλαι. Καὶ ὁ  
 Λύκιος ἤλασε [τε] καὶ ἰδὼν ἀπαγγέλλει, ὅτι φεύγουσιν ἀνὰ  
 κράτος. Σχεδὸν δ' ὅτε ταῦτα ἦν, καὶ ἥλιος ἐδύετο. Ἐν-  
 ταῦθα δ' ἔστησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ θήμεροι τὰ ὅπλα ἀνεπαύ-  
 25 οντο· καὶ ἅμα μὲν ἐθαύμαζον, ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ Κῦρος φαίνοιτο,  
 οὐδ' ἄλλος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οὐδεὶς παρῆει· οὐ γὰρ ᾗδεσαν αὐτὸν  
 τεθνηκότα, ἀλλ' εἵκαζον, ἢ διώκοντα οἴχεσθαι, ἢ καταληψό-  
 μερόν τι προεληλακέναι· καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐβουλευόντο, εἰ αὐτοῦ  
 μέιναντες τὰ σκευοφόρα ἐνταῦθα ἄγοιτο, ἢ ἀπίοιεν ἐπὶ τὸ  
 30 στρατιόπεδον. Ἐδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἀπιέναι· καὶ ἀφικνούνται  
 ἀμφὶ δόρυπιστον ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς. Ταύτης μὲν οὖν τῆς ἡμέ-  
 ρας τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο. Καταλαμβάνουσι δὲ τῶν τε  
 ἄλλων χρημάτων τὰ πλεῖστα διηρπασμένα, καὶ εἴ τι σιτίον ἢ

ποτὸν ἦν· καὶ τὰς ἁμάξας μεστὰς ἀλεύρων καὶ οἴνου, ἃς παρεσκευάσατο Κῦρος, ἵνα, εἴ ποτε σφοδρὰ λάβοι τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔνδεια, διαδοίῃ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν· ἦσαν δ' αὗται, ὥς ἐλέγοντο, τετρακόσiai ἁμαξαι· καὶ ταύτας τότε οἱ σὺν βασιλεῖ διήρπασαν. Ὡς τε ἄδειπνοι ἦσαν οἱ πλείστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἀνάριστοι· πρὶν γὰρ δὴ καταλῦσαι τὸ στρατεύμα πρὸς ἄριστον, βασιλεὺς ἐφάνη. Τήντην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα οὕτω διεγίνοντο.

# ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

## ΚΥΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΕΩΣ

### ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ.

#### Κεφάλαιον α'.

ἮΝ ΜΕΝ ΟὖΝ ἡθροίσθη Κύρῳ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ὁπότε ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀρταξέρξην ἐστρατεύετο, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῇ ἀνδρῷ ἐπράχθη, καὶ ὡς ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, καὶ ὡς Κύρος ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐλθόντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκοιμήθησαν, οἷόμενοι τὰ πάντα νικᾶν, καὶ Κύρον ζῆν, ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν λόγῳ διεδήλωται. Ἄμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ συνελθόντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐθαύμαζον, ὅτι Κύρος οὔτε ἄλλον πέμποι σημανοῦντα, ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν, οὔτ' αὐτὸς φαίνοιτο. Ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς, συσκευασαμένοις, ἃ εἶχον, καὶ ἐξοπλισαμένοις, προῖεναι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν, ἕως Κύρῳ συμμῖξιαν. Ἦδη δὲ ἐν ὁρμῇ ὄντων, αὐτὸν ἤλπιον ἀνίσχοντι ἦλθε Προκλῆς, ὁ Τευθρανίας ἄρχων, γεγωνὺς ἀπὸ Λαμαράτου τοῦ Λάκωνος, καὶ Γλοῦς ὁ Ταμώ. Οὗτοι ἔλεγον, ὅτι Κύρος μὲν τέθνηκεν, Ἀριαῖος δὲ πεφηνγὼς ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ εἴη μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων, ὅθεν τῇ προτεραίᾳ ὠρμῶντο· καὶ λέγοι, ὅτι “ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν περιμενέειν ἂν αὐτούς, εἰ μέλλοιεν ἥκειν· τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ ἀπιέναι φαίη ἐπὶ Ἰωνίας, ὅθεν περ ἦλθε.” Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες [πυνθανόμενοι], βαρβαρίαις ἔφερον. Κλέαρχος δὲ τὰδε εἶπεν· “Ἄλλ' ὠφελε μὲν Κύρος ζῆν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τετελεύτηκεν, ἀπαγγέλλετε Ἀριαίῳ, ὅτι ἡμῖς

γε νικῶμεν βασιλεία, καί, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν ἐτι μάχεται· καὶ εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς ἤλθετε, ἐπορευόμεθα ἂν ἐπὶ βασιλεία. Ἐπαγγελόμεθα δὲ Ἀριαίῳ, ἔαν ἐνθάδε ἔλθῃ, εἰς τὸν θρόνον τὸν βασιλείον καθίσειν αὐτόν· τῶν γὰρ τὴν μάχην νικῶντων καὶ τὸ ἄρχειν ἐστὶ." Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀποστέλλει τοὺς ἄγγέλους, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Χαιρίσοφον τὸν Λάκωνα, καὶ Μέωννα τὸν Θετταλόν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ Μείων ἐβούλετο· ἦν γὰρ φίλος καὶ ξένος Ἀριαίου. Οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντο, Κλέαρχος δὲ περιέμεινε. Τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἐπορεύετο σῖτον, ὅπως ἐδύνατο, ἐκ τῶν ὑποζυγίων, κόπτοντες τοὺς βούς καὶ ὄνους· 10 ἐξυλοὶς δ' ἐχρῶντο, μικρὸν προΐόντες ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος, οὗ ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, τοῖς τε οἰστοῖς, πολλοῖς οὖσιν, οὓς ἠνάγκαζον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς αὐτομολοῦντας παρὰ βασιλείως, καὶ τοῖς γέφροις, καὶ ταῖς ξυλλίταις ἀσπίσι ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις· πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πέλται, καὶ ἄμαξαι ἦσαν φέρεσθαι ἔρημοι· 15 οἷς πᾶσι χρωόμενοι, κρεῖα ἔσποντες ἡσθιον ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν.

Καὶ ἦδη τε ἦν περὶ πληθούσαν ἀγοράν, καὶ ἔρχονται παρὰ βασιλείως καὶ Τισσαφέρνης κήρυκες, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι, βάμβαροι· ἦν δὲ αὐτῶν Φαλῖνος εἰς Ἕλληνα, ὃς ἐτύγγανε παρὰ Τισσαφέρνηι ὦν, καὶ ἐντίμως ἔχων· καὶ γὰρ προσποιεῖτο 20 ἐπιστήμων εἶναι τῶν ἀμφὶ τὰς τάξεις τε καὶ ὁπλομαχίαν. Οὗτοι δὲ προσελθόντες τε, καὶ καλέσαντες τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄρχοντας, λέγουσιν, ὅτι " βασιλεὺς κελεύει τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐπεὶ νικῶν τυγχάνει, καὶ Κῦρον ἀπέκτονε, παραδόντας τὰ ὅπλα, ἰόντας ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλείως θύρας, εὐρίσκεσθαι ἦν τι 25 δύνωνται ἀγαθόν." Ταῦτα μὲν εἶπον οἱ βασιλείως κήρυκες· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες βαρέως μὲν ἤκουσαν, ὅμως δὲ Κλέαρχος τοσούτον εἶπεν, ὅτι " οὐ τῶν νικῶντων εἴη τὰ ὅπλα παραδιδόναι· ἀλλ', " ἔφη, " ὑμεῖς μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες στρατηγοί, τούτοις ἀποκρίνασθε, ὃ τι κάλλιστόν τε καὶ ἄριστον ἔχετε· ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτίκα ἤξω." Ἐκάλεισε γὰρ τις αὐτόν τῶν ὑψηρωτέρων, ὅπως ἴδοι τὰ ἱερὰ ἐξηρημένα· ἔτυχε γὰρ θυόμενος. Ἐνθα δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο Κλεάνωρ μὲν ὁ Ἀρκάς, πρεσβύτατος ὦν, ὅτι " προ-

σθεν ἂν ἀποθάνοιεν, ἢ τὰ ὄπλα παραδοῖεν." Πρόξενος δὲ ὁ  
Θηβαῖος, "Ἄλλ' ἐγώ," ἔφη, "ὦ Φαλῖνε, θανμάζω, πότερα ὡς  
κρατῶν βασιλεὺς αἰτεῖ τὰ ὄπλα, ἢ ὡς διὰ φιλιαν δῶρα. Εἰ  
μὲν γὰρ ὡς κρατῶν, τί δεῖ αὐτὸν αἰτεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐ λαβεῖν ἐλθόν-  
5 τα; εἰ δὲ πείσας βούλεται λαβεῖν, λέγεται, τί ἐστὶ τοῖς στρα-  
τιώταις, ἐὰν αὐτῶ ταῦτα χαρίσωνται." Πρὸς ταῦτα Φαλῖνος  
εἶπε, "Βασιλεὺς νικᾷν ἡγεῖται, ἐπεὶ Κῦρον ἀπέκτονε. Τίς  
γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐστὶν ὅστις ἀρχῆς ἀντιποιεῖται; Νομίζει δὲ καὶ  
ὑμᾶς ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι, ἔχων ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χώρῃ, καὶ ποτα-  
10 μῶν ἐντὸς ἀδιαβάτων· καὶ πληθὺς ἀνθρώπων ἐφ' ὑμᾶς δυ-  
νάμενος ἀγαγεῖν, ὅσον, οὐδ' εἰ παρέχοι ὑμῖν, δύνασθ' ἂν  
ἀποκτεῖναι."

Μετὰ τοῦτον Θεόπομπος Ἀθηναῖος εἶπεν· "ὦ Φαλῖνε,  
νῦν, ὡς σὺ ὀρᾷς, ἡμῖν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸν εἰ μὴ ὄπλα  
15 καὶ ἀρετή. Καὶ ὄπλα μὲν οὖν ἔχοντες, οἰόμεθα ἂν καὶ τῇ  
ἀρετῇ χρῆσθαι· παραδόντες δ' ἂν ταῦτα, καὶ τῶν σωματίων  
στερηθῆναι. Μὴ οὖν οἶον, τὰ μόνα ἡμῖν ἀγαθὰ ὄντα ὑμῖν  
παραδώσειν· ἀλλὰ σὺν τούτοις καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀγα-  
θῶν μαχοῦμεθα." Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Φαλῖνος ἐγέλασε,  
20 καὶ εἶπεν· "Ἄλλὰ φιλοσόφῳ μὲν ἔοικας, ὦ νεανίσκε, καὶ  
λέγεις οὐκ ἀχάριστα· ἴσθι μέντοι ἀνόητος ὢν, εἰ οἶε ἂν  
τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀρετὴν περιγενέσθαι τῆς βασιλείας δυνάμεως."  
Ἄλλους δὲ τινὰς ἔφασαν λέγειν ὑπομαλακισμένους, "ὡς καὶ  
Κύρῳ πιστοὶ ἐγένοντο, καὶ βασιλεῖ γ' ἂν πολλοὺ ἀξιοὶ γέ-  
25 νοιντο, εἰ βούλοιο φίλος γενέσθαι· καὶ εἴτε ἄλλο τι θέλοι  
χρῆσθαι, εἴτ' ἐπ' Αἰγυπτίῳ στρατεύειν, συγκαταστρέψαιντ' ὥν  
αὐτῷ." Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Κλέαρχος ἦκε, καὶ ῥωτήτησεν, εἰ ἦδη  
ἀποκεκριμένοι εἶεν. Φαλῖνος δ' ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν· "Οὗτοι  
μὲν, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἄλλος ἄλλα λέγει· σὺ δ' ἡμῖν εἰπέ, τί λέγεις."  
30 Ὁ δ' εἶπεν· "Ἐγώ σε, ὦ Φαλῖνε, ἄσμενος ἐώρακα, οἶμαι δὲ  
καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες οὗτοι· σὺ τε γὰρ Ἕλληνας εἰ, καὶ ἡμεῖς, το-  
σοῦτοι ὄντες, ὅσους σὺ ὀρᾷς· ἐν τοιούτοις δὲ ὄντες πράγμασι  
συμβουλευόμεθά σοι, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, περὶ ὧν λέγεις. Σὺ οὖν,

πρὸς Θεῶν, συμβούλευσεν ἡμῖν, ὃ τί σοι δοκεῖ κάλλιστον καὶ ἄριστον εἶναι, καὶ ὃ σοι τιμὴν οὔσῃ εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον ἀναλεγόμενον, ὅτι Φαλῖνος ποτὲ πεμφθεὶς παρὰ βασιλείως, κελύσων τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὰ ὄπλα παραδοῦναι, συμβουλευομένοις συνεβούλευσεν αὐτοῖς τάδε. Οἶσθα δέ, ὅτι ἀνάγκη λεί- 5 γασθαι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ὃ ἂν συμβουλευῇς.” Ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ταῦτα ὑπήγετο, βουλόμενος καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν παρὰ βασιλείως πρεσβεύοντι συμβουλευσαι, μὴ παραδοῦναι τὰ ὄπλα, ὅπως εὐέλπιδες μᾶλλον οἱ Ἕλληνες εἴεν. Φαλῖνος δ’ ὑποστρέψας, παρὰ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ εἶπεν ὥδε· 10

“Ἐγώ, εἰ μὲν τῶν μυρίων ἐλπίδων μία τις ὑμῖν ἐστί, σω-  
θῆναι πολεμοῦντας βασιλεῖ, συμβουλεύω, μὴ παραδιδόναι τὰ  
ὄπλα· εἰ δὲ τοι μηδεμίαν σωτηρίαν ἐστὶν ἐλπίς ἄκοντος βα-  
σιλείως, συμβουλεύω σώζεσθαι ὑμῶν ὅπη δυνατόν.” Κλέαρ- 15  
χος δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπεν· “Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ σὺ λέγεις· 15  
παρ’ ἡμῶν δὲ ἀπάγγελλε ταῦτα, ὅτι ἡμεῖς οἰόμεθα, εἰ μὲν  
δέοι βασιλεῖ φίλους εἶναι, πλείονος ἂν ἄξιοι εἶναι φίλοι,  
ἔχοντες τὰ ὄπλα, ἢ παραδόντες ἄλλῳ· εἰ δὲ δέοι πολεμεῖν,  
ἄμεινον ἂν πολεμεῖν, ἔχοντας τὰ ὄπλα, ἢ παραδόντες ἄλλῳ.”  
Ὁ δὲ Φαλῖνος εἶπε· “Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἀπαγγελοῦμεν· ἀλλὰ 20  
καὶ τάδε ὑμῖν ἐκέλευσεν εἰπεῖν βασιλεύς, ὅτι μένουσι μὲν  
ὑμῖν αὐτοῦ σπονδαὶ εἴησαν, προϊῶσαι δὲ καὶ ἀπιούσαι πόλε-  
μος. Εἴπατε οὖν καὶ περὶ τούτου, πότερα μενεῖτε καὶ σπον-  
δαὶ εἰσιν, ἢ ὥς πολέμον ὄντος παρ’ ὑμῶν ἀπαγγελῶ.” Κλέ-  
αρχος δ’ ἔλεξεν· “Ἀπάγγελλε τοίνυν καὶ περὶ τούτων, ὅτι καὶ 25  
ἡμῖν ταῦτα δοκεῖ, ἅπερ καὶ βασιλεῖ.” “Τί οὖν ταῦτ’ ἐστίν;”  
ἔφη ὁ Φαλῖνος. Ἀπεκρίνατο Κλέαρχος· “Ἦν μὲν μένουμεν,  
σπονδαί· ἀπιούσαι δὲ καὶ προῖούσαι, πόλεμος.” Ὁ δὲ πάλιν  
ῥώτησε· “Σπονδαὶ ἢ πόλεμον ἀπαγγελῶ;” Κλέαρχος δὲ  
ταῦτά πάλιν ἀπεκρίνατο· “Σπονδαὶ μὲν μένουσιν, ἀπιούσαι 30  
δὲ ἢ προῖούσαι πόλεμος.” Ὁ τι δὲ ποιήσῃ, αὐτὸν διεσήμανα.

## Κεφάλαιον β'.

Φαλῖνος μὲν δὴ ὄχλητο, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ. Οἱ δὲ παρὰ Ἀριαίου ἦγον, Προκλῆς καὶ Χυρίσσοφος· Μένων δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔμνε παρὰ Ἀριαίῳ· οὗτοι δὲ ἔλεγον, ὅτι “ πολλοὺς φαίη Ἀριαῖος εἶναι Πέρσας ἑαυτοῦ βελτίους, οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἀνασχέ-  
 5 σθαι αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντος· ἀλλ’ εἰ βούλεσθε συναπιέναι, ἥκειν ἥδη κελεύει τῆς νυκτός· εἰ δὲ μή, αὐτὸς πρῶτ’ ἀπιέναι φησίν.” Ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπεν· “ Ἀλλ’ οὕτω χρὴ ποιεῖν, ἐὰν μὲν ἤκωμεν, ὥσπερ λέγετε· εἰ δὲ μή, πρῶτ’ ἐγώ, ὅποιον ἂν τι ὑμῖν οἴησθε μάλιστα συμφέρον.” Ὁ τι δὲ ποιήσοι, οὐδὲ  
 10 τούτοις εἶπε. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ἥδη ἥλιον δύνοντος, συγκα-  
 λίσας τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς, ἔλεξε τοιαῦτα· “ Ἐμοί, ὦ ἄνδρες, θυομένῳ, ἰέναι ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ, οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερὰ. Καὶ εἰκότως ἄρα οὐκ ἐγίγνετο. Ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ νῦν πυρρῶ-  
 15 ναι, ἐν μέσῳ ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλείᾳς ὁ Τίγρης ποταμός ἐστι ναυσίπορος, ὃν οὐκ ἂν δυναίμεθα ἄνευ πλοίων διαβῆναι·  
 πλοῖα δ’ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἔχομεν. Οὐ μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ γε μένων εἰδόν-  
 τε· τὰ γὰρ ἐπιτήδεια οὐκ ἔστιν ἔχειν· ἰάναι δὲ παρὰ τοὺς Κύρου φίλους, πάντῃ καλὰ ἡμῖν τὰ ἱερὰ ἦν. Ὡς οὖν χρὴ  
 ποιεῖν· ἀπιόντας δειπνεῖν, ὃ τί τις ἔχει· ἐπειδὴν δὲ  
 20 σημήνῃ τῷ κέρατι, ὥς ἀναπαύεσθαι, συσκευάζεσθε· ἐπει-  
 δὴν δὲ τὸ δεύτερον, ἀνατίθεσθε ἐπὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια· ἐπὶ  
 δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ, ἐπεσθε τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, τὰ μὲν ὑποζύγια ἔχοντες πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τὰ δὲ ὅπλα ἔξω.” Ταῦτα  
 ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἀπῆλθον, καὶ  
 25 ἐποίησαν οὕτω· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὃ μὲν ἤρχεν, οἱ δ’ ἐπεί-  
 θοντο, εὖχ’ ἐλόμενοι, ἀλλ’ ὀρώντες, ὅτι μόνος ἐφρόνει, οἷα δὲ  
 τὸν ἄρχοντα, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἄπειφοι ἦσαν. Ἀριθμὸς δὲ τῆς  
 ὁδοῦ, ἣν ἤλθον ἐξ Ἐφέσου τῆς Ἰωνίας μέχρι τῆς μάχης, σταθ-  
 μοὶ τρεῖς καὶ ἐνετήκοντα, παρασάγγαι πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα  
 30 καὶ πεντακῶσιοι, στάδιοι πενήτηκοντα καὶ ἑκακισχίλιοι καὶ

μύριοι · ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης ἐλέγοντο εἶναι εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, σταδίοι ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακόσιοι.

Ἐντεῦθεν δὴ, ἐπεὶ σκότιος ἐγένετο, Μιτοκύνθης μὲν ὁ Θράξ, ἔχων τοὺς τε ἱππίας τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ τῶν πεζῶν Θρακῶν ὡς τριακοσίους, ἡντομόλησε πρὸς βασιλεία. Κλείαρχος δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγήετο κατὰ τὰ παρηγγελμένα, οἱ δ' εἶποντο · καὶ ἀφικνουῦνται εἰς τὸν πρῶτον σταθμὸν παρὰ Ἀριαῖον καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου στρατιὰν ἀμφιμέσας νύκτας · καὶ ἐν τάξει θέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα, συνῆλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων παρὰ Ἀριαῖον · καὶ ὡμοσαν οἱ τε Ἕλληνες καὶ ὁ Ἀριαῖος, καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ οἱ κράτιστοι, μήτε προδώσειν ἀλλήλους, σύμμαχοί τε ἔσεσθαι · οἱ δὲ βύβαροι προσώμοσαν, καὶ ἡγήσεσθαι ἀδόλως. Ταῦτα δ' ὡμοσαν, σφάξαντες ταῦρον, καὶ λύκον, καὶ κάπρον, καὶ κριόν, εἰς ἀσπίδα βάπτοντες οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ξίφος, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι λόγχην. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ πιστὰ ἐγένετο, εἶπεν ὁ Κλείαρχος · “Ἄγε δὴ, ὦ Ἀριαῖε, ἐπείπερ ὁ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν στόλος ἐστὶ καὶ ὑμῖν, εἰπέ, τίνα γνώμην ἔχεις περὶ τῆς πορείας · πότερον ἄπιμεν, ἢνπερ ἤλθομεν, ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ ἐννεονηκέναι δοκεῖς ὁδὸν κρείττω;” Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν · “Ἦν μὲν ἤλθομεν ἀπὸντες, παντελῶς ἂν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἀπολοίμεθα · ὑπάρχει γὰρ νῦν ἡμῖν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. Ἐπτακαίδεκα γὰρ σταθμῶν τῶν ἐγγυτάτω οὐδὲ δεῦρο ἰόντες ἐκ τῆς χώρας οὐδὲν εἶχομεν λαμβάνειν · ἐνθα δ' εἴ τι ἦν, ἡμεῖς διεπορευόμενοι κατεδαπανήσαμεν. Νῦν δ' ἐπινοοῦμεν πορεύεσθαι μακροτέραν μὲν, τῶν δ' ἐπιτηδείων οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν. Πορευτέον δ' ἡμῖν τοὺς πρώτους σταθμοὺς ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα μακροτάτους, ἵνα ὡς πλείστον ἀποσπασθῶμεν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στρατεύματος · ἦν γὰρ ἅπαξ δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπόσχωμεν, οὐκέτι μὴ δύνηται βασιλεὺς ἡμᾶς καταλαβεῖν. Ὀλίγω μὲν γὰρ στρατεύματι οὐ τολμήσει ἐφύπεσθαι · πολὺν δὲ ἔχων στόλον, οὐ δυνήσεται ταχέως πορεύεσθαι · ἴσως δὲ

καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπανιεῖ. Ταύτην," ἔφη, "γνώμην ἔχω ἔγωγε."

Ἦν δ' αὖτις ἡ στρατηγία οὐδὲν ἄλλο δυναμένη, ἢ ἀποδράναι ἢ ἀποφυγεῖν· ἡ δὲ τύχη ἐστρατήγησε κάλλιον.  
 5 Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, ἐπορεύοντο, ἐν διεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν ἥλιον, λογιζόμενοι ἦξειν ἅμα ἡλίῳ δύνοντι εἰς κόμας τῆς Βαβυλωνίας χώρας· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐφύσθησαν. Ἔτι δὲ ἀμφὶ δειλὴν ἔδοξαν πολεμίους ὄραν ἰππίας· καὶ τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων οἳ μὴ ἔτυχον ἐν ταῖς τάξεσιν ὄντες, εἰς  
 10 τὰς τάξεις ἔθρον, καὶ Ἀριαῖος (ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἐφ' ἀμάξης πορευόμενος, διότι ἐτέρωτο) καταβὰς ἐθωρακίζετο, καὶ οἳ σὺν αὐτῷ. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ὠπλίζοντο, ἤκον λέγοντες οἳ προπεμφθέντες σκοποί, ὅτι οὐκ ἰππεῖς εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ ὑποζύγια νέμονται. Καὶ εὐθὺς ἔγνωσαν πάντες, ὅτι ἐγγὺς που ἐστρα-  
 15 τοπεδεύετο βασιλεὺς· καὶ γὰρ καὶ καπνὸς ἐφαίνετο ἐν κόμαις οὐ πρόσω. Κλέαρχος δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἦγεν· ἦδει γὰρ καὶ ἀπειρηκότας τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ ἀσπίτους ὄντας· ἦδη δὲ καὶ ὅψε ἦν· οὐ μέντοι οὐδ' ἀπέκλινε, φυλαττόμενος, μὴ δοκοῖη φεύγειν· ἀλλ' ἐνθ' ὄρωρον ἄγων,  
 20 ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ δυομένῳ εἰς τὰς ἐγγυτάτω κόμας τοὺς πρώτους ἔχων κατεσκήνωσεν, ἐξ ὧν διηρπάστο ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν ξύλα. Οἳ μὲν οὖν πρώτοι ὁμῶς τρόπῳ τινὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο, οἳ δὲ ὕστεροι σκοταῖοι προσιόντες, ὥς ἐτύγχανον ἕκαστοι, ἠύλλζοντο, καὶ κραυγὴν  
 25 πολλὴν ἐποίουν καλοῦντες ἀλλήλους, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀκούειν· ὥστε οἳ μὲν ἐγγύτατα τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἔφυγον ἐκ τῶν σκηνωμάτων. Δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο τῇ ὕστεραιᾷ ἐγένετο· οὔτε γὰρ ὑποζύγιον ἔτι οὐδὲν ἐφάνη, οὔτε στρατόπεδον, οὔτε καπνὸς οὐδαμοῦ πλησίον. Ἐξεπλάγῃ δέ, ὥς  
 30 ἔοικε, καὶ βασιλεὺς τῇ ἐφόδῳ τοῦ στρατεύματος· ἐδήλωσε δὲ τοῦτο οἷς τῇ ὕστεραιᾷ ἔπραττε. Προϊούσης μέντοι τῆς νυκτὸς ταύτης, καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι φόβος ἐμπίπτει, καὶ θόρυβος καὶ δοῦπος ἦν, οἷον εἰκὸς φόβου ἐμπεσόντος γίγνεσθαι.

Κλέαρχος δὲ Τολμίδην Ἠλείον, ὃν ἐτύγγανεν ἔχων παρ' ἑαυτῷ κήρυκα ἄριστον τῶν τότε, τοῦτον ἀνειπεῖν ἐκέλευσε, σιγὴν κατακηφύζαντα, ὅτι προαγορεύουσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες, ὃς ἂν τὸν ἀφέντα τὸν ὄνον εἰς τὰ ὄπλα μνηύσῃ, οἱ λήψεται μισθὸν τάλαντον ἀργυρίου. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκηρύχθη, 5 ἔγνωσαν οἱ στρατιῶται, ὅτι κενὸς ὁ φόδος εἴη, καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες σῶοι. Ἄμικ δὲ ὄρθρῳ παρήγγειλε Κλέαρχος εἰς τάξιν τὰ ὄπλα τίθισθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἥπερ εἶχον, ὅτε ἦν ἡ μάχη.

### Κεφάλαιον γ'.

Ὁ δὲ δὴ ἔγραψα, ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἐξαπλάγῃ τῇ ἐφόδῳ τῇδε, 10 δῆλον ἦν· τῇ μὲν γὰρ πρόσθεν ἡμέρᾳ πέμπων τὰ ὄπλα παραδιδόναι ἐκέλευε, τότε δὲ ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνατέλλοντι κήρυκας ἐπεμψε περὶ σπονδῶν. Οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἤλθον πρὸς τοὺς προφύλακας, ἐζήτουν τοὺς ἄρχοντας. Ἐπειδὴ δ' ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ προφύλακες, Κλέαρχος, τυχὼν τότε τὰς τάξεις ἐπισκοπῶν, 15 εἶπε τοῖς προφύλαξι, πελεύειν τοὺς κήρυκας περιμένειν, ἄχρις ἂν σχολάσῃ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατίστησε τὸ στράτευμα, ὥς τε καλῶς ἔχειν ὁρᾶσθαι πάντη φάλαγγα πυκνὴν, τῶν δὲ ἀόπλων μηδένα καταφανῇ εἶναι, ἐκάλεσέ τοὺς ἀγγέλους, καὶ αὐτός τε προῆλθε, τοὺς τε εὐοπλοτάτους ἔχων καὶ εὐεΐθεστάτους τῶν 20 αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς ταῦτα ἔφρασεν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν πρὸς τοῖς ἀγγέλοις, ἀτηρώτα, τί βούλουτο. Οἱ δ' ἔλεγον, ὅτι “περὶ σπονδῶν ἤκοιεν ἄνδρες, ὅτινες ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται, τά τε παρὰ βασιλέως τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀπαγγεῖλαι, καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων βασιλεῖ.” Ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο· “Ἀπαγγέλλετε τοῖς αὐτῷ, ὅτι μάχης δεῖ πρῶτον· 25 ἄριστον γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδὲ ὁ τολμήσων περὶ σπονδῶν λέγειν τοῖς Ἕλλησι, μὴ πορίσας ἄριστον.” Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἀγγελοὶ ἀπήλαυνον, καὶ ἦκον ταχέ· ὃ καὶ δῆλον ἦν, ὅτι

ἐγγύς που ἦν βασιλεὺς ἢ ἄλλος τις, ὃς ἐπετέτακτο ταῦτα πράττειν· ἔλεγον δέ, ὅτι “εἰκότα δοκοῖεν λέγειν βασιλεῖ, καὶ ἡκοισαν ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες, οἱ αὐτούς, ἐὰν [αἱ] σπονδαὶ γίνωνται, ἄξουσιν, ἐνθεν ἔξουσι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.” [Ὁ δ’ ἡρώια, εἰ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσι σπένδοιτο ἰοῦσι καὶ ἀπιούσιν, ἡ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔσονται σπονδαί. Οἱ δέ, “Ἀπασιν,” ἔφασαν, “μέχρις ἂν βασιλεῖ τὰ παρ’ ὑμῶν διαγγελῇ.” Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα εἶπον, μεταστησάμενος αὐτοὺς ὁ Κλέαρχος, ἐβουλεύετο· καὶ ἐδόκει ταχὺ τὰς σπονδὰς ποιῆσθαι, καὶ καθ’ ἡσυχίαν ἐλθεῖν τε 10 ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ λαβεῖν. Ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπε· “Δοκεῖ μὲν καὶ ἐμοὶ ταῦτα· οὐ μέντοι ταχὺ γε ἀπαγγελῶ, ἀλλὰ διατρίψω, ἔστ’ ἂν ὀκνήσωσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι, μὴ ἀπεδόξῃ ἡμῖν τὰς σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι· οἶμαί γε μέντοι,” ἔφη, “καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις στρατιώταις τὸν αὐτὸν φόβον παρέσεσθαι.” Ἐπεὶ δὲ 15 ἐδόκει καιρὸς εἶναι, ἀπήγγελλεν, ὅτι σπένδοιτο, καὶ εὐθὺς ἡγῆσθαι ἐκέλευε πρὸς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἡγοῦντο, Κλέαρχος μέντοι ἐπορεύετο, τὰς μὲν σπονδὰς ποιήσασμενος, τὸ δὲ στρατεύμα ἔχων ἐν τάξει· καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὠπισθοφυλάκει. Καὶ ἐνετύγχανον τάφροις καὶ 20 ἀνὼσι πλήρεσιν ὕδατος, ὥς μὴ δύνασθαι διαβαίνειν ἄνευ γεφυρῶν· ἀλλ’ ἐποιοῦντο διαβάσεις ἐκ τῶν φοινίκων, οὓς ἦσαν ἐκπεπτωκότες, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξέκοπτον. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἦν Κλέαρχον καταμαθεῖν ὥς ἐπεσιτάτει, ἐν μὲν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ τὸ δόρυ ἔχων, ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ βακτηρίαν· καὶ εἰ τις 25 αὐτῷ δοκοίη τῶν πρὸς τοῦτο τεταγμένων βλακεύειν, ἐκλεγόμενος τὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἔπαισεν ἄν, καὶ ἅμα αὐτὸς προσελάμβανε, εἰς τὸν πηλὸν ἐμβαλὼν· ὥστε πᾶσιν αἰσχύνην εἶναι, μὴ οὐ συσπουδάσειν. Καὶ ἐτάχθησαν μὲν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότες· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Κλέαρχον ἐώραν 30 σπονδάζοντα, προσελάμβανον καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι. | Πολὺν δὲ μᾶλλον ὁ Κλέαρχος ἔσπευδεν, ὑποπτεύων μὴ αἰεὶ οὕτω πλήρεις εἶναι τὰς τάφρους ὕδατος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὥρα οἷα τὸ πεδίον ἄρδεν· ἀλλ’ ἵνα ἤδη πολλὰ προφαίνετο τοῖς “Ἐλ-

λῃσι δεινὰ εἰς τὴν πορείαν, τοῦτου ἕνεκα βασιλέα ὑπώπτευεν ἐπὶ τὸ πεδίον τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφικέσθαι.

Πορευόμενοι δὲ ἀφίκοντο εἰς κώμας, ὅθεν ἀπιδέξαν οἱ ἡγούμενοι λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Ἐτὴν δὲ σῖτος πολὺς, καὶ οἶνος φοινίκων, καὶ ὄσος ἰψητὸν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν. Αὐ- 5  
ται δὲ αἱ βάλατοι τῶν φοινίκων, οἷας μὲν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, τοῖς οἰκέταις ἀπέκειντο· αἱ δὲ τοῖς δεσπόταις ἀποκείμεναι ἦσαν ἀπόλεκτοι, θανατάσαι τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος· ἡ δὲ ὄψις ἡλίκτρον οὐδὲν διέφερε· τὰς δὲ τινὰς 10  
ξηραίνοντες τραγήματα ἀπετίθεσαν. Καὶ ἦν καὶ παρὰ πό-  
τον· ἡδὺ μὲν, κεφαλαγίς δέ. Ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον τοῦ φοινίκος πρῶτον ἔφαγον οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ ἐθαύμαζον τὸ τε εἶδος, καὶ τὴν ιδιότητα τῆς ἡδονῆς. Ἦν 15  
δὲ σφόδρα καὶ τοῦτο κεφαλαγίς. Ὁ δὲ φοῖνιξ, ὅθεν ἐξαι-  
ρεθεῖν ὁ ἐγκέφαλος, ὅλος ἐξηυαίνεται. 16

Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· καὶ παρὰ μεγάλου βασι-  
λέως ἦκε Τισσαφέρνης, καὶ ὁ τῆς βασιλείας γυναικὸς ἀδελ-  
φός, καὶ ἄλλοι Πέρσαι τρεῖς· δοῦλοι δὲ πολλοὶ εἶποντο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήντησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοί, ἔλεγε 20  
πρῶτον Τισσαφέρνης δι' ἱερμηνέως τοιαῦτα· 20

“Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, γέλωι οἰκῶ τῇ Ἑλλάδι· καὶ 25  
ἐπεὶ ὑμᾶς εἶδον εἰς πολλὰ [κακὰ] καμίσχانا ἐμπεπτωκότας, εὖρημα ἐποιησάμην, εἴ πως δυναίμην παρὰ βασιλείως αἰτή-  
σασθαι, δοῦναι μοι, ἀποσῶσαι ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Οἶμαι γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀχαρίστως μοι ἔχειν, οὔτε πρὸς ὑμῶν 26  
οὔτε πρὸς τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπάσης. Ταῦτα δὲ γνούς, ἡτούμην βασιλεῖα, λέγων αὐτῷ, ὅτι δικαίως ἂν μοι χαρίζοιτο, ὅτι αὐ-  
τῷ Κύρῳ τε ἐπιστρατεύοντα πρῶτος ἡγγεῖλα, καὶ βοήθειαν ἔχων ἅμα τῇ ἀγγελίᾳ ἀφικόμεν· καὶ μόνος τῶν κατὰ τοὺς 30  
Ἕλληνας τεταγμένων οὐκ ἔφυγον, ἀλλὰ διήλασα, καὶ συνέ- 30  
μιξα βασιλεῖ ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ στρατοπέδῳ, ἔνθα βασιλεὺς ἀφίκετο, ἐπεὶ Κύρον ἀπέκτεινε· καὶ τοὺς σὺν Κύρῳ βαρ-  
βάρους ἐδίωξα σὺν τοῖςδε τοῖς παροῦσι νῦν μετ' ἐμοῦ, οἱ-

περ αὐτῷ εἰσι πιστότατοι. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ὑπέσχετό μοι βουλευσασθαι· ἔρσθαι δέ με ὑμᾶς ἐκέλευσεν ἐλθόντα, τίνος ἔνεκα ἐστρατεύσατε ἐπ' αὐτόν. Καὶ συμβουλευέω ὑμῖν, μετρίως ἀποκρίνασθαι, ἵνα μοι εὐπρακτότερον ᾦ, εἴαν τι δύ-  
5 νωμαι ἀγαθὸν ὑμῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ διαπράξασθαι."

Πρὸς ταῦτα μεταστάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐβουλευόντο, καὶ ἀπεκρίναντο· Κλέαρχος δὲ ἔλεγεν· "Ἡμεῖς οὔτε συνήλθο-  
μεν, ὥς βασιλεῖ πολεμήσοντες, οὔτ' ἐπορευόμεθα ἐπὶ βασι-  
λέα· ἀλλὰ πολλὰς προφάσεις Κῦρος εὗρισκεν, ὥς καὶ σὺν εὖ  
10 οἶσθαι, ἵνα ὑμᾶς τε ἀπαρασκευάστους λάβοι, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐν-  
θάδε ἀναγάγοι. Ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἤδη ἐωρῶμεν αὐτὸν ἐν δεινῷ  
ὄντα, ῥσχύνθημεν καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους προδοῦναι  
αὐτόν, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ παρέχοντες ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς εὖ  
ποιεῖν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κῦρος τέθνηκεν, οὔτε ἀντιποιούμεθα βα-  
15 σιλεῖ τῆς ἀρχῆς, οὔτ' ἔστιν, ὅτου ἔνεκ' ἂν βουλοίμεθα τὴν  
βασιλείῳς χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν· οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι ἂν  
ἐθέλοιμεν, πορευοίμεθα δ' ἂν οἴκαδε, εἴ τις ἡμᾶς μὴ λυ-  
ποίῃ· ἀδικοῦντα μέντοι πειρασόμεθα σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀμύ-  
νασθαι· εἴαν μέντοι τις ἡμᾶς καὶ εὖ ποιῶν ὑπάρχη, καὶ  
20 τούτου εἰς γε δύνανται οὐχ ἡττησόμεθα εὖ ποιοῦντες." Ὁ  
μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν.

Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Τισσαφέρτης, ἔφη· "Ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἀπαγγελῶ  
βασιλεῖ, καὶ ὑμῖν πάλιν τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου· μέχρι δ' ἂν ἐγὼ  
ἦκω, αἱ σπονδαὶ μενόντων· ἀγορὰν δὲ ἡμεῖς παρέξομεν."  
25 Καὶ εἰς μὲν τὴν ὑστεραίαν οὐχ ἦκεν· ὥςθ' οἱ Ἕλληνες  
ἐφρόντιζον· τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἦκων ἔλεγεν, ὅτι διαπεπραγμένος  
ἦκοι παρὰ βασιλέως, δοθῆναι αὐτῷ σώζειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας·  
καίπερ πάντων πολλῶν ἀντιλεγόντων, ὥς οὐκ ἄξιον εἶη βασι-  
λεῖ, ἀφῆναι τοὺς ἐφ' ἐαυτὸν στρατευσαμένους." Τέλος  
30 δ' εἶπε· "Καὶ νῦν ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν πιστὰ λαβεῖν παρ' ἡμῶν, ἣ  
μῖν φιλία· ὑμῖν παρέξειν τὴν χώραν, καὶ ἀδόλως ἀπάξειν εἰς  
τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀγορὰν παρέχοντας. Ὅπου δ' ἂν μὴ παρέχω-  
μεν ἀγορὰν, λαμβάνειν ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐάσομεν τὰ ἐπι-

τήδεια. Ἰμᾶς δ' αὖ ἡμῖν δεήσκει ὁμόσαι, ἥ μὴν πορεύεσθαι ὡς διὰ φιλίας ἀσινῶς, σίτα καὶ ποτὰ λαμβάνοντας, ὁπόταν μὴ παρέχωμεν ἀγορὰν· ἐὰν δὲ παρέχωμεν [ἀγορὰν], ὠρουμένους ἔξιν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια." Ταῦτα ἔδοξε· καὶ ὤμωσαν, καὶ δεξιὰς ἔδωσαν Τισσαφέρνης, καὶ ὁ τῆς βασιλείας γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸς τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς, καὶ ἔλαβον παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τισσαφέρνης εἶπε· "Νῦν μὲν δὴ ἄπειμι ὡς βασιλέα· ἐπειδὰν δὲ διαπράξωμαι, ἃ δέομαι, ἥξω συσκευασάμενος, ὡς ἀπάξω ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπιὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμῶν ἀρχήν." 10

### Κεφάλαιον δ'.

Μετὰ ταῦτα περιέμενον Τισσαφέρην οἱ τε Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἀριαῖος, ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων ἐστρατοπεδευμένοι, ἡμέρας πλείους ἢ εἴκοσιν. Ἐν δὲ ταύταις ἀφικνοῦνται πρὸς Ἀριαῖον καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀναγκαῖοι, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς σὺν ἐκείνῳ Περσῶν τινες, παραθαφύροντές τε καὶ δεξιὰς ἔνιοι παρὰ βασιλείως φέροντες, μὴ μνησικακήσειν βασιλέα αὐτοῖς τῆς σὺν Κύρῳ ἐπιστρατείας, μηδὲ ἄλλου μηδενὸς τῶν παροιχομένων. Τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων, ἔνδηλοι ἦσαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀριαῖον ἦτιον τοῖς Ἕλλησι προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν· ὥστε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἤρεσκον, ἀλλὰ 20 προσιόντες τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἔλεγον καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς· "Τί μένομεν; ἢ οὐκ ἐπιστάμεθα, ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσαι περὶ παντὸς ἂν ποιήσαιτο, ἵνα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι φόβος ἢ ἐπὶ βασιλέα [μέγαν] στρατεύειν; Καὶ νῦν μὲν ἡμᾶς ὑπάγεται μένειν, διὰ τὸ διεσπάρθαι αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα· 25 ἐπειδὰν δὲ πάλιν ἀλισθῇ αὐτῷ ἡ στρατιά, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐκ ἐπιθήσεται ἡμῖν. Ἴσως δὲ που ἡ ἀποσκάπτει τι ἢ ἀποτεριχθεῖ, ὥς ἄπορος ἢ ἡ ὁδός. Οὐ γὰρ ποτε ἐκὼν γε βουλήσεται, ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπαγγεῖλαι, ὥς

ἡμεῖς, τοσοῖδε ὄντες, ἐνικῶμεν τὴν βασιλείῳς δύναμιν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις αὐτοῦ, καὶ καταγελάσαντες ἀπήλθομεν.”

Κλέαρχος δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο τοῖς ταῦτα λέγουσιν· “Ἐγὼ ἐν-  
θυμοῦμαι μὲν καὶ ταῦτα πάντα· ἐννοῶ δέ, ὅτι, εἰ νῦν ἄπι-  
5 μιν, δόξομεν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἀπιέναι, καὶ παρὰ τὰς σπονδὰς  
ποιεῖν. Ἐπειτα, πρῶτον μὲν ἀγορὰν οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν παρέξει,  
οὐδ’ ὀπόθεν ἐπισιτιούμεθα· αὐθις δὲ ὁ ἡγησόμενος οὐδεὶς  
ἔσται· καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα ποιούντων ἡμῶν εὐθὺς Ἀριαῖος ἀφε-  
στήξει· ὥστε φίλος ἡμῖν οὐδεὶς λείψεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πρό-  
10 σθεν ὄντες, πολέμιοι ἡμῖν ἔσονται. Ποταμὸς δὲ εἰ μὲν τις  
καὶ ἄλλος ὕψος ἡμῖν ἐστι διαβατέος, οὐκ οἶδα· τὸν δ’ οὖν  
Εὐφράτην ἴσμεν ὅτι ἀδύνατον διαβῆναι, κωλυόντων πολε-  
μίων. Οὐ μὲν δὴ, ἂν μάχεσθαι δέη, ἱππεῖς εἰσὶν ἡμῖν σύμμα-  
χοι· τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἱππεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ πλείστοι καὶ πλείστου  
15 ἄξιοι· ὥστε νικῶντες μὲν, τίνα ἂν ἀποκτείναιμεν; ἡττωμέ-  
νων δὲ μὴν οὐδένα οἶόν τε σωθῆναι. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν βασι-  
λέα, ᾧ πολλὰ οὕτως ἐστὶ τὰ σύμμαχα, εἵπερ προθυμεῖται  
ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσαι, οὐκ οἶδα, ὅ τι δεῖ αὐτὸν ὁμόσαι, καὶ δεξιὰν  
δοῦναι, καὶ θεοὺς ἐπιορκῆσαι, καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πιστὰ ἄπιστα  
20 ποιῆσαι Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις.” Τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἔλεγεν.

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Τισσαφέρνης ἦκεν ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν,  
ὥς εἰς οἶκον ἀπιών, καὶ Ὀρόντας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν· ἦγε  
δὲ καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν βασιλείῳς ἐπὶ γάμῳ. Ἐντεῦθεν  
δὲ ἤδη Τισσαφέρνους ἡγουμένου καὶ ἀγορὰν παρέχοντος,  
25 ἐπορεύοντο· ἐπορεύετο δὲ καὶ Ἀριαῖος ἔχων τὸ Κύρου βαρ-  
βαρικὸν στράτευμα, ἅμα Τισσαφέρνει καὶ Ὀρόντῃ, καὶ συν-  
εστρατοπεδεύετο σὺν ἐκείνοις. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, ὑφορῶντες  
τούτους, αὐτοὶ ἐφ’ ἑαυτῶν ἐχώρουν, ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες.  
Ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο δὲ ἐκάστοτε ἀπὸ χόντες ἀλλήλων παρα-  
30 σάγγην, καὶ μῆϊον· ἐφυλάττοντο δὲ [οἱ] ἀμφοτέροι ὥςπερ  
πολεμίους ἀλλήλους, καὶ εὐθὺς τοῦτο ὑποψίαν παρεῖχεν.  
Ἐνλοτε δὲ καὶ ξυλιζόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ χόρτον καὶ ἄλ-

λα τοιαῦτα συλλέγοντες, πληγὰς ἐνέτεινον ἀλλήλοις· ὥς τε καὶ τοῦτο ἔχθραν παρῆχε.

Διελθόντες δὲ τρεῖς σταθμούς, ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τὸ Μηδίας καλούμενον τεῖχος, καὶ παρῆλθον αὐτοῦ εἴσω· ἦν δὲ ῥοδομημένον πλίνθοις ὀπταῖς, ἐν ἀσφάλτῃ καιμέναις, εὖρος εἴκοσι ποδῶν, ὕψος δὲ ἑκατόν· μήκος δὲ ἐλέγετο εἶναι εἴκοσι παρασαγγῶν· ἀπεῖχε δὲ Βαβυλῶνος οὐ πολὺ. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμούς δύο, παρασάγγας ὀκτώ· καὶ διέβησαν διώρυγας δύο, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ γεφύρας, τὴν δ' ἔξευγμένην πλοίοις ἐπτά· αὐταὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ· κατετίεμνοντο δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ τάφροι ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, αἱ μὲν πρῶται, μεγάλαι, ἔπειτα δ' ἐλάσσους· τέλος δὲ καὶ μικροὶ ὀχετοί, ὥς περ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐπὶ τὰς μελίκας· καὶ ἀφικνούνται ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν· πρὸς ᾧ πόλις ἦν μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος, ἣ ὄνομα Σιτάκη, ἀπέχουσα τοῦ ποταμοῦ σταδίους πεντεκαίδεκα. Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἕλληνες παρ' αὐτὴν ἐσκήνωσαν, ἐγγὺς παραδείσου καλοῦ καὶ μεγάλου καὶ δασέος παντοίων δένδρων· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, διαβηκότες τὸν Τίγρητα, οὐ μέντοιγε καταφανεῖς ἦσαν. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ἔτυχον ἐν περιπάτῳ ὄντες πρὸ τῶν ὀπλων Πρῶξενος καὶ Ξενοφῶν· καὶ προσελθὼν ἡρώτησεν ἄνθρωπος τις τοὺς προφύλακας, ποῦ ἂν ἴδοι Πρῶξενον ἢ Κλέαρχον. Μένωννα δὲ οὐκ ἐζήτει, καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ Ἀριαίου ὦν, τοῦ Μένωνος ξένου. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Πρῶξενος εἶπεν, ὅτι “Αὐτός εἰμι, ὃν ζητεῖς,” εἶπεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος τάδε· “Ἐπεμψέ με Ἀριαῖος καὶ Ἀρτιάοχος, πιστοὶ ὄντες Κύρῳ, καὶ κελεύουσι φυλάττεσθαι, μὴ ὑμῖν ἐπιθῶνται τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ βάρβαροι· ἔστι δὲ στρατευμα πολὺ ἐν τῷ πλησίον παραδείσῳ· καὶ παρὰ τὴν γέφυραν τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ πέμψαι κελεύουσι φυλακὴν, ὥς διανοεῖται λῦσαι αὐτὴν Τισσαφέρους τῆς νυκτὸς, ἣν περ δύνηται, ὥς μὴ διαβῇτε, ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ ἀποληφθῇτε τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς διώρυχος.” Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἄγουσιν αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸν Κλέαρχον, καὶ φράζουσιν, ἃ λέγει. Ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἀκού-

σας ἐταράχθη, καὶ ἐφοβεῖτο σφόδρα. Νεανίσκος δὲ τις τῶν παρόντων ἐνοήσας εἶπεν, “ὥς οὐκ ἀκόλουθα εἶη, τό τε ἐπιθήσεσθαι καὶ λύσειν τὴν γέφυραν. Δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ἐπιτιθεμένους ἢ νικᾶν δεήσει αὐτούς, ἢ ἡττᾶσθαι. Ἐὰν μὲν οὖν νικῶσι, τί δεῖ αὐτοὺς λύειν τὴν γέφυραν; οὐδὲ γάρ, ἂν 5  
πολλὰι γέφυραι ᾧσιν, ἔχοιμεν ἄν, ὅποι φυγόντες ἡμεῖς σωθήμεν· ἂν δ' αὖ ἡμεῖς νικῶμεν, λελυμένης τῆς γεφυρας οὐχ ἔξουσιν ἐκείνοι, ὅποι [ἂν] φύγωσιν· οὐδὲ μὴν βοηθήσαι, πολλῶν ὄντων πέραν, οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς δυνήσεται, λελυμέ-  
10 νης τῆς γεφυρας.

Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κλέαρχος, ἤρετο τὸν ἄγγελον, πόση τις εἴη χώρα ἢ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Τίγρητος καὶ τῆς διώρυχος. Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, ὅτι πολλή, καὶ κῶμαι ἔνισι καὶ πόλεις πολλὰι καὶ μεγάλαι. Τότε δὴ καὶ ἐγνώσθη, ὅτι οἱ βάρβαροι τὸν ἄν-  
15 θρωπον ὑποπέμψαιεν, ὁκνοῦντες, μὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες, διελόντες τὴν γέφυραν, μένοιεν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, ἐρύματα ἔχοντες, ἔνθεν μὲν τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν, ἔνθεν δὲ τὴν διώρυχα· τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια ἔχουσιν ἐκ τῆς ἐν μέσῳ χώρας, πολλῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς οὐσης, καὶ τῶν ἐργασσομένων ἐνότων· εἶτα καὶ ἀποστροφὴ γένοι-  
20 το, εἴ τις βούλοιο βασιλεῖα κακῶς ποιεῖν. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνεπαύοντο· ἐπὶ μέντοι τὴν γέφυραν ὅμως φυλακὴν ἔπεμψαν· καὶ οὔτε ἐπέθετο οὐδεὶς οὐδαμόθεν, οὔτε πρὸς τὴν γέφυραν οὐδεὶς ἦλθε τῶν πολεμίων, ὥς οἱ φυλάττοντες ἀπήγγελλον. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἕως ἐγένετο, διέβαινον τὴν γεφυ-  
25 ραν, ἔξευγμένην πλοίοις τριάκοντα καὶ ἐπτὰ, ὥς οἶόν τε μάλιστα πεφυλαγμένως· ἐξήγγελλον γὰρ τινες τῶν παρὰ Τι-σαφέρνης Ἑλλήνων, ὥς διαβαινόντων μέλλουσιν ἐπιθήσεσθαι· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ψευδῆ ἦν· διαβαινόντων μέντοι ὁ Ἰλοῦς αὐτοῖς ἐπεφάνη μετ' ἄλλων, σκοπῶν, εἰ διαβαίνουσιν τὸν πο-  
30 ταμόν· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδεν, ὥχετο ἀπελαύνων.

Ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασάγγας ἔκουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Φύσκον ποταμόν, τὸ εὖρος πλέθρου· ἐπὴν δὲ γέφυρα. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ᾤκειτο πόλις

μεγάλη, ἢ ὄνομα Ἰλπιδίᾳ· πρὸς ἣν ἀπήντησε τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὁ Κύρου καὶ Ἀρταξέρξου νόθος ἀδελφός, ἀπὸ Σούσων καὶ Ἐκβατάνων στρατιᾶν πολλὴν ἄγων, ὡς βοηθήσων βασιλεῖ· καὶ ἐπιστήσας τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα, παρεχομένους ἐθιῶρει τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἡγεῖτο μὲν εἰς δύο, ἐπο- 5 ρεῦετο δὲ ἄλλοτε καὶ ἄλλοτε ἐπιστάμενος. Ὅσον δ' ἂν χρόνον τὸ ἡγούμενον τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπιστήσῃ, τοσοῦτον ἦν ἀνάγκη χρόνον δι' ὅλου τοῦ στρατεύματος γίγνεσθαι τὴν ἐπίστασιν· ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς Ἕλλησι δόξαι πάμπλου εἶναι, καὶ τὸν Πέρσῃ ἐκπεπληχθαι θεωροῦντα. 10 Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῆς Μηδίας σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους ἕξ παρασάγγας τριάκοντα εἰς τὰς Παρυσάτιδος κώμας, τῆς Κύρου καὶ βασιλείως μητρός. Ταύτας Τισσαφέρνης Κύρῳ ἐπεγγελῶν διαρπάσαι τοὺς Ἕλλησιν ἐπέτρεψε, πλὴν ἀνδραπόδων. Ἐνῆν δὲ σίτος πολὺς, καὶ πρόβατα, καὶ ἄλ- 15 λα χρήματα. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους πέντε παρασάγγας εἴκοσι, τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμὸν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες. Ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ σταθμῷ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ πόλις ὤκειτο μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων, ὄνομα Καίναί, ἐξ ἧς οἱ βάρβαροι διήγον ἐπὶ σχεδίαις διφθερίναις ἄρτους, τυρούς, 20 οἶνον.

### Κεφάλαιον ε'.

Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸν Ζάβατον πρταμόν, τὸ εὖρος τεττάρων πλέθρων. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν δὲ ταύταις ὀποψίαι μὲν ἦσαν, φανερά δ' οὐδεμία ἐφαίνετο ἐπιβουλὴ. Ἐδούξεν οὖν τῷ Κλεάρχῳ συγγενέσθαι 25 Τισσαφέρνηι, καὶ εἴ πως δύναίτο, παῦσαι τὰς ὀποψίας, πρὶν εἰς αὐτῶν πόλεμον γενέσθαι· καὶ ἔπεμψε τινα ἐροῦντα, ὅτι συγγενέσθαι αὐτῷ χρήζοι. Ὁ δὲ ἐτοίμως ἐκίλευσεν ἔκιν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ συνῆλθον, λέγει ὁ Κλέαρχος τάδε. “Ἐγώ, ὦ

Τισσαφέρην, οἶδα μὲν ἡμῖν ὄρκους γεγενημένους, καὶ δεξιὰς δεδομένας, μὴ ἀδικήσιν ἀλλήλους· φυλαττόμενον δὲ σὲ τε ὄρω ὡς πολεμίους ἡμᾶς· καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὀρώντες ταῦτα, ἀντιφυλαττόμεθα. Ἐπεὶ δὲ σκοπῶν οὐδὲν δύναμαι οὔτε σὲ αἰσθῆσθαι πειρώμενον ἡμᾶς κακῶς ποιεῖν, ἐγὼ τε σαφῶς οἶδα, ὅτι ἡμεῖς γε οὐδ' ἐπινοοῦμεν οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον, ἔδοξέ μοι εἰς λόγους σοι ἐλθεῖν, ὅπως, εἰ δυναίμεθα, ἐξέλοιμεν ἀλλήλων τὴν ἀπιστίαν. Καὶ γὰρ οἶδα ἥδη ἀνθρώπους τοὺς μὲν ἐκ διαβολῆς, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὑποψίας, οἱ φοβηθέντες ἀλλήλους, φθάσαι βουλόμενοι πρὶν παθεῖν, ἐποίησαν ἀνήκεστα κακὰ τοὺς οὔτε μέλλοντας οὔτε αὖ βουλομένους τοιοῦτον οὐδέν. Τὰς οὖν τοιαύτας ἀγνωμοσύνας νομίζων συνουσίαις μάλιστα ἂν παύεσθαι, ἤκω, καὶ διδάσκειν σε βούλομαι, ὡς σὺ ἡμῖν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀπιστεῖς. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ καὶ μέγιστον, οἱ θεῶν ὄρκοι ἡμᾶς κωλύουσι πολεμίους εἶναι ἀλλήλοις· ὅστις δὲ τούτων σύννοιδεν αὐτῷ παρημεληκῶς, τοῦτον ἐγὼ οὐποτ' ἂν εὐδαιμονίσαιμι. Τὸν γὰρ θεῶν πόλεμον οὐκ οἶδα οὔτ' ἀπὸ ποίου ἂν τάχους φεύγων τις ἀποφύγοι, οὔτ' εἰς ποῖον ἂν σκότος ἀποδραίῃ, οὔθ' ὅπως ἂν εἰς ἐχυρὸν χωρίον ἀποσταίῃ. Πάντη γὰρ πάντα τοῖς θεοῖς ὑποχα, καὶ πανταχῇ πάντων ἴσον οἱ θεοὶ κρατοῦσι. Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν θεῶν τε καὶ τῶν ὄρκων οὕτω γινώσκω, παρ' οἷς ἡμεῖς τὴν φιλίαν συνθέμενοι κατεθέμεθα· τῶν δὲ ἀνθρωπίνων σὲ ἔγωγε ἐν τῷ παρόντι νομίζω μέγιστον ἡμῖν εἶναι ἀγαθόν. Σὺν μὲν γὰρ σοὶ πᾶσα μὲν ἡμῖν ὁδὸς εὐπορος, πᾶς δὲ ποταμὸς διαβατός, τῶν δ' ἐπιτηδείων οὐκ ἀπορία· ἄνευ δὲ σοῦ πᾶσα μὲν ἡ ὁδὸς διὰ σκότους· οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐπιστάμεθα· πᾶς δὲ ποταμὸς δύσπορος, πᾶς δ' ὄχλος φοβερός· φοβερώτατον δ' ἐρημία· μεστὴ γὰρ πολλῆς ἀπορίας ἐστίν. Εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ μανέντες σε κατακτείναιμεν, ἄλλο τι ἂν ἢ τὸν εὐεργέτην κατακτείναντες, πρὸς βασιλεία τὸν μέγιστον ἔφεδρον ἀγωνιζόμεθα; Ὅσων δὲ δὴ καὶ οἶων ἐλπίδων ἐμαυτὸν ἂν στεγήσαιμι, εἴ σὲ τι κακὸν ἐπιχειρήσαιμι ποιεῖν, ταῦτα λέξω.

Ἐγὼ γὰρ Κύρον ἐπεθύμησά μοι φίλον γενέσθαι, νομίζων  
 τῶν τότε ἱκανώτατον εἶναι εὐ ποιεῖν, ὃν [αὐν] βούλοιτο. Σὲ  
 δὲ νῦν ὁρῶ τὴν τε Κύρου δύναμιν καὶ χώραν ἔχοντα, καὶ  
 τὴν σιαυτοῦ ἀρχὴν σῶζοντα, τὴν δὲ βασιλείᾳς δύναμιν, ἣ  
 Κύρος πολέμῳ ἔχρητο, σοὶ ταύτην σύμμαχον οὖσαν. Τού- 5  
 των δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων, τίς οὕτω μαίνεται, ὅστις οὐ σοὶ βού-  
 λεται φίλος εἶναι; Ἀλλὰ μὲν — ἐρῶ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα, ἐξ ὧν  
 ἔχω ἐλπίδας, καὶ σὲ βουλήσεσθαι φίλον ἡμῖν εἶναι — οἶδα  
 μὲν γὰρ ὑμῖν Μυσοὺς λυπηροὺς ὄντας, οὓς νομίζω αὖ σὺν  
 τῇ παρούσῃ δυνάμει ταπεινοὺς ὑμῖν παρασχεῖν· οἶδα δὲ καὶ 10  
 Πεισιδάς· ἀκούω δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη πολλὰ τοιαῦτα εἶναι, ἃ  
 οἶμαι αὖ παύσαι ἐνοχλοῦντα αἰεὶ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ εὐδαιμονίᾳ.  
 Αἰγυπτίους δέ, οἷς μάλιστα ὑμᾶς νῦν γιγνώσκω τεθνηωμέ-  
 νους, οὐχ ὁρῶ, ποῖα δυνάμει συμμαχῶ χρησάμενοι μᾶλλον  
 αὖ κολάσεσθε τῆς νῦν σὺν ἐμοὶ οὔσης. Ἀλλὰ μὲν ἔν γε τοῖς 15  
 πῆριξ οἰκοῦσι σὺ, εἰ μὲν βούλοιό τω φίλος εἶναι, ὥς μέγιστος  
 αὖ εἴης· εἰ δὲ τίς σε λυποίῃ, ὥς δεσπότης ἀναστρέφωιο,  
 ἔχων ἡμᾶς ὑπηρέτας, οἳ σοι οὐκ αὖ τοῦ μισθοῦ ἕνεκα μόνον  
 ὑπηρετοῖμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς χάριτος, ἣν σθεδύντες ὑπὸ σοῦ σοὶ  
 αὖ ἔχοιμεν δικαίως. Ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα πάντα ἐνθυμου- 20  
 μένῳ οὕτω δοκεῖ θαυμαστόν εἶναι, τὸ σὲ ἡμῖν ἀπιστεῖν,  
 ὥστε καὶ ἡδιστ' αὖ ἀκούσαιμι τοῦτομα, τίς ἐστιν οὕτω δεινός  
 λέγειν, ὥστε σε πείσαι λέγων, ὥς ἡμεῖς σοι ἐπιβουλευόμεν." 25  
 Κλέαρχος μὲν οὖν τοσαῦτα εἶπε· Τισσαφέρνης δὲ ὥδε  
 ἀπημείφθη·

“Ἀλλ' ἡδομαι μὲν, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἀκούων σου φρονίμους λό-  
 γους· ταῦτα γὰρ γιγνώσκων, εἴ τι ἐμοὶ κακὸν βουλευόεις,  
 ἅμα αὖ μοι δοκεῖς καὶ σιαυτῷ κακόνους εἶναι. Ὡς δ' αὖ  
 μάθης, ὅτι οὐδ' αὖ ὑμεῖς δικαίως οὔτε βασιλεῖ οὔτε ἐμοὶ  
 ἀπιστοῖητε, ἀντάκουσον. Εἰ γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐβουλόμεθα ἀπολέ- 30  
 σαι, πότερά σοι δοκοῦμεν ἱππέων πλήθους ἀπορεῖν, ἢ πε-  
 ζῶν, ἢ ὀπλίσεως, ἐν ἧ ὑμᾶς μὲν βλάπτειν ἱκανοὶ εἴμεν αὖ,  
 ἀντιπάσχειν δὲ οὐδεὶς κίνδυνος; Ἀλλὰ χωρίων ἐπιτηδεύων

ὑμῖν ἐπιτίθεσθαι ἀπορεῖν ἂν σοι δοκοῦμεν ; Οὐ τοσαῦτα  
 μὲν πεδία ἡμῖν φίλια ὄντα σὺν πολλῷ πόνῳ διαπορευέσθαι,  
 τοσαῦτα δὲ ὄρη ὑμῖν ὁράτε ὄντα πορευτέα, ἃ ἡμῖν ἔξεστι  
 προκαταλαβοῦσιν ἀπορα ὑμῖν παρέχειν ; τοσοῦτοι δὲ εἰσι  
 5 ποταμοί, ἐφ' ὧν ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν ταμιεύεσθαι, ὅπόσοις ἂν ὑμῶν  
 βουλόμεθα μάχεσθαι ; Εἰσὶ δ' αὐτῶν, οὓς οὐδ' ἂν παν-  
 τήσασι διαβαίητε, εἰ μὴ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς διαπορευόμεν. Ἐὶ δὲ  
 ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις ἡττώμεθα, ἀλλὰ τό γέ τοι πῦρ τοῦ καρποῦ  
 κρεῖττόν ἐστιν· ὃν ἡμεῖς δυναίμεθ' ἂν κατακαύσαντες λιμὸν  
 10 ὑμῖν ἀντιτάξαι, ὃ ὑμεῖς, οὐδ' εἰ πάνυ ἀγαθοὶ εἴητε, μάχε-  
 σθαι ἂν δύναισθε. Πῶς οὖν ἂν, ἔχοντες τοσοῦτους πόρους  
 πρὸς τὸ ὑμῖν πολεμεῖν, καὶ τούτων μηδένα ἡμῖν ἐπικίνδυνον,  
 ἔπειτα ἐκ τούτων πάντων τοῦτον ἂν τὸν τρόπον ἐξελοίμεθα,  
 ὃς μόνος μὲν πρὸς θεῶν ἀσεβής, μόνος δὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων  
 15 αἰσχροῦς ; Παντάσασι δὲ ἀπόρων ἐστὶ καὶ ἀμνηστῶν καὶ  
 ἀνάγκῃ ἔχοντων, καὶ τούτων πονηρῶν, οὔτινες ἐθέλουσι δι'  
 ἐπιτοκίας τε πρὸς θεοῦς, καὶ ἀπιστίας πρὸς ἀνθρώπους  
 πράττειν τι. Οὐχ οὕτως ἡμεῖς, ὃ Κλέαρχε, οὔτε ἡλίθιοι,  
 οὔτε ἀλόγιστοι ἐσμέν. Ἀλλὰ τί δή, ὑμᾶς ἔξον ἀπολίσσαι, οὐκ  
 20 ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἡλθομεν ; Εὖ ἴσθι, ὅτι ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως τούτου αἰ-  
 τιος, τοῦ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐμὲ πιστὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ ὃ Κῦρος  
 ἀνέβη ξενικῷ διὰ μισθοδοσίας πιστεύων, τούτῳ ἐμὲ καταβῆ-  
 ναι δι' εὐεργεσίας ἰσχυρόν. Ὅσα δὲ μοι ὑμεῖς χρήσιμοι  
 ἔσασθε, τὰ μὲν καὶ σὺ εἶπες, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἐγὼ οἶδα· τὴν  
 25 μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τιάραν βασιλεῖ μόνῳ ἔξεστιν ὀρθὴν  
 ἔχειν, τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ ἴσως ἂν ὑμῶν παρόντων καὶ  
 ἕτερος εὐπετῶς ἔχοι."

Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἔδοξε τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἀληθῆ λέγειν· καὶ εἰπεν·  
 "Οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, "οὔτινες, τοιοῦτων ἡμῖν εἰς φιλιαν ὑπαρχόν-  
 30 των, πειρῶνται διαβάλλοντες πολεμίους ποιῆσαι ἡμᾶς, ἃς οἱ  
 εἰσι τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν ;" "Καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν," ἔφη ὁ Τισσαφίρ-  
 ρης, "εἰ βούλεσθε μοι οἷ τε στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἷ λοχαγοὶ ἐν τῷ  
 ἐμφανεῖ ἔλθεῖν, λίξω τοὺς πρὸς ἐμέ λέγοντας, ὥς σὺ ἐπιβου-

λύνεις ἐμοὶ τε καὶ τῇ σὺν ἐμοὶ στρατιᾷ. “Ἐγὼ δ’,” ἔφη ὁ  
 Κλέαρχος, “ἄξω πάντας· καὶ σοὶ αὖ ἐγὼ δηλώσω, ὅθεν ἐγὼ  
 περὶ σοῦ ἀκούω.” Ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν λόγων ὁ Τισσαφέρνης  
 φιλοφρονούμενος τότε μὲν μένειν τε αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε καὶ σύν-  
 δειπνον ἐποιήσατο· τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ Κλέαρχος, ἔλθων ἐπὶ τὸ  
 στρατόπεδον, δηλὸς τε ἦν πάντῃ φιλικῶς οἰόμενος διακείσθαι  
 τῷ Τισσαφέρνηι, καὶ ἃ ἔλεγεν ἐκείνος ἀπήγγελεν· ἔφη τε  
 χρῆναι ἵεναι παρὰ Τισσαφέρνηι, οὓς ἐκέλευσε, καὶ οἱ ἂν  
 ἐξελεγχθῶσι διαβάλλοντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς προδότας αὐτοῦς  
 καὶ κακόνους τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ὄντας τιμωρηθῆναι. Ἰπώπτευσεν  
 δὲ εἶναι τὸν διαβάλλοντα Μένωνα· εἰδὼς αὐτὸν καὶ συγγε-  
 γενημένον Τισσαφέρνηι μετὰ Ἀριαίου, καὶ στασιάζοντα αὐτῷ  
 καὶ ἐπιδουλεύοντα [αὐτῷ], ὅπως τὸ στράτευμα ἅπαν πρὸς  
 ἑαυτὸν λαβὼν, φίλος ἢ Τισσαφέρνηι. Ἐβούλετο δὲ καὶ ὁ  
 Κλέαρχος ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔχειν τὴν γνώ-  
 μην, καὶ τοὺς παραλυποῦντας ἐκποδῶν εἶναι. Τῶν δὲ στρα-  
 τιωτῶν ἀντίλεγόν τινες αὐτῷ, μὴ μέναι πάντας τοὺς λοχαγούς  
 καὶ στρατηγούς, μηδὲ πιστεύειν Τισσαφέρνηι. Ὁ δὲ Κλέ-  
 αρχος ἰσχυρῶς κατέτεινεν, ἕως διεπράξατο, πίντε μὲν στρα-  
 τηγούς ἵεναι, εἴκοσι δὲ λοχαγούς· συνηκολούθησαν δὲ ὡς  
 εἰς ἀγορὰν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν ὡς διακόσιοι.

Ἐπεὶ δ’ ἦσαν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ταῖς Τισσαφέρνηους, οἱ μὲν  
 στρατηγοὶ παρεκλήθησαν ἔσω, Πρόξενος Βοιωτίας, Μένων  
 Θετταλός, Ἀγίας Ἀρκάς, Κλέαρχος Λάκων, Σωκράτης Ἀχαι-  
 ός· οἱ δὲ λοχαγοὶ ἐπὶ θύραις ἔμενον. Οὐ πολλῷ δ’ ὕστερον  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σημείου οἱ τε ἔνδον συνελαμβάνοντο, καὶ οἱ  
 ἔσω κατεκόπησαν. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν βαρβάρων τινὲς ἰπ-  
 πέων, διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ἐλαύνοντες, ᾧτινι ἐντυγχάνοιεν Ἑλ-  
 ληνι ἢ δούλῳ ἢ ἐλευθέρῳ, πάντας ἔκτεινον. Οἱ δὲ Ἑλλήνες  
 τὴν τε ἵππασίαν αὐτῶν ἐθαύμαζον, ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου  
 ὁρῶντες, καὶ, ὃ τι ἐποιοῦν, ἡμφιγνόουν, πρὶν Νίκαρχος Ἀρ-  
 κὰς ἦκε φεύγων, τετρωμένος εἰς τὴν γαστέρα, καὶ τὰ ἔντερα

ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων, καὶ εἶπε πάντα τὰ γεγεννημένα. Ἐκ  
 τούτου δὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔθρον ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα πάντες ἐκπεπληγ-  
 μένοι, καὶ νομίζοντες, αὐτίκα ἦξιν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπε-  
 δον. Οἱ δὲ πάντες μὲν οὐκ ἦλθον, Ἀριαῖος δὲ καὶ Ἀρτίο-  
 5 ζος καὶ Μιθριδάτης, οἳ ἦσαν Κύρῳ πιστότατοι· ὁ δὲ τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων ἱερμηνεύς ἔφη καὶ τὸν Τισσαφέρνους ἀδελφὸν σὺν  
 αὐτοῖς ὄραν καὶ γινώσκειν· συνηκολούθουν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι  
 Περσῶν τεθωρακισμένοι εἰς τριακοσίους. Οὗτοι ἐπεὶ ἐγ-  
 γὺς ἦσαν, προσελθεῖν ἐκέλευον εἴ τις εἷη τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἢ  
 10 στρατηγὸς ἢ λοχαγός, ἵνα ἀπαγγείλωσι τὰ παρὰ βασιλείως.  
 Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξῆλθον τῶν Ἑλλήνων φυλαττόμενοι στρατηγοὶ  
 μὲν, Κλεάνωρ Ὁρχομέσιος καὶ Σοφαίνετος Στυμφάλιος, σὺν  
 αὐτοῖς δὲ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, ὅπως μάθῃσι τὰ περὶ Προξέ-  
 νου. Χειρίσοφος δ' ἐτύγχανεν ἁπὼν ἐν κώμῃ τινὶ σὺν ἄλ-  
 15 λοις ἐπισιτιζόμενος. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἔατησαν εἰς ἐπήκοον, εἶπεν  
 Ἀριαῖος τάδε· “Κλέαρχος μὲν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ ἐπι-  
 ορκῶν τε ἐφάνη καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς λύων, ἔχει τὴν δίκην καὶ  
 τέθνηκε. Πρόξενος δὲ καὶ Μένων, οὗτοι κατήγγειλαν αὐτοῦ  
 τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, ἐν μεγάλῃ τιμῇ εἰσιν· ὑμᾶς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰ  
 20 ὅπλα ἀπαιτεῖ· ἑαυτοῦ γὰρ εἶναι φησὶν, ἐπεὶ περ Κύρου ἦσαν  
 τοῦ ἐκείνου δούλου.”

Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεκρίναντο οἱ Ἕλληνες· ἔλεγε δὲ Κλεάνωρ  
 ὁ Ὁρχομέσιος· “ὦ κάκιστε ἀνθρώπων, Ἀριαῖε, καὶ οἱ  
 ἄλλοι, ὅσοι ἦτε Κύρου φίλοι, οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε οὔτε θεοὺς  
 25 οὔτε ἀνθρώπους, οἵτινες, ὁμόσαντες ἡμῖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς φίλους  
 καὶ ἐχθροὺς νομιεῖν, προδόντες ἡμᾶς σὺν Τισσαφέρνει, τῷ  
 ἀθιωτάτῳ τε καὶ πανουφγοτάτῳ, τοὺς τε ἄνδρας αὐτούς, οἷς  
 ὤμνυτε, ὡς ἀπολωλέκατε, καὶ, τοὺς ἄλλους ἡμᾶς προδεδω-  
 κότες, σὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἔρχεσθε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς;” Ὁ δὲ Ἀριαῖος  
 30 εἶπε· “Κλέαρχος γὰρ πρόσθεν ἐπιβουλεύων φανερὸς ἐγένετο  
 Τισσαφέρνει τε καὶ Ὁρόντῃ, καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν τοῖς σὺν τού-  
 τοις.” Ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ Ξενοφῶν τάδε εἶπε· “Κλέαρχος μὲν  
 τοῖνυν, εἰ παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους ἔλυε τὰς σπονδὰς, τὴν δίκην

ἔχει· δίκαιον γὰρ ἀπόλλυσθαι τοὺς ἐπιπορευόμενους. Πρό-  
 ξενος δὲ καὶ Μένων ἐπέπερ εἰσὶν ὑμέτεροι μὲν εὐεργέται,  
 ἡμέτεροι δὲ στρατηγοί, πέμψατε αὐτοὺς δεῦρο· δῆλον γάρ,  
 ὅτι, φίλοι γε ὄντες ἀμφοτέροις, πειράσσονται καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ  
 ἡμῖν τὰ βέλτιστα συμβουλεύειν." Πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ βάβαροι, ἑ  
 πολὺν χρόνον διαλεχθέντες ἀλλήλοις, ἀπῆλθον οὐδὲν ἀπο-  
 κρινάμενοι.

### Κεφάλαιον 5'.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ στρατηγοὶ οὕτω ληφθέντες, ἀνῆχθησαν ὡς  
 βασιλεία, καὶ ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐτελεύτησαν· εἰς.  
 μὲν αὐτῶν Κλέαρχος, ὁμολογουμένως ἐκ πάντων, τῶν ἐμ- 10  
 πείρους αὐτοῦ ἐχόντων, δόξας γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ καὶ πολεμικὸς  
 καὶ φιλοπόλεμος ἐσχύατος. Καὶ γὰρ δὴ, ἔως μὲν πόλεμος  
 ἦν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, παρέμενεν·  
 ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰρήνη ἐγένετο, πείσας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν, ὡς οἱ  
 Θρᾷκες ἀδικοῦσι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ διαπραξάμενος ὡς ἐδύ- 15  
 νατο παρὰ τῶν Ἐφορῶν, ἐξέπλει ὡς πολεμῆσων τοῖς ὑπὲρ  
 Χερσφονήσου καὶ Πειρίνθου Θρᾷξιν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ μεταγρόντες  
 πως οἱ Ἐφοροὶ, ἦδη ἔξω ὄντος αὐτοῦ, ἀποστρέφειν αὐτὸν  
 ἐπειρῶντο ἐξ Ἰσθμοῦ, ἐνταῦθα οὐκέτι πείθεται, ἀλλ' ὤχετο  
 πλέων εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον. Ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐθανατώθη ὑπὸ 20  
 τῶν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ τελεῶν, ὡς ἀπειθῶν. Ἦδη δὲ φυγὰς ὦν,  
 ἔρχεται πρὸς Κῦρον, καὶ ὁποίοις μὲν λόγοις ἔπεισε Κῦρον,  
 ἄλλη γέγραπται· δίδωσι δὲ αὐτῷ Κῦρος μυρίους δαρεϊκοὺς·  
 ὁ δὲ λαβὼν, οὐκ ἐπὶ φρεσὶν εἰράπετο, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τούτων  
 τῶν χρημάτων συλλέξας στρατεύμα, ἐπολέμει τοῖς Θρᾷξιν· 25  
 καὶ μάχῃ τε ἐνίκησε, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου δὴ ἔφερε καὶ ἦγεν αὐ-  
 τοὺς· καὶ πολεμῶν διεγένετο, μέχρις οὗ Κῦρος ἐδεήθη  
 τοῦ στρατεύματος· τότε δ' ἀπῆλθεν, ὡς σὺν ἐκείνῳ αὐτὸν πο-  
 λεμῆσων.

Ταῦτα οὖν φιλοπολέμου δοκεῖ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα εἶναι, ὅστις,  
 ἐξὸν μὲν εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἄνευ αἰσχύνης καὶ βλάβης, αἰρεῖται  
 πολεμεῖν· ἐξὸν δὲ ῥαθυμεῖν, βούλεται πονεῖν [ὥστε πολε-  
 μεῖν]· ἐξὸν δὲ χρήματα ἔχειν ἀκινδύνως, αἰρεῖται πολεμῶν  
 5 μείονα ταῦτα ποιεῖν. Ἐκείνος δέ, ὥςπερ εἰς παιδικὰ ἢ εἰς  
 ἄλλην τινα ἡδονήν, ἥθελε δαπανᾶν εἰς πόλεμον· οὕτω μὲν  
 φιλοπόλεμος ἦν. Πολεμικὸς δὲ αὖ ταύτῃ εἶναι ἐδόκει, ὅτι  
 φιλοκίνδυνός τε ἦν, καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἄγων ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 πολεμίους, καὶ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς φρόνιμος, ὡς οἱ παρόντες παν-  
 10 ταχοῦ πάντες ὡμολόγουν. Καὶ ἀρχικὸς δὲ ἐλέγτο εἶναι, ὡς  
 δυνατόν ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου τρόπου, οἶον καὶ ἐκείνος εἶχεν. Ἰκα-  
 νὸς μὲν γάρ, εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος, φροντίζειν ἦν, ὅπως ἔξει ἡ στρα-  
 τιά αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ παρασκευάζειν ταῦτα· ἱκανὸς  
 δὲ καὶ ἐμποιεῖσαι τοῖς παροῦσιν, ὡς πειστέον εἶη Κλεάρχῳ.  
 15 Τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίει ἐκ τοῦ χαλεπὸς εἶναι. Καὶ γὰρ ὄρᾶν στυ-  
 γνὸς ἦν, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ τραχὺς· ἐκόλαξέ τε αἰὲ ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ  
 ὀργῇ ἐνότοε, ὥστε καὶ αὐτῷ μεταμέλειν ἔσθ' ὅτε. Καὶ γνώ-  
 μῃ δὲ ἐκόλαζεν· ἀκολάστου γὰρ στρατεύματος οὐδὲν ἡγείτο  
 ὄφελος εἶναι. Ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν, ὡς δέοι τὸν  
 20 στρατιώτην φοβεῖσθαι μᾶλλον τὸν ἄρχοντα ἢ τοὺς πολεμί-  
 ους, εἰ μέλλοι ἢ φυλακὰς φυλάζειν, ἢ φίλων ἀφείξεσθαι, ἢ  
 ἀπροφασίστως ἵεναι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. Ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς  
 δεινοῖς ἡθελον αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν σφόδρα, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλον ἡρώον-  
 το οἱ στρατιῶται. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ στυγνόν τότε φαιδρὸν αὐ-  
 25 τοῦ ἐν τοῖς προσώποις ἔφασαν φαίνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ χαλεπόν,  
 ἐβρώμενον πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδόκει εἶναι· ὥστε σωτή-  
 ριον καὶ οὐκέτι χαλεπὸν ἐφαίνετο. Ὅτι δ' ἐξω τοῦ δεινοῦ  
 γίνοντο, καὶ ἐξείη πρὸς ἄλλους ἀρχομένους ἀπιέναι, πολλοὶ  
 αὐτὸν ἀπέλειπον· τὸ γὰρ ἐπίχαρι οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ αἰὲ χαλε-  
 30 πὸς καὶ ὠμὸς ἦν· ὥστε διέκειντο πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ στρατιῶται  
 ὥςπερ παῖδες πρὸς διδάσκαλον. Καὶ γὰρ οὖν φίλᾳ μὲν  
 καὶ εὐνοίᾳ ἐπομένους οὐδέποτε εἶχεν· οἵτινες δὲ ἢ ὑπὸ πό-  
 λεως τεταγμένοι, ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεῖσθαι, ἢ ἄλλῃ τινὶ ἀνάγκῃ

κατεχόμενοι παρήλσαν αὐτῷ, σφόδρα πειθομένοις ἔχρητο. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ἤρξαντο νικᾶν σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς πολεμίους, μεγάλη ἤδη ἦν τὰ χρησίμους ποιοῦντα εἶναι τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιώτας· τό τε γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους θαρσάλως ἔχειν παρήν, καὶ τὸ τὴν παρ' ἐκείνου τιμωρίαν φοβεῖσθαι, αὐτοὺς εὐτάκτους ἐποίησε. Τοιοῦτος μὲν δὴ ἄρχων ἦν· ἄρχεσθαι δ' ὑπὸ ἄλλων οὐ μάλα ἐθέλειν ἐλέγετο. Ἦν δέ, ὅτε ἐτελεύτα, ἀμφὶ τὰ πενήκοντα ἔτη.

Πρόξενος δὲ ὁ Βοιωτίας εὐθύς μὲν μειράκιον ὦν ἐπεθύμει γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ τὰ μεγάλα πράττειν ἱκανός· καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔδωκε Γυργίᾳ ἀργύριον τῷ Λεοντίῳ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεγένετο ἐκείνῳ, ἱκανὸς ἤδη νομίσας εἶναι καὶ ἄρχειν, καὶ φίλος ὦν τοῖς πρώτοις, μὴ ἡττᾶσθαι εὐεργετῶν, ἦλθεν εἰς ταύτας τὰς σὺν Κύρῳ πράξεις· καὶ ᾤετο κτήσεσθαι ἐκ τούτων ὄνομα μέγα, καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην, καὶ χρήματα πολλά· τούτων δ' ἐπιθυμῶν, σφόδρα ἐνδηλον αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτο εἶχεν, ὅτι τούτων οὐδὲν ἂν θίλοι κτᾶσθαι μετὰ ἀδικίας, ἀλλὰ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ καλῷ ᾤετο δεῖν τούτων τυγχάνειν, ἄνευ δὲ τούτων μή. Ἀρχεῖν δὲ καλῶν μὲν καὶ ἀγαθῶν δυνατὸς ἦν· οὐ μέντοι οὐτ' αἰδῶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἑαυτοῦ οὔτε φόβον ἱκανὸς ἐμποιῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡσχύνετο μᾶλλον τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἢ οἱ ἀρχόμενοι ἐκείνον· καὶ φοβούμενος μᾶλλον ἢν φανερός τὸ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἢ οἱ στρατιώται τὸ ἀπιστεῖν ἐκείνῳ. ὤλετο δὲ ἀρχεῖν πρὸς τὸ ἀρχικὸν εἶναι καὶ δοκεῖν, τὸν μὲν καλῶς ποιοῦντα ἐπαινεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἀδικοῦντα μὴ ἐπαινεῖν. Τοιγαροῦν αὐτῷ οἱ μὲν καλοὶ καγαθοὶ τῶν συνόντων εὖνοι ἦσαν, οἱ δ' ἀδικοὶ ἐπεβούλευον, ὥς εὐμεταχειρίστῳ ὄντι. Ὅτε δὲ ἀπέθνησκεν, ἦν ἐτῶν ὡς τριάκοντα.

Μένων δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς δηλὸς ἦν ἐπιθυμῶν μὲν πλουτεῖν ἰσχυρῶς, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ ἄρχειν, ὅπως πλείω λαμβάνοι· ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ τιμάσθαι, ἵνα πλείω κερδαίνοι· φίλος τ' ἐβούλετο εἶναι τοῖς μέγιστον δυναμένοις, ἵνα ἀδικῶν μὴ διδοῖη

ἡλικην. Ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι, ὧν ἐπιθυμοίη, συντο-  
 μωτάτην ὁδὸν ᾤετο εἶναι διὰ τοῦ ἐπιτορκεῖν τε καὶ ψεύδεσθαι  
 καὶ ἑξαπατᾶν· τὸ δὲ ἀπλοῦν τε καὶ ἀληθές ἐνόμιζε τὸ αὐτὸ  
 τῷ ἡλιθίῳ εἶναι. Στέργων δὲ φανερός μὲν ἦν οὐδένα, ὅτῳ  
 5 δὲ φαίη φίλος εἶναι, τούτῳ ἔνδηλος ἐγίγνετο ἐπιβουλεύων.  
 Καὶ πολεμίῳ μὲν οὐδενὸς κατεγέλα, τῶν δὲ συνόντων πάν-  
 των ὡς καταγελῶν αἰεὶ διελέγετο. Καὶ τοῖς μὲν τῶν πολε-  
 μίων κτήμασιν οὐκ ἐπεβούλευε· χαλεπὸν γὰρ ᾤετο εἶναι, τὰ  
 τῶν φυλαττομένων λαμβάνειν· ἀλλὰ τὰ τῶν φίλων μόνος  
 10 ᾤετο εἰδέναι ῥᾶστον ὃν ἀφύλακτα λαμβάνειν. Καὶ ὅσους  
 μὲν ἂν αἰσθάνοιτο ἐπιόρκους καὶ ἀδίκους, ὡς εὖ ὠπλισμέ-  
 νους ἐφοβέιτο· τοῖς δ' ὅσοις καὶ ἀλήθειαν ἀσκοῦσιν ὡς  
 ἀνάνδροις ἐπειρᾶτο χρῆσθαι. Ὡς περ δὲ τις ἀγάλλεται ἐπὶ  
 15 θεοσεβείᾳ, καὶ ἀληθείᾳ, καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, οὕτω Μένων ἡγά-  
 λητο τῷ ἑξαπατᾶν δύνασθαι, τῷ πλάσασθαι ψευδῇ, τῷ φί-  
 λους διαγελαῖν· τὸν δὲ μὴ πανουργοῦν τῶν ἀπαιδευμένων ἐνό-  
 μιζεν εἶναι. Καὶ παρ' οἷς μὲν ἐπεχείρει πρωτεύειν φιλιᾶ,  
 διαβάλλων τοὺς πρώτους, τούτους ᾤετο δεῖν κτήσασθαι.  
 Τὸ δὲ πειθομένους τοὺς στρατιώτας παρασχέσθαι, ἐκ τοῦ  
 20 συναδικεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐμχανᾶτο. Τιμᾶσθαι δὲ καὶ θεραπεύε-  
 σθαι ἤξιον, ἐπιδεικνύμενος, ὅτι πλεῖστα δύναιτο καὶ ἐθελοί-  
 ᾱν ἀδικεῖν. Εὐεργεσίαν δὲ κατέλεγεν, ὅποτε τις αὐτοῦ ἀφί-  
 σταιτο, ὅτι χρώμενος αὐτῷ οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν αὐτόν. Καὶ τὰ  
 μὲν δὴ ἀφανῇ ἔξεστι περὶ αὐτοῦ ψεύδεσθαι· αὐτὸς δὲ πάντες  
 25 ἴσασι, τὰδ' ἐστί. Παρὰ Ἀριστίππῳ μὲν, ἔτι ὥραϊος ὢν,  
 στρατηγεῖν διεπράξατο τῶν ξένων. Ἀριαίῳ δέ, βαρβαρῶς  
 ὄντι, ὅτι μαιρακίοις καλοῖς ἤδετο, οἰκειότατος ἔτι ὥραϊος  
 ὢν ἐγένετο· αὐτὸς δὲ παιδικὰ εἶχε θαρύπαν, ἀγένειος ὢν  
 γενειῶντα. Ἀποθνησκόντων δὲ τῶν συστρατηγῶν, ὅτι ἐστρά-  
 30 τευσαν ἐπὶ βασιλέα σὺν Κύρῳ, τὰ αὐτὰ πεποιηκώς οὐκ  
 ἀπέθανε· μετὰ δὲ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων θάνατον στρατηγῶν, τι-  
 μωρηθεὶς ὑπὸ βασιλείᾳ ἀπέθανεν, οὐχ ὥς περ Κλείαρχος καὶ  
 οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ἀποτιμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς, ὥς περ τὰ-

λύπης, καὶ πόθου πατρίδων, γονέων, γυναικῶν, παιδων, οὓς οὐποτε ἐνόμιζον ἔτι ὄψεσθαι. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ διακείμενοι πάντες ἀνεπαύοντο.

Ἦν δέ τις ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς οὔτε στρατηγός, οὔτε λοχαγός, οὔτε στρατιώτης ὧν συνηκολούθει, ἀλλὰ Προξένος αὐτὸν μετεπέμψατο οἰκοῖεν, ξένος ὧν ἀρχαῖος· ὑπασχνεῖτο δὲ αὐτῷ, εἰ ἔλθοι, φίλον Κύρῳ ποιήσειν· ὃν αὐτὸς ἔφη κρείττω ἑαυτῷ νομίζειν τῆς πατρίδος. Ὁ μὲντοι Ξενοφῶν, ἀναγνούς τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ἀνακοινοῦται Σωκράτει τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ περὶ τῆς πορείας. Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, ὑπο-  
 10 πτεύσας, μὴ τι πρὸς τῆς πόλεως οἱ ὑπαίτιον εἴη, Κύρῳ φίλον γενέσθαι, ὅτι ἔδοκει ὁ Κύρος προθύμως τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας συμπολεμήσαι, συμβουλευεῖ τῷ Ξενοφῶντι, ἐλθόντα εἰς Δελφούς ἀνακοινῶσαι τῷ θεῷ περὶ τῆς πορείας. Ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐπήρετο τὸν Ἀπόλλω,   
 15 τίνι ἂν θεῶν θύων καὶ εὐχόμενος κάλλιστ' ἂν καὶ ἄριστα ἔλθοι τὴν ὁδόν, ἣν ἐπινοεῖ, καὶ καλῶς πράξας σωθεῖη. Καὶ ἀνέειπεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀπόλλων θεοῖς οἷς ἔδει θύειν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἦλθε, λέγει τὴν μαντείαν τῷ Σωκράτει. Ὁ δ' ἀκούσας ἡττάτο αὐτόν, ὅτι οὐ τοῦτο πρότερον ἠρώτα, πότερον   
 20 λώϊον αὐτῷ εἴη πορεύεσθαι ἢ μένειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς κρίνας, ἵεόν εἶναι, τοῦτο ἐπυνθάνετο, ὅπως ἂν κάλλιστα πορευθεῖη. "Ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὕτως ἦρου, ταῦτ'," ἔφη, "χρὴ ποιεῖν, ὅσα ὁ θεὸς ἐκέλευσεν." Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ξενοφῶν, οὕτω θυσάμενος, οἷς ἀνέειπεν ὁ θεός, ἐξέπλει, καὶ καταλαμβάνει ἐν Σάρδεσι Προξέ-   
 25 νον καὶ Κύρον, μέλλοντας ἤδη ὁρμαῖν τὴν ἄνω ὁδόν· καὶ συνεστάθη Κύρῳ. Προθυμουμένου δὲ τοῦ Προξένου καὶ ὁ Κύρος συμπροθυμεῖτο μέναι αὐτόν· εἶπε δέ, ὅτι, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα ἡ στρατεία λήξῃ, εὐθύς ἀποπέμψει αὐτόν. Ἐλέγετο δὲ ὁ στόλος εἶναι εἰς Πεισίδας.

30

Ἐστρατεῖετο μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἑξαπατηθεὶς, οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ Προξένου· οὐ γὰρ ᾔδει τὴν ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ ὁρμήν, οὐδ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, πλὴν Κλεάρχου· ἐπεὶ μέντοι εἰς Κιλι-

κίαν ἦλθον, σαφές πᾶσιν ἤδη ἐδόκει εἶναι, ὅτι ὁ στόλος εἴη ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ. Φοβούμενοι δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ ἄκοντες ὁμῶς οἱ πολλοὶ δι' αἰσχύνην καὶ ἀλλήλων καὶ Κύρου συνηκολούθησαν· ὧν εἷς καὶ Ξενοφῶν ἦν. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπορία ἦν, ἐλυπεῖτο  
 5 μὲν σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις, καὶ οὐκ ἐδύνατο καθεύδειν· μικρὸν δὲ ὕπνου λαχών, εἶδεν ὄναρ. Ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ, βροντῆς γενομένης, σκηπτὸς πεσεῖν εἰς τὴν πατρῴαν οἰκίαν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου λάμπεσθαι πᾶσαν. Περὶφοβος δ' εὐθύς ἀνηγέρεθῃ, καὶ τὸ ὄναρ πῇ μὲν ἔκρινεν ἀγαθόν· ὅτι, ἐν πόνοις ὧν καὶ κινδύ-  
 10 νοις, φῶς μέγα ἐκ Διὸς ἰδεῖν ἔδοξε· πῇ δὲ καὶ ἐφοβεῖτο, ὅτι ἀπὸ Διὸς μὲν βασιλέως τὸ ὄναρ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ εἶναι, κύκλῳ δὲ ἐδόκει λάμπεσθαι τὸ πῦρ, μὴ οὐ δύναίτο ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐξελεῖν τῆς βασιλείας, ἀλλ' εἴργοιτο πάντοθεν ὑπὸ τινων ἀποριῶν.

15 Ὅποιόν τι μὲν δὴ ἐστὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ὄναρ ἰδεῖν, ἔξεστι σκοπεῖν ἐκ τῶν συμβάντων μετὰ τὸ ὄναρ. Γίγνεται γὰρ τάδε εὐθύς. Ἐπειδὴ ἀνηγέρεθῃ, πρῶτον μὲν ἔννοια αὐτῷ ἐμπίπτει· “Τί κατὰκειμαι; ἡ δὲ νῦν προβαίνει· ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰκὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἦξιν. Εἰ δὲ γενησόμεθα ἐπὶ  
 20 βασιλεῖ, τί ἐμποδών, μὴ σὺνὶ πάντα μὲν τὰ χαλεπώτατα ἐπιδόντας, πάντα δὲ τὰ δεινότατα παθόντας, ὕβριζομένους ἀποθανεῖν. Ὅπως δὲ ἀμυνόμεθα, οὐδεὶς παρασκευάζεται, οὐδ' ἐπιμελεῖται, ἀλλὰ κατακείμεθα, ὥσπερ ἐξὸν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν. Ἐγὼ οὖν τὸν ἐκ πόλεως πόλεως στρατηγὸν προσδοκῶ  
 25 ταῦτα πράξαι; ποίαν δ' ἡλικίαν ἐμαυτῷ ἐλθεῖν ἀναμένω; οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἔτι πρεσβύτερος ἔσομαι, ἐὰν τῇμέρην προδῶ ἐμαυτὸν τοῖς πολεμίς.” Ἐκ τούτου ἀνίσταται, καὶ συγκαλεῖ τοὺς Προξένου πρῶτον λοχαγούς. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, ἔλε-  
 30 ξεν· “Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες λοχαγοί, οὔτε καθεύδειν δύναμαι (ὥσπερ, οἶμαι, οὐδ' ὑμεῖς), οὔτε κατακεῖσθαι ἔτι, ὄρῳ, ἐν οἷσις ἵσμεν. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ δὴ πολέμιοι δηλὸν ὅτι οὐ πρότερον πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸν πόλεμον ἐξέφηναν, πρὶν ἐνόμισαν, τὰ ἐαυτῶν καλῶς παρασκευάσθαι· ἡμῶν δ' οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἀντεπιμελεῖ-

και, ὅπως ὥς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιούμεθα. Καὶ μὴν εἰ ὑψησόμεθα καὶ ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ γενησόμεθα, τί οἰόμεθα πείσεσθαι; ὅς καὶ τοῦ ὁμομητρίου καὶ ὁμοπατρίου ἀδελφοῦ καὶ τέττη-  
 κότες ἤδη ἀποτεμῶν τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἀνισταύρω-  
 σεν· ἡμᾶς δὲ, οἷς κηδεμῶν μὲν οὐδεὶς πάρεστιν, ἐστρατεύ-  
 σαμεν δ' ἐκ' αὐτόν, ὥς δοῦλον ἀντὶ βασιλείας ποιήσαντες, καὶ  
 ἀποκτενοῦντες, εἰ θυναίμεθα, τί ἂν οἰόμεθα παθεῖν; Ἄρ'  
 οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ πᾶν ἔλθοι, ὥς, ἡμᾶς τὰ ἔσχατα αἰκισάμενος,  
 πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις φόβον παράσχη τοῦ στρατεῦσαι ποτε ἐφ'  
 ἑαυτόν; Ἄλλ' ὅπως τοι μὴ ἐκ' ἐκείνῳ γενησόμεθα, πάντα 10  
 ποιητέον. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ἔστε μὲν αἱ σπονδαὶ ἦσαν, οὐποτε  
 ἐπαυόμην ἡμᾶς μὲν οἰκτείρων, βασιλέα δὲ καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ  
 μακαρίζων, διαθεώμενος αὐτῶν ὅσῃ μὲν χώραν καὶ οἶαν ἔχοι-  
 εν, ὥς δὲ ἄφθονα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὅσους δὲ θεράποντας, ὅσα δὲ  
 κτήνη, χρυσὸν δὲ, ἐσθῆτα δέ· τὰ δ' αὖ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁπότε 15  
 ἐνθυμούμην, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν πάντων οὐθενὸς ἡμῖν μετείη,  
 εἰ μὴ πρῖν αἰετοῦ, οὔτου δὲ ὠνησόμεθα, ἥθειν ἔτι ὀλίγους ἔχον-  
 τας, ἄλλως δὲ πως κορίζεσθαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἢ ὠνουμένους,  
 ὄρκους ἤδη κατέχοντας ἡμᾶς· ταῦτ' οὖν λογιζόμενος, ἐνίοτε  
 τὰς σπονδὰς μᾶλλον ἐφοβούμην, ἢ νῦν τὸν πόλεμον. Ἐπεὶ 20  
 μέντοι ἐκείνοι ἔλυσαν τὰς σπονδὰς, λελύσθαι μοι δοκεῖ καὶ  
 ἡ ἐκείνων ὕβρις, καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα ὑποψία. Ἐν μέσῳ γὰρ ἤδη  
 κεῖται ταῦτα τὰ ἀγαθὰ, ἄθλα, ὁπότεροι ἂν ἡμῶν ἄνδρες  
 ἀμείνονες ὦσιν· ἀγνοοῦνται δ' οἱ θεοὶ εἰσιν, οἱ σὺν ἡμῖν,  
 ὥς τὸ εἰκός, ἔσονται. Οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπιωρκήκασιν· 25  
 ἡμεῖς δὲ, πολλὰ ὀρῶντες ἀγαθὰ, στεφθῶς αὐτῶν ἀπειχόμε-  
 θα, διὰ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ὄρκους· ὥστε ἐξεῖναι μοι δοκεῖ, εἶναι  
 ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα πολὺ σὺν φρονήματι μίλζονι, ἢ τούτοις. Ἐτι  
 δὲ ἔχομεν σώματα ἱκανώτερα τούτων καὶ ψύχη καὶ θάλαπῃ  
 καὶ πόνονος φέρειν· ἔχομεν δὲ καὶ ψυχὰς σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς 30  
 ἀμείνονας· οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες καὶ τρωτοὶ καὶ θρητοὶ μᾶλλον  
 ἡμῶν, ἢν οἱ θεοί, ὥς περ τοπρόσθεν, νίκην ἡμῖν διδῶσιν.  
 Ἄλλ' ἴσως γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι ταῦτα ἐνθυμοῦνται, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν,

μὴ ἀναμένωμεν, ἄλλους ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐλθεῖν, παρακαλοῦντας ἐπὶ τὰ κάλλιστα ἔργα, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἄρξωμεν τοῦ ἐξορμῆσαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν. Φάνητε τῶν λοχαγῶν ἀριστοί, καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀξιοστρατηγότεροι. Καὶ γὰρ δέ, εἰ μὲν  
 5 ὑμεῖς ἐθέτετε ἐξορμᾶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα, ἔπεςθαι ὑμῖν βούλομαι, εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς τάττετέ με ἡγεῖσθαι, οὐδὲν προφασίζομαι τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκμάζειν ἡγοῦμαι, ἐρύκειν ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ τὰ κακά."

Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεξεν, οἱ δὲ λοχαγοί, ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα,  
 10 ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον ἅπαντες. Πλὴν Ἀπολλωνίδης τις ἦν, βοιωτιάων τῇ φωνῇ· οὗτος δ' εἶπεν, ὅτι φλυαροίη, ὅστις λέγει, ἄλλως πως σωτηρίας ἂν τυχεῖν, ἢ βασιλεῖα πείσας, εἰ δύναίτο· καὶ ἅμα ἤρχετο λέγειν τὰς ἀπορίας. Ὁ μὲντοι Ξενοφῶν, μεταξὺ ὑπολαβὼν, ἔλεξεν ὧδε· "Ὡ θανμασιώτατε  
 15 ἄνθρωπε, σὺ γε οὐδ' ὁρῶν γιγνώσκεις, οὐδ' ἀκούων μέμνησαι. Ἐν ταύτῳ γε μέντοι ἦσθα τούτοις, ὅτε βασιλεὺς, ἐπεὶ Κῦρος ἀπέθανε, μέγα φρονήσας ἐπὶ τούτῳ, πέμπων ἐκέλευε παραδιδόναι τὰ ὅπλα. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμεῖς οὐ παραδόντες,  
 20 ἐποίησε πρέσβεις πέμπων, καὶ σπονδὰς αἰτῶν, καὶ παρέχων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἔστε σπονδῶν ἔτυχεν; Ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοί, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ σὺ κελεύεις, εἰς λόγους αὐτοῖς ἄνευ ὀπλων ἤλθον, πιστεύσαντες ταῖς σπονδαῖς, οὐ νῦν ἐκεῖνοι παιόμενοι, κεντούμενοι, ὑβριζόμενοι, οὐδ' ἀποθανεῖν οἱ  
 25 τλήμονες δύνανται; καὶ μάλ', οἶμαι, ἐρῶντες τούτου. Ἄ σὺ πάντα εἰδώς, τοὺς μὲν ἀμύνεσθαι κελεύοντας φλυαρεῖν φῆς, πείθειν δὲ πάλιν κελεύεις ἰόντας; Ἐμοὶ δέ, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, δοκεῖ, τὸν ἄνθρωπον τούτον μήτε προσεῖσθαι εἰς ταῦτό ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς, ἀφελομένους τε τὴν λοχαγίαν, σκευὴ ἀναθίοντας, ὥς  
 30 τοιοῦτόν χρῆσθαι. Οὗτος γὰρ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα καταισχύρει, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὅτι Ἕλληρ ὦν τοιοῦτός ἐστιν."

Ἐντεῦθεν ὑπολαβὼν Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος, εἶπεν· "Ἄλλα τούτῳ γε οὔτε τῆς Βοιωτίας προσήκει οὐδέν, οὔτε τῆς Ἑλ-

λάδος παντάπασιν· ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν εἶδον, ὥσπερ Λυδόν, ἀμφοτέρω τὰ ὅτα τετυρημένον.” Καὶ εἶχεν οὕτως. Τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἀπῆλασαν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι, παρὰ τὰς τάξεις ἰόντες, ὅπου μὲν στρατηγὸς σῶος εἴη, τὸν στρατηγὸν παρεκάλουν· ὁπόθεν δὲ οἴχοιτο, τὸν ὑποστρατηγόν· ὅπου δὲ λοχαγὸς σῶος εἴη, τὸν λοχαγόν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες συνῆλθον, εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν τῶν ὀπλῶν ἐκαθίζοντο· καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ συνελθόντες στατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑκατόν. “Οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἦν, σχεδὸν ἦσαν μέσαι νύκτες. Ἐνταῦθα Ἰερώνημος Ἡλείος, πρεσβύτατος ὢν τῶν Προξίνου λοχαγῶν, ἤρχετο λέγειν ὥδε· “Ἥμιν, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοί, ὀρώσει τὰ παρόντα ἔδοξε καὶ αὐτοῖς συνελθεῖν, καὶ ὑμᾶς παρακαλῆσαι, ὅπως βουλευσάμεθα, εἴ τι δυναίμεθα, ἀγαθόν. Λέγον δ’,” ἔφη, “καὶ σύ, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ἅπερ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς.”

Ἐκ τούτου λέγει τάδε Ξενοφῶν· “Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα, ὅτι βασιλεὺς καὶ Τισσαφέρνης, οὓς μὲν ἐδυνήθησαν, συνειλήφασιν ἡμῶν· τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις δῆλον ὅτι ἐπιβουλεύουσιν, ὥς, ἣν δύνωνται, ἀπολέσωσιν. Ἥμιν δὲ γ' οἶμαι πάντα ποιητέα, ὥς μή ποτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις γενώμεθα, ἀλλὰ μάλλον, ἣν δυνώμεθα, ἐκείνοι ἐφ' ἡμῖν. Εὖ τοίνυν ἐπίστασθε, ὅτι ὑμεῖς, τοσοῦτοι ὄντες, ὅσοι νῦν συνελθύθατε, μέγιστον ἔχετε καιρὸν. Οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται οὗτοι πάντες πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀποβλέπουσι· καὶ μὲν ὑμᾶς ὀρώσιν ἀθυμοῦντας, πάντες κακοὶ ἔσονται· ἣν δὲ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ τε παρασκευαζόμενοι φανεροὶ ᾗτε ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλῆτε, εὖ ἴστε, ὅτι ἔφονται ὑμῖν, καὶ πειράσσονται μιμεῖσθαι. Ἴσως δὲ τοι καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ὑμᾶς διαφέρειν τι τούτων. Ὅτι γὰρ ἐστὶ στρατηγοί, ὑμεῖς ταξίαρχοι καὶ λοχαγοί· καὶ ὅτε εἰρήνη ᾗν, ὑμεῖς καὶ χρήμασι καὶ τιμαῖς τούτων ἐπλεονεκτεῖτε· καὶ νῦν τοίνυν, ἐπεὶ πόλεμός ἐστιν, ἀξιοῦν δεῖ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀμείνους τε τοῦ πλῆθους εἶναι, καὶ προβουλεύειν τούτων καὶ προπονεῖν, ἣν που δεῖ. Καὶ νῦν πρῶτον μὲν οἶμαι ἂν ὑμᾶς μέγα ὀνῆσαι τὸ στράτευμα,

εἰ ἐπιμεληθείητε, ὅπως ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ὡς τάχιστα  
 στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ κατασταθῶσιν. Ἄνευ γὰρ ἀρχόντων  
 οὐδὲν ἂν οὔτε καλόν, οὔτε ἀγαθὸν γένοιτο, ὡς μὲν συνελόντι  
 εἶπεῖν, οὐδαμοῦ· ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, παντάπασιν. ἸΙ  
 5 μὲν γὰρ εὐταξία σώζειν δοκεῖ, ἡ δὲ ἀταξία πολλοὺς ἤδη ἀπο-  
 λώλεκεν. Ἐπειθὰν δὲ καταστήσῃσθε τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ὅσους δεῖ,  
 ἦν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας συλλέγητε καὶ παραθαρῶνῃ-  
 τε, υἱμαί, ὑμᾶς πάντῃ ἂν ἐν καιρῷ ποιῆσαι. Νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἴσως  
 καὶ ὑμεῖς αἰσθάνεσθε, ὡς ἀθύμως μὲν ἤλθον ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα,  
 10 ἀθύμως δὲ πρὸς τὰς φυλακάς· ὥστε, οὕτω γε ἐχόντων, οὐκ  
 οἶδα, ὅ τι ἂν τις χρήσαιτο αὐτοῖς, εἴτε νυκτὸς δεῖοι τι, εἴτε  
 καὶ ἡμέρας. Ἦν δὲ τις αὐτῶν τρέψῃ τὰς γνώμας, ὡς μὴ  
 τοῦτο μόνον ἐννοῶνται, τί πείσονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τί ποιήσουσι,  
 πολὺ εὐθυμότεροι ἔσονται. Ἐπίστασθε γὰρ δήπου, ὅτι  
 15 οὔτε πληθὸς ἐστὶν οὔτε ἰσχύς ἡ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τὰς νίκας  
 ποιοῦσα· ἀλλ' ὁπότεροί ἂν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐφ-  
 ῶμενέστεροι ἴωσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, τούτους ὡς ἐπιτο-  
 πολὺ οἱ ἐναντίοι οὐ δέχονται. Ἐντεθίμηναι δ' ἔγωγε,  
 ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι, ὅποσοι μὲν μαστεύουσι ζῆν ἐκ παν-  
 20 τὸς τρόπου ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, οὗτοι μὲν κακῶς τε καὶ  
 αἰσχρῶς ὡς ἐπιτοπολὺ ἀποθνήσκουσιν· ὅποσοι δὲ τὸν μὲν  
 θάνατον ἐγνώκασιν πᾶσι κοινὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἀνθρώ-  
 ποις, περὶ δὲ τοῦ καλῶς ἀποθνήσκειν ἀγωνίζονται, τούτους  
 ὀρῶ μᾶλλον πως εἰς τὸ γῆρας ἀφικνουμένους, καί, ἕως ἂν  
 25 ζῶσιν, εὐδαιμονέστερον διάγοντας. Ἄ καὶ ἡμᾶς δεῖ νῦν  
 καταμαθόντας, ἐν κοινούτῳ γὰρ καιρῷ ἑσμέν, αὐτοὺς τε ἄν-  
 θρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλεῖν." Ὁ μὲν  
 ταῦτ' εἰπὼν, ἐπαύσατο.

Μετὰ τοῦτον δ' εἶπε Χερσίσοφος· "Ἀλλὰ πρόσθεν μὲν,  
 30 ὦ Δενοφῶν, τοσοῦτον μόνον σε ἐγίγνωσκον, ὅσον ἤκουον  
 Ἀθηναῖον εἶναι· νῦν δὲ καὶ ἐπαινώ σε ἐφ' οἷς λέγεις τε καὶ  
 πράττεις, καὶ βουλομένην ἂν ὅτι πλείστους εἶναι τοιοῦτους·  
 κοινὸν γὰρ ἂν εἴῃ τὸ ἀγαθόν. Καὶ νῦν," ἔφη, "μὴ μέλλωμεν,

ὧ ἄνδρες, ἀλλ' ἀπελθόντες ἤδη αἰρεῖσθε οἱ θεόμενοι ἄρχοντας, καὶ ἰλόμενοι ἤκειτε εἰς τὸ μέσον τοῦ στρατοπέδου, καὶ τοὺς αἰρεθέντας ἄγετε· ἔπειτα ἐκεῖ συγκαλοῦμεν τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας· παρίστω δ' ἡμῖν," ἔφη, "καὶ Τυλμίδης ὁ κήρυξ." Καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀνίστη, ὥς μὴ μέλλοιτο, ἀλλὰ περαινέσθαι τὰ δέοντα. Ἐκ τούτου ἡρέθησαν ἄρχοντες, ἀντὶ μὲν Κλεάρχου Τιμασίῳ Λαρδανεύς, ἀντὶ δὲ Σωκράτους Ξανθικλῆς Ἀχαιοός, ἀντὶ δὲ Ἀγίου Ἀρχαδός Κλεάνωρ Ὀρχομένιος, ἀντὶ δὲ Μένωνος Φιλήσιος Ἀχαιοός, ἀντὶ δὲ Προξένου Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος.

### Κεφάλαιον β'.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦρηντο, ἡμέρα τε σχεδὸν ὑπέβαινε, καὶ εἰς τὸ μέσον ἦκον οἱ ἄρχοντες, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, προφύλακας κατὰ στήσαντας, συγκαλεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιώται συνῆλθον, ἀνέστη πρῶτον μὲν Χειρίσοφος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, καὶ ἔλεξεν ὥδε· "Ὡ ἄνδρες στρατιώται, καλεσθέντες μὲν τὰ παρόντα, ὅποτε ἀνδρῶν στρατηγῶν τοιοῦτων στερόμεθα καὶ λοχαγῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν· πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ οὐδ' ἀμφὶ Ἀριαῖον, οἱ πρόσθεν σύμμαχοι ὄντες, προδεδώκαμεν ἡμᾶς. Ὅμως δὲ δεῖ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τε εἶναι, καὶ μὴ ὑφίστασθαι, ἀλλὰ πειραῖσθαι, ὅπως, ἣν μὲν δυνώμεθα, καλῶς νικῶντες σωζώμεθα· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλὰ καλῶς γε ἀποθνήσκωμεν, ὑπεχείριον δὲ μήποτε γενώμεθα ζῶντες τοῖς πολέμοις. Οἶμαι γὰρ ἂν ἡμᾶς τοιαῦτα παθεῖν, οἷα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οἱ θεοὶ ποιήσειαν."

Ἐπὶ τούτῳ Κλεάνωρ Ὀρχομένιος ἀνέστη, καὶ ἔλεξεν ὥδε· "Ἄλλ' ὁρᾶτε μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τὴν βασιλείας ἐπιπορκίαν καὶ ἀσέβειαν· ὁρᾶτε δὲ τὴν Τισσαφέρου ἀπιστίαν, ὅστις λέγων, ὥς γέτιών τε εἴη τῆς Ἑλλάδος, καὶ περὶ πλείστον ἂν ποιήσαιτο σῶσαι ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτοὺς ἐμόσας ἡμῖν, αὐ-

τοὺς δεξιὰς δούς, αὐτοὺς ἐξαπατήσας, συνέλαβε τοὺς στρατηγούς, καὶ οὐδὲ Δία Ξένιον ἠδέσθη, ἀλλὰ, Κλεάρχῳ καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος γενόμενος, αὐτοῖς τούτοις ἐξαπατήσας τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπολώλεκεν. Ἀριαῖος δέ, ὃν ἡμεῖς ἠθέλομεν βασιλεῖα καθιστάναι, καὶ ἐδώκαμεν καὶ ἐλάβομεν πιστά, μὴ προδώσειν ἀλλήλους, καὶ οὗτος, οὔτε τοὺς θεοὺς δείσας, οὔτε Κύρον τὸν τεθνηκότα αἰδέσθεις, εὐμώμενος μάλιστα ὑπὸ Κέρου ζῶντος, νῦν πρὸς τοὺς ἐκείνου ἐχθίστους ἀποστάς, ἡμᾶς τοὺς Κέρου φίλους κακῶς ποιεῖν πειραῖται. Ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν οἱ θεοὶ ἀποτίσαιντο· ἡμᾶς δὲ δεῖ, ταῦτα ὀρῶντας, μήποτε ἐξαπατηθῆναι ἔτι ὑπὸ τούτων, ἀλλὰ μαχομένους, ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα κράτιστα, τοῦτο, ὃ τι ἂν δοκῇ τοῖς θεοῖς, πάσχειν.”

Ἐκ τούτου Ξενοφῶν ἀνίσταται, ἐσταλμένος εἰς πόλεμον ὡς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα· νομίζων, εἴτε νίκην διδοῖεν οἱ θεοί, τὸν κάλλιστον κόσμον τῷ νικᾷν πρέπειν· εἴτε τελευτᾷν δέοι, ὀρθῶς ἔχειν, τῶν καλλίστων ἑαυτὸν ἀξιώσαντα, ἐν τούτοις τῆς τελευτῆς τυγχάνειν· τοῦ λόγου δὲ ἤρχετο ὧδε· “Τὴν μὲν τῶν βαρβύρων ἐπιτοκίαν τε καὶ ἀπιστίαν λέγει Κλεάνωρ, ἐπίστασθε δέ, ὅμαι, καὶ ὑμεῖς. Εἰ μὲν οὖν βουλευόμεθα πάλιν αὐτοῖς διὰ φιλίας ἔναι, ἀνάγκη ἡμᾶς πολλὴν ἀθυμίαν ἔχειν, ὀρῶντας τοὺς στρατηγούς, οἳ διὰ πίστειως αὐτοῖς ἑαυτοὺς ἐνεχείρισαν, οἷα πεπόνθασιν· εἰ μέντοι διανοοῦμεθα σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις, ὧν τε πεποιήκασι, δίκην ἐπιθεῖναι αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν διὰ παντὸς πολέμου αὐτοῖς ἔναι, σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς πολλὰ ἡμῖν καὶ καλὰ ἐλπίδες εἰσι σωτηρίας.” Τοῦτο δὲ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ, πιάρρνυται τις· ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται, πάντες μιᾷ ὁρμῇ προσεκύνησαν τὸν θεόν· καὶ Ξενοφῶν εἶπε· “Δοκεῖ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐπεὶ περὶ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν λεγόντων οἰωνὸς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτήρος ἐφάνη, εὐχασθαι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ θύσειν σωτήρια, ὅπου ἂν πρῶτον εἰς φιλίαν χώραν ἀφικώμεθα· συνεπεύχασθαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς θύσειν κατὰ δύναμιν. Καὶ ὅτῃ δοκεῖ

ταῦτ' ἔφη, "ἀντεινάντω τὴν χεῖρα." Καὶ ἀντεινῶσαν ἅπαντες. Ἐκ τούτου εὖξαντο καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τῶν Θεῶν καλῶς εἶχεν, ἤρχετο πάλιν ὦδε·

"Ἐτύγχανον λέγων, ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἐλπίδες ἡμῖν εἶεν σωτηρίας. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐμπεδοῦμεν τοὺς τῶν Θεῶν ὄρκους, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐπιωρκήκασι τε, καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους λελύκασιν. Οὕτω δ' ἐχόντων, εἰκός, τοῖς μὲν πολέμοις ἐναντίους εἶναι τοὺς Θεούς, ἡμῖν δὲ συμμάχους, ὥστε ἱκανοὶ εἶσι, καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους ταχὺ μικροὺς ποιεῖν, καὶ τοὺς μικροὺς, καθὲν ἐν δεινοῖς ὦσι, σώζειν εὐπειῶς, ὅταν βούλωνται. Ἐπειτα δέ, ἀναμνήσω γὰρ ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων κινδύνους, ἵν' εἰδῇτε, ὥς ἀγαθοὶς τε ὑμῖν προσήκει εἶναι, σώζονται τε σὺν τοῖς Θεοῖς καὶ ἐκ πάντων δεινῶν οἱ ἀγαθοί· ἐλθόντων μὲν γὰρ Περσῶν καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς παμπληθεῖ στόλῳ, ὥς ἀφανισ-  
15  
νούντων τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὑποστῆναι αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι τολμήσαντες, ἐνίκησαν αὐτούς. Καὶ εὐξάμενοι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ὅπόσους ἂν κατακάνοιεν τῶν πολεμίων, τοσαύτας χιμαῖρας καταθύσειεν τῇ Θεῷ, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔχον ἱκανὰς εὐρεῖν, ἔδοξεν αὐ-  
20  
τοῖς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν πεντακοσίας θύειν· καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀπο-  
θύουσιν. Ἐπειτα ὅτε Ξέρξης ὕστερον ἀγέρας τὴν ἀναρ-  
θμητον στρατιὰν ἤλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ τότε ἐνίκων οἱ ἡμετέροι πρόγονοι τοὺς τούτων προγόνους, καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. Ὡς ἐστὶ μὲν τεκμήρια ὁρᾶν τὰ τρό-  
παια, μέγιστον δὲ μαρτύριον ἡ ἐλευθερία τῶν πόλεων, ἐν  
αἷς ὑμεῖς ἐγένεσθε καὶ ἐτράφητε· οὐδένα γὰρ ἀνθρωπον δεσπότην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς Θεοὺς προσκυνεῖτε. Τιοιούτων μὲν  
ἐστε προγόνων. Οὐ μὲν δὴ τοῦτό γε ἐρῶ, ὥς ὑμεῖς καται-  
σχύνετε αὐτούς· ἀλλ' οὕτω πολλὰ ἡμέραι, ἀφ' οὗ ἀντιτα-  
ξάμενοι τούτοις τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐχρόνοις, πολλαπλασίους ὑμῶν  
αὐτῶν ἐνικᾶτε σὺν τοῖς Θεοῖς. Καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ περὶ τῆς  
Κύρου βασιλείας ἄνδρες ἦτε ἀγαθοί· νῦν δ', ὅποτε περὶ  
τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας ὁ ἀγὼν ἐστὶ, πολὺ δήπου ἡμᾶς προς-

ἡκει καὶ ἡμείνονας καὶ προθυμότερους εἶναι. Ἀλλὰ μὴν  
 καὶ θαρσύνεσθαι νῦν πρέπει εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους.  
 Τότε μὲν γὰρ ἄπειροι ὄντες αὐτῶν, τό τε πλῆθος ἄμετρον  
 ὁρῶντες, ὁμῶς ἐτολμήσατε σὺν τῷ πατρίῳ φρονήματι ἵεναι  
 5 εἰς αὐτούς· νῦν δ', ὁπότε καὶ πείραν ἤδη ἔχετε αὐτῶν, ὅτι  
 θέλουσι καὶ πολλαπλάσιοι ὄντες μὴ δέχεσθαι ὑμᾶς, τί ὑμῖν  
 ἔτι προσήκει τούτους φοβεῖσθαι; Μηδὲ μέντοι τοῦτο μείον  
 δόξητε ἔχειν, εἰ οἱ Κυρεῖοι, πρόσθεν σὺν ὑμῖν ταττόμενοι,  
 νῦν ἀφιστάσιν· ἔτι γὰρ οὗτοι κακίονες εἰσι τῶν ὑφ' ἡμῶν  
 10 ἡττημένων· ἔφευγον γοῦν πρὸς ἐκείνους, καταλιπόντες ὑμᾶς.  
 Τοὺς δὲ ἐθέλοντας φυγῆς ἄρχειν, πολὺ κρεῖττον σὺν τοῖς  
 πολεμίοις ταττομένους, ἢ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τάξει, ὁρᾶν. Εἰ δέ  
 τις αὐτῶν ἀθυμεῖ, ὅτι ἡμῖν μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶν ἱππεῖς, τοῖς δὲ  
 πολεμίοις πολλοὶ πάρεσιν, ἐνθυμήθητε, ὅτι οἱ μύριοι ἱπ-  
 15 πεῖς οὐδὲν ἄλλο, ἢ μύριοι ἄνθρωποι εἰσὶν· ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ  
 ἵππου ἐν μάχῃ οὐδεὶς πώποτε οὔτε δηχθεὶς οὔτε λακτισθεὶς  
 ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δ' ἄνδρες εἰσὶν οἱ ποιοῦντες, ὃ τι ἂν ἐν ταῖς  
 μάχαις γίγνηται. Οὐκοῦν τῶν γε ἱππέων πολὺ ἡμεῖς ἐπ'  
 ἀσφαλεστέρου ὀχήματος ἐσμέν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἵππων κρέ-  
 20 μανται, φοβούμενοι οὐχ ἡμᾶς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ καταπε-  
 σεῖν· ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς βεβηκότες, πολὺ μὲν ἰσχυρότερον  
 παίσομεν, ἢν τις προσέλῃ, πολὺ δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον, ὅτου ἂν ἐθέ-  
 λωμεν, τευξόμεθα. Ἐνὶ μόνῳ προέχουσιν ἡμᾶς οἱ ἱππεῖς·  
 φεύγειν αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλέστερόν ἐστιν, ἢ ἡμῖν. Εἰ δὲ δὴ τὰς  
 25 μὲν μάχας θαρσύνετε, ὅτι δ' οὐκέτι ἡμῖν Τισσαφέρους ἡγήσε-  
 ται, οὐδὲ βασιλεὺς ἀγορὰν παρέξει, τοῦτο ἄχθεσθε, σκέ-  
 ψασθε, πότιρον κρεῖττον, Τισσαφέρην ἡγεμόνα ἔχειν, ὃς  
 ἐπιβουλεύων ἡμῖν φανερός ἐστιν, ἢ οὓς ἂν ἡμεῖς ἄνδρας  
 λαβόντες ἡγεῖσθαι κελεύωμεν· οἱ εἰσονται, ὅτι, ἢν τι περὶ  
 30 ἡμᾶς ἀμαρτάνωσι, περὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ σώματα  
 ἀμαρτάνουσι. Τὰ δ' ἐπιτίδεια πότιρον ὠνεῖσθαι κρεῖττον  
 ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἧς οὗτοι παρέχον, μικρὰ μέτρα πολλοῦ ἀρ-  
 γυρίου, μηδὲ τοῦτο ἔτι ἔχοντας, ἢ αὐτοὺς λαμβάνειν, ἢν περ

κρατῶμεν, μέτρησθαι χρωμένους, ὅπόσῃ ἂν ἕκαστος βούληται. Εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν γινώσκετε, ὅτι οὕτω κρείττονα, τοὺς δὲ ποταμοὺς ἄπορον νομίζετε εἶναι, καὶ μεγάλως ἡγείσθε ἐξαπατηθῆναι διαβάντες, σκέψασθε, εἰ ἄρα τοῦτο καὶ μωρότατον πεποιήκασιν οἱ βάρβαροι. Πάντες μὲν γὰρ οἱ ποταμοί, εἰ καὶ πρόσω τῶν πηγῶν ἄποροι ὦσι, προιούσι πρὸς τὰς πηγὰς διαβατοὶ γίνονται, οὐδὲ τὸ γόνυ βρέχοντες. Εἰ δὲ μήθ' οἱ ποταμοὶ διοίσουσιν, ἡγεμῶν τε μηδεὶς φανέται, οὐδ' ὥς ἡμῖν γε ἀθυμητίον. Ἐπιστάμεθα γὰρ Μυσοῦς, οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἡμῶν φαίμεν βελτίους εἶναι, οἱ, βασιλείῳς ἄκορτος, ἐν 10 τῇ βασιλείῳς χώρα πολλὰς τε καὶ μεγάλας καὶ εὐδαίμονας πόλεις οἰκοῦσιν· ἐπιστάμεθα δὲ Πεισιδάς ὡς αὐτίκας· Λυκάονας δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ εἶδομεν, ὅτι, ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις τὰ ἐρυμνὰ καταλαβόντες, τὴν τούτου χώραν καρποῦνται. Καὶ ἡμᾶς δ' ἂν φαίην ἔγωγε χρῆναι μήπω φανεροὺς εἶναι οἴκαδε ὠρημέ- 15 νους, ἀλλὰ κατασκευάζεσθαι, ὥς αὐτοῦ που οἰκήσοντας. Οἶδα γάρ, ὅτι καὶ Μυσοῖς βασιλεὺς πολλοὺς μὲν ἡγεμόνας ἂν δοίη, πολλοὺς δ' ἂν ὁμήρους τοῦ ἀδόλως ἐκπέμψειν· καὶ ὁδοποιήσείς γ' ἂν αὐτοῖς, καὶ εἰ σὺν τεθρίπποις βούλονται ἀπιέναι. Καὶ ἡμῖν γ' ἂν οἶδ' ὅτι τριτάσμενος ταῦτα ἐποίηι, εἰ ἑώρα 20 ἡμᾶς μένειν παρασκευαζομένους. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ δεδοικα, μή, ἂν ἅπαξ μάθωμεν ἄργοι ζῆν, καὶ ἐν ἀφθόνοις βιοτεύειν, καὶ Μήδων δὲ καὶ Περσῶν καλαῖς καὶ μεγάλας γυναιξὶ καὶ παρθένοις ὁμιλεῖν, μή, ὥσπερ οἱ λωτοφάγοι, ἐπιληθώμεθα τῆς οἴκαδε ὁδοῦ. Δοκεῖ οὖν μοι εἰκὸς καὶ δίκαιον 25 εἶναι, πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους πειράσθαι ἀφικνεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐπιδειξάσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὅτι ἐκόντες πίνονται, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς, τοὺς νῦν οἴκοι ἀκλήρους πολιτεύοντας, ἐνθάδε κομισαμένους, πλουσίους ὄραν. Ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες, πάντα ταῦτα τὰγαθὰ δηλονότι τῶν κρατούντων ἐστί. 30 Τοῦτο δὲ δεῖ λέγειν, πῶς ἂν πορευοίμεθα τε ὥς ἀσφαλιστά, καὶ εἰ μάχεσθαι δεῖοι, ὥς κρᾶτιστα μαχοίμεθα. Πρῶτα μὲν τοίνυν," ἔφη, "δοκεῖ μοι κατακαῦσαι τὰς ἀμάξας, αἱ

ἔχομεν· ἵνα μὴ τὰ ζεύγη ἡμῶν στρατηγῇ, ἀλλὰ πορευώμεθα, ὅποι ἂν τῇ στρατιᾷ συμφέρῃ· ἔπειτα καὶ τὰς σκηναὺς συγκατακαῦσαι. Αὗται γὰρ αὐτὸν ὄχλον μὲν παρέχουσιν ἄγειν, συνωφελοῦσι δὲ οὐδὲν οὔτε εἰς τὸ μάχεσθαι, οὔτε εἰς τὸ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχειν. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σκευῶν τὰ περιττὰ ἀπαλλάξωμεν, πλὴν ὅσα πολέμου ἕνεκεν ἢ σίτων ἢ ποτῶν ἔχομεν· ἵν' ὥς πλεῖστοι μὲν ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὦσιν, ὥς ἐλάχιστοι δὲ σκευοφορῶσι. Κρατουμένων μὲν γὰρ ἐπίστασθε ὅτι πάντα ἀλλότρια· ἦν δὲ κρατῶμεν, καὶ τοὺς πολέμους δεῖ σκευοφόρους ἡμετέρους νομίζειν. Λοιπὸν μοι εἰπεῖν, ὅπερ καὶ μέγιστον νομίζω εἶναι. Ὅρατε γὰρ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ὅτι οὐ πρόσθεν ἐξενεγκεῖν ἐτόλμησαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς πόλεμον, πρὶν τοὺς στρατηγούς ἡμῶν συνέλαβον, νομίζοντες, ὄντων μὲν τῶν ἀρχόντων, καὶ ἡμῶν πειθομένων, ἵκανους εἶναι ἡμᾶς περιγενέσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ· λαβρόντες δὲ τοὺς ἀρχοντας, ἀναρχίᾳ ἂν καὶ ἀταξίᾳ ἐνόμιζον ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσθαι. Δεῖ οὖν πολὺ μὲν τοὺς ἀρχοντας ἐπιμελεστέρους γενέσθαι τοὺς νῦν τῶν πρόσθεν, πολὺ δὲ τοὺς ἀρχομένους εὐτακτοτέρους καὶ πειθομένους μᾶλλον τοῖς ἀρχουσι νῦν ἢ καὶ πρόσθεν. Ἦν δὲ τις ἀπειθῇ, ἦν ψηφισθῇ τὸν αἰὲ ὑμῶν ἐντυγχάνοντα σὺν τῷ ἀρχοντι κολάζειν, οὕτως οἱ πολέμοι πλεῖστον ἔψευσμένοι ἔσονται· τῇδε γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μυρίους ὄφονται ἄνδ' ἐνὸς Κλεάρχους, τοὺς οὐδ' ἐνὶ ἐπιτρέψοντας κακῶς εἶναι. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ περαινέιν ἤδη ὦρα· ἴσως γὰρ οἱ πολέμοι αὐτίκα παρέσονται. Ὅτῃ οὖν ταῦτα δοκεῖ καλῶς ἔχειν, ἐπικυρωσάτω ὡς τάχιστα, ἵν' ἔργῳ περαινῇται· εἰ δέ τι οὐδὲ ἄλλο βέλτιον, ἢ ταύτη, τολμάτω καὶ ὁ ἰδιώτης διδάσκειν· πάντες γὰρ κοινῆς σωτηρίας δεόμεθα."

Μετὰ ταῦτα Χειρίσοφος εἶπεν· "Ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν τινος ἄλλου δεῖ πρὸς τούτοις, οἷς εἶπε Ξενοφῶν, καὶ αὐτίκα ἐξίσταται ποιεῖν· ἃ δὲ νῦν εἴρηκε, δοκεῖ μοι ὡς τάχιστα ψηφισασθαι ἄριστον εἶναι· καὶ οἷω δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ἀνατεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα." Ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες. Ἀναστάς δὲ πάλιν εἶπε Ξενοφῶν·

“ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀκούσατε ὧν προςθεῖν δοκεῖ μοι. Ἀῆλον ὅτι πο-  
 ρεύεσθαι ἡμᾶς δεῖ, ὅπου ἵξομεν τὰ ἐπιτίδεια. Ἀκούω δὲ  
 κώμας εἶναι καλὰς, οὐ πλεῖον ἔκκοσι σταδίων ἀπεχούσας.  
 Οὐκ ἂν οὖν θαυμάζοιμι, εἰ οἱ πολέμιοι, ὥςπερ οἱ δειλοὶ κύ-  
 ρες τοὺς μὲν παριόντας διώκονσὶ τε καὶ θάκνονσιν, ἣν δὲ  
 ῥωνται, τοὺς δὲ διώκοντας φεύγουσιν, εἰ καὶ οὗτοι ἡμῶν  
 ἀπιοῦσιν ἐπακολουθεῖν. Ἰσως οὖν ἀσφαλέστερον ἡμῶν  
 πορεύεσθαι πλαίσιον ποιησαμένους τῶν ὀπλων, ἵνα τὰ  
 σκευοφόρα καὶ ὁ πολὺς ὄχλος ἐν ἀσφαλειτέρῳ ᾖ. Εἰ οὖν  
 νῦν ἀποδειχθεῖη, τίνα χρή ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦ πλαισίου, καὶ τὰ 10  
 πρόσθεν κοσμεῖν, καὶ τίνας ἐπὶ τῶν πλευρῶν ἑκατέρων εἶναι,  
 καὶ τίνας ὀπισθοφυλακεῖν, οὐκ ἄν, ὅποτε οἱ πολέμιοι ἐλ-  
 θοιεν, βουλευέσθαι ἡμᾶς δεῖ, ἀλλὰ χροῦμεθ’ ἂν εὐθὺς τοῖς  
 τεταγμένοις. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τις βέλτιον ὁρᾷ, ἄλλως ἐχέ-  
 τω· εἰ δὲ μή, Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἡγεῖσθω, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Λακεδαι- 15  
 μονίός ἐστι· τῶν δὲ πλευρῶν ἑκατέρων δύο τῶν πρεσβυ-  
 τάτων στρατηγῶν ἐπιμελεσθῶν· ὀπισθοφυλακῶμεν δὲ ἡμεῖς  
 οἱ νεώτατοι, ἐγὼ τε καὶ Τιμασίων, τὸ νῦν εἶναι. Τὸ δὲ  
 λοιπόν, πειρώμενοι ταύτης τῆς τάξεως, βουλευσόμεθα, ὅ τι  
 ἂν αἰεὶ κράτιστον δοκοῖη εἶναι. Εἰ δέ τις ἄλλα βέλτιον ὁρᾷ, 20  
 λεξάτω.” Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀντέλεγεν, εἶπεν· “Ὅτω δοκεῖ ταῦ-  
 τα, ἀνατεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα.” Ἐδοξε ταῦτα. “Νῦν,” ἔφη,  
 “ἀπιόντας ποιεῖν δεῖ τὰ δεδοχμένα· καὶ ὅστις τε ὅμων τοὺς  
 οἰκέλους ἐπιθυμεῖ ἰδεῖν, μεμνήσθω ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι· οὐ  
 γὰρ ἐστὶν ἄλλως τούτου τυχεῖν· ὅστις τε ζῆν ἐπιθυμεῖ, πει- 25  
 ράσθω νικᾶν· τῶν μὲν γὰρ νικῶντων, τὸ κατακαίνειν, τῶν  
 δὲ ἡττωμένων, τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν ἐστὶ. Καὶ εἰ τις γε χρημά-  
 των ἐπιθυμεῖ, κρατεῖν πειράσθω· τῶν γὰρ νικῶντων ἐστὶ  
 καὶ τὰ ἱαντῶν σῶζειν, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἡττωμένων λαμβάνειν.”

## Κεφάλαιον γ'.

Τούτων λεχθέντων ἀνέστησαν, καὶ ἀπελθόντες κατέκαιον τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ τὰς σκηνάς· τῶν δὲ περιττῶν, ὅτου μὲν δέοιτό τις, μετεδίδουσιν ἀλλήλοις, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐφρίπτουν. Ταῦτα ποιήσαντες ἡφιστοποιοῦντο. Ἀριστο-  
 5 ποιουμένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἔρχεται Μιθριδάτης σὺν ἱππεύσιν ὡς τριάκοντα, καὶ καλεσάμενος τοὺς στρατηγούς εἰς ἐπήκοον, λέγει ὧδε. “Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, καὶ Κύρῳ πιστὸς ἦν, ὡς ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε, καὶ νῦν ὑμῖν εὐνους· καὶ ἐνθάδε εἰμὶ σὺν πολλῷ φόβῳ διάγων. Εἰ οὖν ὁρώην ὑμᾶς σωτήριόν τι  
 10 βουλευομένους, ἔλθοιμι ἂν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας πάντας ἔχων. Λέξατε οὖν,” ἔφη, “πρὸς με, τί ἐν τῷ ἔχετε, ὡς πρὸς φίλον τε καὶ εὖνουν, καὶ βυλόμενον κοινῇ σὺν ὑμῖν τὸν στόλον ποιῆσθαι.” Βουλευομένοις τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἔδο-  
 ξεν ἀποκρίνασθαι τάδε, καὶ ἔλεγε Χειρίσοφος· “Ἡμῖν δοκεῖ,  
 15 ἦν μὲν τις ἐξ ἡμᾶς ἀπιέναι οἴκαδε, διαπορεύεσθαι τὴν χώ-  
 ραν ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα ἀσινέστατα· ἦν δὲ τις ἡμᾶς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀποκωλύῃ, διαπολεμεῖν τούτῳ, ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα κράτιστα.” Ἐκ τούτου ἐπειρᾶτο Μιθριδάτης διδάσκειν, ὡς ἄπορον εἶη βασιλείῳς ἄκοντος σωθῆναι. Ἐνθα δὲ ἐγιγνώσκετο, ὅτι  
 20 ὑπόπεμπτος εἶη· καὶ γὰρ τῶν Τισσαφέρνης τις οἰκείων παρηκολούθει πίστει ἔνεκα. Καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἔδοκει τοῖς στρατηγοῖς βέλτιον εἶναι δόγμα ποιήσασθαι, τὸν πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον εἶναι, ἔστε ἐν τῇ πολεμῇ εἶεν· διέφθειρον γὰρ προσιόντες τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ ἕνα γε λοχαγὸν διέφθειραν,  
 25 Νίκαρχον Ἀρκάδα· καὶ ἔρχετο ἀπὸν νυκτὸς σὺν ἀνθρώποις ὡς εἴκοσι.

Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀριστήσαντες, καὶ διαβάντες τὸν Ζάβατον ποταμόν, ἐπορεύοντο τεταγμένοι, τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἐν μέσῳ ἔχοντες. Οὐ πολὺ δὲ προεληλυθόντων αὐτῶν, ἐπι-  
 30 φαίνεται πάλιν ὁ Μιθριδάτης, ἱππέας ἔχων ὡς διακοσίους,

καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας ὥς τετρακισίους, μάλα ἑσπε-  
 ροὺς καὶ εὐζώνους· καὶ προσήει μὲν, ὥς φίλος ὢν, πρὸς  
 τοὺς Ἕλληνας. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔγγυς ἐγένοντο, ἑξαπίνης οἱ μὲν αὐ-  
 τῶν ἐτόξευον καὶ ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοί, οἱ δ' ἐσφενδόνουν καὶ ἐτί-  
 τρωσκον. Οἱ δ' ὀπισθοφύλακες τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔπαυον μὲν  
 κακῶς, ἀντεποιοῦν δὲ οὐδέν· οἱ τε γὰρ Κρηῖτες βραχύτερα  
 τῶν Περσῶν ἐτόξευον, καὶ ἅμα ψιλοὶ ὄντες εἴσω τῶν ὅπλων  
 κατεκίλειντο· οἱ τε ἄκοντισται βραχύτερα ἠκόντιζον, ἢ ὥς  
 ἐξικνεῖσθαι τῶν σφενδονητῶν. Ἐκ τούτου Ξενοφῶντι ἐδό-  
 κει διωκτέον εἶναι· καὶ ἐδίωκον τῶν τε ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τῶν  
 πελταστῶν οἱ ἔτυχον σὺν αὐτῷ ὀπισθοφυλακοῦντες· διώ-  
 κοντες δὲ οὐδένα κατελάμβανον τῶν πολεμίων. Οὔτε γὰρ  
 ἱππεῖς ἦσαν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οὔτε οἱ πεζοὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐκ πολ-  
 λοῦ φεύγοντας ἐδύναντο καταλαμβάνειν ἐν ὀλίγῃ χωρίῳ·  
 πολὺ γὰρ οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατεύματος διώ-  
 κειν. Οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι ἱππεῖς καὶ φεύγοντες ἅμα ἐτίτρω-  
 σκον, εἰς τοῦπισθεν τοξεύοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων· ὁπόσον δὲ  
 προδιώκειαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, τοσοῦτο πάλιν ἐπαναχωρεῖν μαχο-  
 μένους ἔδει. Ὡς τε τῆς ἡμέρας ὅλης διήλθον οὐ πλέον πέντε  
 καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίων, ἀλλὰ δειλῆς ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὰς κόμας.  
 Ἐνθα δὴ πάλιν ἀθυμῖα ἦν. Καὶ Χειρίσοφος καὶ οἱ πρε-  
 σβύτατοι τῶν στρατηγῶν Ξενοφῶντα ἠτιῶντο, ὅτι ἐδίωκεν  
 ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος, καὶ αὐτὸς τε ἐκινδύνευε, καὶ τοὺς πολεμι-  
 οὺς οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐδύνατο βλάπτειν.

Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἔλεγεν, ὅτι ὀρθοῶς ἠτιῶντο, καὶ  
 αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς μαρτυροίη. “Ἄλλ’ ἐγώ,” ἔφη, “ἡναγ-  
 κάσθην διώκειν, ἐπεὶ ἑώρων ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ μένειν κακῶς μὲν  
 πάσχοντας, ἀντιποιεῖν δὲ οὐδὲν δυναμένους. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδιώ-  
 κομεν, ἀληθῆ,” ἔφη, “ὑμεῖς λέγετε· κακῶς μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν  
 ποιεῖν μᾶλλον ἐδυνάμεθα τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀνιχωροῦμεν δὲ  
 πάντῃ χαλεπῶς. Τῷς οὖν θεοῖς χάρις, ὅτι οὐ σὺν πολλῇ  
 ῥώμῃ, ἀλλὰ σὺν ὀλίγοις ἤλθον· ὥστε βλάψαι μὲν μὴ μεγά-  
 λα, δηλῶσαι δέ, ὥν δεόμεθα. Νῦν γὰρ οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι

τοξεύουσι καὶ σφενδονῶσιν, ὅσων οὕτε οἱ Κρήτες ἀντιτοξεύ-  
 ειν δύνανται, οὕτε οἱ ἐκ χειρὸς βύλλοντες ἐξικνεῖσθαι· ὅταν  
 δὲ αὐτοὺς διώκωμεν, πολὺ μὲν οὐχ οἷόν τε χωρίον ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 στρατεύματος διώκειν, ὀλίγον δέ· ἔνθα, οὐδ' εἰ ταχὺς εἴη,  
 5 πεζὸς πεζὸν ἂν διώκων καταλάβοι ἐκ τόξου ῥύματος. Ἡμεῖς  
 μὲν οὖν εἰ μέλλομεν τούτους εἶργειν, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι βλά-  
 πτειν ἡμᾶς πορευομένους, σφενδονητῶν τε τὴν ταχίστην δεῖ καὶ  
 ἱππέων. Ἀκούω δ' εἶναι ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι ἡμῶν Ῥόδιους,  
 ὧν τοὺς πολλοὺς φασὶν ἐπίστασθαι σφενδονᾶν, καὶ τὸ βέλος  
 10 αὐτῶν καὶ διπλάσιον φέρεσθαι τῶν Περσικῶν σφενδονῶν.  
 Ἐκτεῖναι γὰρ διὰ τὸ χειροπληθεῖσι τοῖς λίθοις σφενδονᾶν ἐπὶ  
 βραχὺ ἐξικνοῦνται· οἱ δέ γε Ῥόδιοι καὶ ταῖς μολυβδίαις ἐπί-  
 στανται χρῆσθαι. Ἦν οὖν αὐτῶν ἐπισκεψάμεθα τίνες πέπαν-  
 ται σφενδόνας, καὶ τούτων τῷ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀργύριον δῶμεν, τῷ  
 15 δὲ ἄλλας πλέκειν ἐθέλοντι ἄλλο ἀργύριον τελῶμεν, καὶ τῷ  
 σφενδονᾶν ἐντεταγμένῳ ἐθέλοντι ἄλλην τινα ἀτέλειαν εὐρί-  
 σκωμεν, ἴσως τινὲς φανοῦνται ἱκανοὶ ἡμᾶς ὠφελεῖν. Ὅρῳ  
 δὲ καὶ ἵππους ὄντας ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι, τοὺς μὲν τινὰς παρ'  
 ἑμοί, τοὺς δὲ τῷ Κλεάρχῳ καταλελειμμένους· πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ  
 20 ἄλλους αἰχμαλώτους σκευοφοροῦντας. Ἄν οὖν τούτους πάν-  
 τας ἐκλέξαντες, σκευοφόρα μὲν ἀντιδῶμεν, τοὺς δὲ ἵππους  
 εἰς ἱππέας κατασκευάσωμεν, ἴσως καὶ οὗτοι τι τοὺς φεύγον-  
 τας ἀνιάσουσιν." Ἔδοξε ταῦτα· καὶ ταύτης τῆς νυκτὸς  
 σφενδονῇται μὲν εἰς διακοσίους ἐγένοντο, ἵπποι δὲ καὶ ἱπ-  
 25 πεῖς ἐδοκιμάσθησαν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς πεντήκοντα, καὶ στολά-  
 δες καὶ θώρακες αὐτοῖς ἐπορίσθησαν· καὶ ἱππαρχος δὲ ἐπε-  
 στάθῃ Λύκιος ὁ Πολυστράτου, Ἀθηναῖος.

## Κεφάλαιον δ'.

Μιλῶντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν, τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐπορεύοντο  
 πρωϊαίτερον ἀναστάντες· χαράδραν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔδει δια-  
 βῆναι, ἔφ' ἣ ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ ἐπιθοῶντο αὐτοῖς διαββαίνουσιν  
 οἱ πολέμιοι. Διαββεῖν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπιφαίνεται ὁ Μιθρι-  
 δάτης πάλιν, ἔχων ἱππέας χιλίους, τοξότας δὲ καὶ σφενδονή-  
 τας εἰς τετρακισχιλίους· τοσοῦτους γὰρ ἤτησε Τισσαφέρνην,  
 καὶ ἔλαβεν, ὑποσχόμενος, ἦν τούτους λάβη, παρὰδῶκεν αὐ-  
 τῷ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καταφρονήσας, ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἔμπροσθεν προς-  
 βολῇ ὀλίγους ἔχων, ἔπαθε μὲν οὐδέν, πολλὰ δὲ κακὰ ἐνόμ-  
 σαι ποιῆσαι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες διαββεῖν ἀπέχον τῆς 10  
 χαράδρας ὅσον ὀκτὼ σταδίου, διέβαινε καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτης,  
 ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν. Παρήγγελο δὲ, τῶν τε πελταστῶν οὕς  
 ἔδει διώκειν, καὶ τῶν ὀπιτιῶν, καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν εἶρητο  
 θαφρόναι διώκειν, ὡς ἐφευμένης ἱκανῆς δυνάμεως. Ἐπεὶ  
 δὲ ὁ Μιθριδάτης κατειλήφει, καὶ ἤδη σφενδύσαι καὶ τοξεύ- 15  
 ματα ἐκινουῦντο, ἐσήμηνε τοῖς Ἕλλησι τῇ σάλπιγγι, καὶ εὐ-  
 θὺς ἔθρον ὁμόσει, οἷς εἶρητο, καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἤλαυνον· οἱ δὲ  
 οὐκ ἐδίξαντο, ἀλλ' ἔφευγον ἐπὶ τὴν χαράδραν. Ἐν ταύτῃ  
 τῇ διώξει τοῖς βυρβάροις τῶν τε πεζῶν ἀπέθανον πολλοί,  
 καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἐν τῇ χαράδρᾳ ζωὴν ἐλήφθησαν εἰς ὀκτώ- 20  
 καὶ δέκα· τοὺς δ' ἀποθανόντας αὐτοκτελευτοὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες  
 ἤκισαντο, ὡς ὅτι φοβερώτατον τοῖς πολέμοις εἶναι ὄραν.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι οὕτω πράξαντες ἀπῆλθον· οἱ  
 δ' Ἕλληνες ἀσφαλῶς πορευόμενοι τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀφί-  
 κοντο ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν. Ἐνταῦθα πόλις ἦν ἐρή- 25  
 μη, μεγάλη, ὄνομα δ' αὐτῇ ἦν Ἀρίσσα· ἦκου δ' αὐτὴν τὸ  
 παλαιὸν Μηδοί· τοῦ δὲ τείχους ἦν αὐτῆς τὸ εὖρος πέντε  
 καὶ εἴκοσι πόδες, ὕψος δ' ἑκατόν· τοῦ δὲ κύκλου ἡ περι-  
 δος δύο παρασάγγαι· ὠκοδόμητο δὲ πλίνθοις κεραμίαις·  
 κρητὶς δὲ ὑπὲρ λιθίνῃ, τὸ ὕψος εἴκοσι ποδῶν. Τούτῃ 30

βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν, ὅτε παρὰ Μήδων ἐλάμβανον τὴν ἀρχὴν Πέρσαι, πολιορκῶν, οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ἐδύνατο ἐλεῖν· ἥλιος δὲ νεφέλῃν προκαλύψας, ἡφάνισε, μέχρις οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐξέλινον, καὶ οὕτως ἐάλω. Πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν ἦν πυρραμὶς λιθίνη, τὸ μὲν εὖρος ἐνὸς πλέθρου, τὸ δὲ ὕψος δύο πλέθρων. Ἐπὶ ταύτης πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦσαν, ἐκ τῶν πλησίον κωμῶν ἀποπιφευγότες.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμὸν ἕνα παρασάγγας ἔξ πρὸς τεῖχος ἔρημον, μέγα, πρὸς τῇ πόλει κείμενον· ὄρομα δ' ἦν τῇ πόλει Μέσπιλα· Μῆδοι δ' αὐτὴν ποτε ἔκουν. Ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν κρηπὶς λίθου ξεστοῦ. κογχυλιάτου, τὸ εὖρος πεντήκοντα ποδῶν, καὶ τὸ ὕψος πεντήκοντα. Ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτῃ ἐπωκοδόμητο πλίνθινον τεῖχος· τὸ μὲν εὖρος πεντήκοντα ποδῶν, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἑκατόν· τοῦ δὲ κύκλου ἡ περίοδος ἔξ παρασάγγαι. Ἐνταῦθα ἐλέγετο Μηδία γυνὴ βασιλείως καταφυγεῖν, ὅτε ἀπώλεσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Περσῶν Μῆδοι. Ταύτην δὲ τὴν πόλιν πολιορκῶν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἐδύνατο οὔτε χρόνῳ ἐλεῖν, οὔτε βίᾳ· Ζεὺς δ' ἐμβροντήτους ποιεῖ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, καὶ οὕτως ἐάλω.

Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμὸν ἕνα παρασάγγας τέταρτας. Εἰς τοῦτον δὲ τὸν σταθμὸν Τισσαφέρνης ἐπεφάνη, οὓς τε αὐτὸς ἦλθεν ἱππέας ἔχων, καὶ τὴν Ὀρόντου δύναμιν, τοῦ τὴν βασιλείως θυγατέρα ἔχοντος, καὶ οὓς Κῆρος ἔχων ἀνέβη βαρβάρους, καὶ οὓς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀδελφὸς ἔχων βασιλεῖ ἐβοήθει, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις, ὅσους βασιλεὺς ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ· ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα πάμπολυ ἐφάνη. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔγγυς ἐγένετο, τὰς μὲν τῶν τάξεων εἶχεν ὀπισθεν καταστήσας, τὰς δὲ εἰς τὰ πλάγια παραγαγών, ἐμβάλλειν μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν, οὐδ' ἐβούλετο διακινδυνεύειν· σφενδονᾶν δὲ παρήγγειλε καὶ το-  
 20 ζεύειν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ διαταχθέντες οἱ Ῥόδιοι ἐσφενδόνησαν, καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι τοξόται ἐτόξευσαν, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἡμάρτανεν ἀνδρός· οὐδὲ γάρ, εἰ πάννυ προθυμοῖτο, ῥῆδιον ἦν· καὶ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης μάλα ταχέως ἔξω βελῶν ἀπιχώρει, καὶ [αἱ]

ἄλλαι τάξεις ἀπεχώρησαν. Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο, οἱ δ' εἶποντο· καὶ οὐκέτι εἰσίνοντο οἱ βάρβαροι τῇ τότε ἀκροβολίσει· μακρότερον γὰρ οἱ τε Ῥόδιοι τῶν Περσῶν ἐσφενδόων καὶ τῶν πλείστων τοξοτῶν. Μεγάλα δὲ καὶ τὰ τόξα τὰ Περσικὰ ἔστιν· ὥστε χρήσιμα ἦν, ὅπου αὐλισκοίτο τῶν τοξευμάτων, τοῖς Κρησί· καὶ διετέλουν χρωμένοι τοῖς τῶν πολέμων τοξεύμασι, καὶ ἐμελέτων τοξεύειν ἄνω ἰέντες μακράν. Εὗρισκετο δὲ καὶ νεῦρα πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις καὶ μόλυβδος· ὥστε χρῆσθαι εἰς τὰς σφενδόνας.

10

Καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐπεὶ κατεστρατοπεδεύοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες κώμαις ἐπιτυχόντες, ἀπῆλθον οἱ βάρβαροι, μῆλον ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ τότε ἀκροβολίσει· τὴν δὲ ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἔμειναν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ἐπισιτίσαντο· ἦν γὰρ πολὺς σῖτος ἐν ταῖς κώμαις. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπορεύοντο διὰ τοῦ πεδίου, καὶ Τισσαφέρνης εἶπετο ἀκροβολιζόμενος. Ἐνθα δὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔγνωσαν, ὅτι πλαίσιον ἰσόπλευρον πυνηρὰ τάξις εἴη πολέμων ἱπομένων. Ἀνάγκη γάρ ἐστιν, ἣν μὲν συγκύπτῃ τὰ κέρατα τοῦ πλαισίου, ἢ ὁδοῦ στενοτέρας οὐσης. ἢ ὁρέων ἀναγκαζόντων ἢ γεφύρας, ἐκθλίβεσθαι τοὺς ὀπλίτας, καὶ πορεύεσθαι πονήρως, ἅμα μὲν πιεζομένους, ἅμα δὲ καὶ παραιτομένους· ὥστε δυσχερήτους εἶναι ἀνάγκη, ἀτάκτους ὄντας. Ὅταν δ' αὖ διάσῃ τὰ κέρατα, ἀνάγκη διασπᾶσθαι τοὺς τότε ἐκθλιβομένους, καὶ κενὸν γίγνεσθαι τὸ μέσον τῶν κερμάτων, καὶ ἀθυμῆν τοὺς ταῦτα πάσχοντας, τῶν πολέμων ἐπομένων. Καὶ ὁπότε δίοι γέφυραν διαβαίνειν ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ διάβασιν, ἔσπευδεν ἕκαστος, βουλόμενος φθάσαι πρῶτος· καὶ εὐεπίθετον ἦν ἐνταῦθα τοῖς πολέμοις. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἔγνωσαν οἱ στρατηγοί, ἐποίησαντο ἐξ λόχους ἀνὰ ἑκάτον ἄνδρας, καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἐπέστησαν, καὶ ἄλλους πεντηκόν- τῆρας, καὶ ἄλλους ἐνωμοτάρχας. Οὗτοι δὲ πορευόμενοι οἱ λοχαγοί, ὁπότε μὲν συγκύπτει τὰ κέρατα, ὑπόμενον ὕστεροι, ὥστε μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς κέρασι· τότε δὲ παρήγον ἔξωθεν τῶν

25

30

κεράτων. Ὅποτε δὲ διάσχοιεν αἱ πλευραὶ τοῦ πλαισίου, τὸ μέσον ἀνεξεπρίπλασαν, εἰ μὲν στενότερον εἴη τὸ διέχον, κατὰ λόγους· εἰ δὲ πλατύτερον, κατὰ πεντηκοστὺς· εἰ δὲ πᾶν πλατὺ, κατ' ἐνωμοτίας· ὥστε αἰεὶ ἔκπλεων εἶναι τὸ μέσον.

8 Εἰ δὲ καὶ διαβαίνειν τινὰ δέοι διάβασιν ἢ γέφυραν, οὐκ ἐταράττοντο, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μέρει οἱ λοχαγοὶ διέβαινον· καὶ εἴ που δέοι τι τῆς φάλαγγος, ἐπιπαρήσαν οὗτοι. Τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμούς τέτταρας.

Ἡνίκα δὲ τὸν πέμπτον ἐπορεύοντο σταθμόν, εἶδον βασι-  
 10 λειόν τι, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ κώμας πολλὰς· τὴν τε ὁδὸν πρὸς τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο διὰ γηλόφων ὑψηλῶν γιγνομένην, οἱ καθήκον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους, ὅφ' ἦν κώμη. Καὶ εἶδον μὲν τοὺς γηλόφους ἄσμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὥς εἰκός, τῶν πολεμίων ὄντων ἱππέων. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ  
 15 τὸν πρῶτον γηλόφον, καὶ κατέβαινον, ὥς ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀναβαίειν, ἐνταῦθα ἐπιγίγνονται οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὑψηλοῦ εἰς τὸ πρηνὲς ἔβαλλον, ἐσφενδόνων, ἐτόξευον ὑπὸ μαστίγων· καὶ πολλοὺς κατετίτρωσκον, καὶ ἐκράτησαν τῶν ἑλλήνων γυμνήτων, καὶ κατέκλεισαν αὐτοὺς εἴσω τῶν ὀπλων·  
 20 ὥστε παντάπασι ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἄχρηστοι ἦσαν, ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ὄντες, καὶ οἱ σφενδονῆται καὶ οἱ τοξόται. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πιεζόμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπεχείρησαν διώκειν, σχολῇ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον ἀφικνουῦνται, ὀπλῖται ὄντες· οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ταχὺ ἀπεπήδων. Πάλιν δέ, ὅποτε ἀπλοῖεν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρα-  
 25 τευμα, ταυτὰ ἔπασχον· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ δευτέρου γηλόφου ταυτὰ ἐγίγνετο· ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίτου γηλόφου ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς μὴ κινεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας· πλὴν ἀπὸ τῆς δεξιᾶς πλευρᾶς τοῦ πλαισίου ἀνήγαγον πελταστὰς πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὗτοι ἐγένοντο ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπομένων πολεμίων, οὐκέτι ἐπε-  
 30 τίθεντο οἱ πολέμιοι τοῖς καταβαίνουσι, δεδοικότες, μὴ ἀποτμηθείησαν, καὶ αμφοτέρωθεν αὐτῶν γένοιτο οἱ πολέμιοι. Οὕτω τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας πορευόμενοι, οἱ μὲν τῇ ὁδῷ κατὰ τοὺς γηλόφους, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ὄρος ἐπιπαριόντες,

ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὰς κώμας, καὶ ἱατροὺς κατέστησαν ὅττω· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ τετρωμένοι.

Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς, καὶ τῶν τετρωμένων ἔνεκα, καὶ ἅμα ἐπιτήδεια πολλὰ εἶχον, ἄλευρα, οἶνον καὶ κριθᾶς ἵπποις συμβεβλημένας πολλὰς. Ταῦτα δὲ συνενηγμένα ἦν τῷ σατραπεύοντι τῆς χώρας. Τετάρτη δ' ἡμέρᾳ καταβαίνουσιν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέλαβεν αὐτοὺς Τιτσαφέρνης σὺν τῇ δυνάμει, εὐίδαξεν αὐτοὺς ἢ ἀνάγκη κατασκήνησαι, οὐ πρῶτον εἶδον κώμην, καὶ μὴ πορεύεσθαι ἔτι μυχομένους· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἀπόμαχοι, οἱ τετρωμένοι, καὶ 10 οἱ ἐκείνους φερόντες, καὶ οἱ τῶν φερόντων τὰ ὄπλα δεξιόμενοι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεσκήνησαν, καὶ ἐπεχείρησαν αὐτοῖς ἀκροβολῆσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι, πρὸς τὴν κώμην προσιόντες, πολὺ περιῆσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες· πολὺ γὰρ διέφερον, ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὁρμῶντας ἀλέξασθαι, ἢ πορευομένους ἐπισύει τοῖς πολέ- 15 μίοις μάχισθαι. Ἦνίκα δ' ἦν ἡδὴ δέλη, ὥρα ἦν ἀπιέναι τοῖς πολέμοις· οὐ ποτε γὰρ μείον ἀπεστρατοπεδεύοντο οἱ βύρβαροι τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐξήκοντα σταδίων, φοβούμενοι, μὴ τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπιθοῖντο αὐτοῖς. Πονηρὸν γὰρ νυκτὸς ἐστὶ στράτευμα Περσικόν. Οἳ τε γὰρ ἵπποι αὐτοῖς 20 δέδενται, καὶ ὥς ἐπιτοπολὺ πεποδισμένοι εἰσὶ, τοῦ μὴ φεύγειν ἔνεκα, εἰ λυθείησαν· ἐάν τε τις θόρυβος γίγνηται, δεῖ ἐπισάξαι τὸν ἵππον Πέρσῃ ἀνδρὶ, καὶ χαλινῶσαι δεῖ, καὶ θωρακισθέντα ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον. Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα χαλεπὰ νύκτωρ καὶ θορύβου ὄντος ποιεῖν. Τοῦτου ἔνεκα 25 πόρρω ἀπεσκήνουν τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγίγνωσκον αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἕλληνες βουλομένους ἀπιέναι καὶ διαγγελομένους, ἐκήρυξε τοῖς Ἕλλησι συσκευάσασθαι, ἀκουόντων τῶν πολέμιων. Καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ἐπίσχον τῆς πορείας οἱ βάρβαροι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὅπῃ ἐγίγνετο, 30 ἀπῆσαν· οἱ γὰρ ἐδόκει λυσιτελεῖν αὐτοῖς νυκτὸς πορεύεσθαι καὶ καταγέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ σαφῶς ἀπιόντας ἡδὴ ἐώρων οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐπορεύοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ

ἀναξέυξαντες, καὶ διῆλθον ὅσον ἐξήκοντα σταδίους· καὶ γίνεται τοσοῦτον μεταξὺ τῶν στρατευμάτων, ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οὐκ ἐφάνθησαν οἱ πολέμιοι, οὐδὲ τῇ τρίτῃ· τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ, νυκτὸς προελθόντες, καταλαμβάνουσι χωρίον ὑπερδέξιον οἱ βάρο<sup>6</sup> βαροι, ἢ ἔμελλον οἱ Ἕλληνες παριέναι, ἀκρωνυχίαν ὄρους, ὑφ' ἣν ἡ κατάβασις ἦν εἰς τὸ πεδίον. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἶφα ὁ Χειρίσοφος προκατειλημμένην τὴν ἀκρωνυχίαν, καλεῖ Ξενοφῶντα ἀπὸ τῆς οὐραῆς· καὶ κτελεύει λαβόντα τοὺς πελταστὰς παραγενέσθαι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τοὺς μὲν πελ<sup>10</sup> ταστὰς οὐκ ἤγεν· ἐπιφαινόμενον γὰρ εἶφα Τισσαφέρνην, καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν· αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς ἐλάσας ἤρώτα· “Τί καλεῖς;” Ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτῷ· “Ἐξιστίν ὄρα· προκατείληπται γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς καταβάσεως λόφος, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τούτους ἀποκόψομεν. Ἀλλὰ τί οὐκ ἤγες<sup>15</sup> τοὺς πελταστὰς;” Ὁ δὲ λέγει, ὅτι οὐκ ἰδόκει αὐτῷ ἔφημα καταλιπεῖν τὰ ὀπισθεν, ἐπιφαινομένων τῶν πολέμιων. “Ἀλλὰ μὴν ὦρα γ’,” ἔφη, “βουλεύεσθαι, πῶς τις τοὺς ἀνδρας ἀπελᾷ ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου.” Ἐνταῦθα Ξενοφῶν ὄρα τοῦ ὄρους τὴν κορυφὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατεύματος οὖσαν, καὶ<sup>20</sup> ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐφοδὸν ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον, ἔνθα ἦσαν οἱ πολέμιοι· καὶ λέγει· “Κρατίστον, ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἡμῖν ἔσθαι. ὥς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον· ἐὰν γὰρ τοῦτο λάβωμεν, οὐ δυνήσονται μένειν οἱ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ. Ἀλλ’, εἰ βούλει, μένε ἐπὶ τῷ στρατεύματι· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐθέλω πορεύεσθαι· εἰ δὲ χρήξεις, πορεύου<sup>25</sup> ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, ἐγὼ δὲ μενῶ αὐτοῦ.” “Ἀλλὰ δίδωμί σοι,” ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, “ὁπότερον βούλει, ἐλίσθαι.” Εἰπὼν ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ὅτι νεώτερός ἐστιν, αἰρεῖται πορεύεσθαι· κτελεύει δὲ οἱ συμπέμψαι ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἀνδρας· μακρὰν γὰρ ἦν, ἀπὸ τῆς οὐραῆς λαβεῖν. Καὶ ὁ Χειρίσοφος συμπέμπει τοὺς ἀπὸ<sup>30</sup> τοῦ στόματος πελταστὰς· ἔλαβε δὲ τοὺς κατὰ μέσον τοῦ πλαισίου. Συνέπεσθαι δ’ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους, οὓς αὐτὸς εἶχε τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ πλαισίου.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο ὡς ἐδύναντο τάχιστα. Οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου πολέμιοι, ὡς ἐνόησαν αὐτῶν τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, εὐθύς καὶ αὐτοὶ ὤρμησαν ἀμιλλᾶσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα πολλὴ μὲν κραυγὴ ἦν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ στρατεύματος, διακελευομένων τοῖς ἑαυτῶν· πολλὴ δὲ κραυγὴ τῶν ἀμφὶ Πισσαφέρνην, τοῖς ἑαυτῶν διακελευομένων. Ξενοφῶν δὲ παρελαύνων ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου, παρεκλεύετο· “Ἄνδρες, νῦν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα νομίζετε ἀμιλλᾶσθαι, νῦν πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, νῦν ὀλίγον πονήσαντες χρόνον, ἀμαχεῖ τὴν λοιπὴν πορευσόμεθα.” Σωτηρίδας δὲ ὁ Σικυώνιος 10 εἶπεν· “Οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ἐσμέν· σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἵππου ὄχῃ, ἐγὼ δὲ χαλεπῶς κάμνω τὴν ἀσπίδα φέρων.” Καὶ ὅς, ἀκούσας ταῦτα, καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, ὠθεῖται αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως, καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀφαλόμενος, ὡς ἐδύναντο τάχιστα ἔχων ἐπορεύετο. Ἐτύγχανε δὲ καὶ Θάρακας 15 ἔχων τῶν ἱππικόν· ὥστε ἐπιέζετο. Καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἔμπροσθεν ὑπάγειν παρεκλεύετο, τοῖς δὲ ὀπισθεν, παρίεναι, μόγις ἱκομένοις. Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι στρατιῶται παύουσι καὶ βάλλουσι καὶ λοιδοροῦσι τὸν Σωτηρίδαν, ἕστε ἡνάγκασαν λαβόντα τὴν ἀσπίδα πορεύεσθαι. Ὁ δὲ ἀναβάς, ἕως μὲν βάσιμα ἦν, 20 ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἦγεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄβαστα ἦν, καταλιπὼν τὸν ἵππον, ἔσπενδε πεζῇ. Καὶ φθάνουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ γεόμενοι τοὺς πολέμιους.

### Κεφάλαιον ε'.

Ἐνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι στραφέντες ἔφηνον, ἥ ἕκαστος ἐδύνάτο· οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες εἶχον τὸ ἄκρον. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ 25 Πισσαφέρνην καὶ Ἀριαῖον ἀποτραπέμενοι ἄλλην ὁδὸν ἔχοντο· οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον, καταβάντες εἰς τὸ πεδίον, ἱστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν κώμῃ μεσιτῇ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν. Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι κῶμαι πολλαί, πλήρεις πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἐν

τούτῳ τῷ πεδίῳ, παρὰ τὸν Τίγερτα ποταμόν. Ἠνίκα δ' ἦν  
 δαίλη, ἑξαπίνης ἐπιφαίνονται οἱ πολέμιοι ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, καὶ  
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατέκοψάν τινες τῶν ἐσκαδασμένων ἐν τῷ πε-  
 δίῳ καθ' ἀρπαγὴν· καὶ γὰρ νομαὶ πολλαὶ βοσκημάτων,  
 5 διαβιβαζόμεναι εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, κατελείφθησαν.  
 Ἐνταῦθα Τισσαφέρτης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ καίειν ἐπεχείρησαν  
 τὰς κοίμας. Καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μάλα ἡθύμησάν τινες, ἐν-  
 νοούμενοι, μὴ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, εἰ καύσειεν, οὐκ ἔχοιεν ὁπόθεν  
 λαμβάνοιεν. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον ἀπῆσαν ἐκ τῆς  
 10 βοηθείας· ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν, ἐπεὶ κατέβη, παρελαύνων τὰς τά-  
 ξεις, ἡνίκα ἀπὸ τῆς βοηθείας ἀπήντησαν [οἱ Ἕλληνες], ἔλε-  
 γεν· “Ὁρᾷτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ὑφιέντας, τὴν χώραν ἥδη  
 ἡμετέραν εἶναι· ἃ γάρ, ὅτε ἐσπένδοντο, διεπράττιοντο, μὴ  
 καίειν τὴν βασιλείας χώραν, νῦν αὐτοὶ καίουσιν ὡς ἄλλο-  
 15 τριάν. Ἀλλὰ ἐάν που καταλίπωσι γε αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια,  
 ὄψονται καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐνταῦθα πορευομένους. Ἀλλ', ὦ Χειρί-  
 σοφε,” ἔφη, “δοκεῖ μοι βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς καίοντας, ὡς ὑπὲρ  
 τῆς ἡμετέρας.” Ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος εἶπεν· “Οὐκ οὐν ἔμοιγε  
 δοκεῖ· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς,” ἔφη, “καίωμεν, καὶ οὕτω θάττον  
 20 παύσονται.”

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ τὰς σκηὰς ἀπῆλθον, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι περὶ τὰ  
 ἐπιτήδεια ἦσαν, στρατηγοὶ δὲ καὶ λοχαγοὶ συνῆλθον. Καὶ  
 ἐνταῦθα πολλὴ ἀπορία ἦν. Ἐνθεν μὲν γὰρ ὄρη ἦν ὑπερύ-  
 ψηλα, ἔνθεν δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς τοσοῦτος τὸ βάθος, ὡς μηδὲ τὰ  
 25 δόρατα ὑπερέχειν πειρωμένοις τοῦ βάθους. Ἀπορουμένοις  
 δὲ αὐτοῖς προσελθὼν τις ἀνὴρ Ῥύδιος, εἶπεν· “Ἐγὼ θείλω  
 ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες, διαβιβάσαι κατὰ τετρακισχίλους ὁπλίτας,  
 ἦν μοι, ὦν δέομαι, ὑπηρετήσητε, καὶ τάλαντον μισθὸν πορί-  
 σητε.” Ἐρωτώμενος δέ, ὅτου δεήσοιτο, “Ἀσκῶν,” ἔφη,  
 30 “δισχίλων δεήσομαι· πολλὰ δὲ ὄρω ταῦτα πρόβατα, καὶ αἰ-  
 γας, καὶ βοῦς, καὶ ὄνους, ἃ ἀποδαρέντα καὶ φυσηθέντα φη-  
 δίως ἂν παρέχοι τὴν διάβασιν. Δεήσομαι δὲ καὶ τῶν δεσμῶν,  
 οἷς χρῆσθαι περὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια. Τούτοις δ',” ἔφη, “ξεύξας

τοὺς ἀσκούς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὁρμίσας ἑκαστον ἀσκὸν λίθους ἀρτήσας, καὶ ἀφείς ὥσπερ ἀγκύρας, εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ δὲ ἀγαγών, καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν δῆσας, ἐπιβαλὼν ἔλιν, καὶ γῆν ἐπιφορήσω. "Ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐ καταδύσεσθε, αὐτίκα μάλα εἴσεθε· ὁ γὰρ ἀσκὸς δύο ἀνδρὺς ἔξει τοῦ μὴ καταδύναι· ὥστε δὲ μὴ ὀλισθαίνειν, ἡ ὕλη καὶ ἡ γῆ σχήσει."

Ἀκούσας ταῦτα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὸ μὲν ἐνθύμημα χαρίεν ἐδόκει εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἀδύνατον· ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ καλύσοντες πέραν πολλοὶ ἱππεῖς, οἱ εὐθύς τοῖς πρώτοις οὐδὲν ἂν ἐπείρεπον τούτων ποιεῖν. Ἐνταῦθα τὴν μὲν ὑστεραίαν 10 ἐπανεχώρουν εἰς τοῦμπαλιν ἢ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα, εἰς τὰς ἀκαύστους κώμας, κατακαύσαντες ἔνθ' ἐξήσαν· ὥστε οἱ πολέμιοι οὐ προσήλανον, ἀλλὰ ἐθεῶντο, καὶ οἳ οἱ ἦσαν θαυμάζειν, ὅποι ποτὲ τρέψονται οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ τί ἐν νῆ ἔχοιεν. Ἐνταῦθα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι στρατιῶται ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦσαν· 15 οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ πάλιν συνῆλθον, καὶ συναγαγόντες τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, ἤλεγχον τὴν κύκλῳ πᾶσαν χώραν, τίς ἐκάστη εἴη. Οἱ δ' ἔλεγον, ὅτι τὰ μὲν πρὸς Μεσημβρίαν τῆς ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα εἴη καὶ Μηδίαν, δι' ἧς περ ἦκοιεν· ἡ δὲ πρὸς ἔω, ἐπὶ Σοῦσά τε καὶ Ἐκβάτανα φέροι, 20 ἔνθα θερίζειν καὶ ἐαρίζειν λέγεται βασιλεὺς· ἡ δὲ διαβίντι τὸν ποταμὸν πρὸς ἑσπέραν, ἐπὶ Λυδίαν καὶ Ἰωνίαν φέροι· ἡ δὲ διὰ τῶν ὀρέων καὶ πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένη ὅτι εἰς Καρδούχους ἄγοι. Τούτους δ' ἔφασαν οἰκεῖν ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη, καὶ πολεμικοὺς εἶναι, καὶ βασιλείως οὐκ ἀκούειν· 25 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμβαλεῖν ποτε εἰς αὐτοὺς βασιλικὴν στρατιάν, δώδεκα μυριάδας· τούτων δὲ οὐδένα ἀπονοσηῖσαι διὰ τὴν δυσχωρίαν· ὁπότε μέντοι πρὸς τὸν σατραπήν τὸν ἐν τῇ πεδίῳ σπείσαιντο, καὶ ἐπιμίγνυσθαι σφῶν τε πρὸς ἐκείνους, καὶ ἐκείνων πρὸς αὐτούς. 30

Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ στρατηγοί, ἐκάθισαν χωρὶς τοὺς ἑκασταχόσας φάσκοντας εἰδέναι, οὐδὲν δῆλον ποιήσαντες, ὅποι πορεύεσθαι ἔμελλον. Ἐδόκει δὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς

ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι, διὰ τῶν ὁρέων εἰς Καρδούχους ἐμβάλλειν·  
τούτους γὰρ διελθόντας ἔφασαν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν ἤξειν, ἥς  
Ὀρόντας ἤρχε, πολλῆς καὶ ἐνδαίμονος. Ἐντεύθεν δὲ εὐ-  
πορον ἔφασαν εἶναι, ὅποι τις ἐθέλοι πορεύεσθαι. Ἐπὶ  
δ τούτοις ἐθύσαντο, ὅπως, ὀπηνίκα καὶ δοκοῖη τῆς ὥρας, τὴν  
πορείαν ποιοῖντο· τὴν γὰρ ὑπερβολὴν τῶν ὁρέων ἐδεδοίκε-  
σαν, μὴ προκαταληφθεῖη· καὶ παρήγγειλαν, ἐπειδὴ δει-  
πνήσειαν, συνεσκευασμένους πάντα ἀναπαύεσθαι, καὶ ἐπο-  
σθαι, ἥνικ' ἂν τις παραγγείλῃ.

# ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

## ΚΥΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΕΩΣ

### ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ.

#### Κεφάλαιον α'.

ὍΣΑ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει ἐγένετο μέχρι τῆς μάχης, καὶ ὅσα μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς, ἃς βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν Κύρῳ ἀναβάντες Ἕλληνες ἐσπέισαντο, καὶ ὅσα, παρα-  
βάντος τὰς σπονδὰς βασιλείῳ καὶ Τισσαφέρνῳ, ἐπολεμήθη πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐπακολουθοῦντος τοῦ Περσῶν στρατεύ-  
ματος, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο, ἔνθα ὁ μὲν Τίγρης ποταμὸς παντάπασιν ἄπορος ἦν διὰ τὸ βάθος καὶ μέγεθος, πάροδος δὲ οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ τὰ Καρδού-  
χια ὄρη ἀπότομα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκρέματο, ἐδό-  
κει δὴ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, διὰ τῶν ὁρέων πορευτέον εἶναι. 10  
Ἦκουον γάρ τῶν ἀλισκομένων, ὅτι, εἰ διελθοῖεν τὰ Καρδού-  
χια ὄρη, ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ, ἦν μὲν βούλονται, διαβήσονται· ἦν δὲ μὴ βούλονται, πε-  
ριτάσι. Καὶ τοῦ Ἐυφράτου τε τὰς πηγὰς ἐλέγετο οὐ πρό-  
σω τοῦ Τίγρητος εἶναι· καὶ ἔστιν οὗ τὸ στενόν. Τὴν δ' εἰς  
τοὺς Καρδούχους ἐμβολὴν ὧδε ποιοῦνται, ἅμα μὲν λαθεῖν  
πειρώμενοι, ἅμα δὲ φθάσαι, πρὶν τοὺς πολεμίους καταλα-  
βεῖν τὰ ἄκρα. Ἰνίκα δ' ἦν ἀμφὶ τὴν τελευταίαν φυλακὴν,  
καὶ ἐλείπετο τῆς νυκτὸς ὅσον σκοταίους διελθεῖν τὸ πεδίον,  
τηνικαῦτα ἀναστάντες ἀπὸ παραγγέλλεως πορευόμενοι ἀφι- 20

κρύνονται ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. Ἐνθα δὲ Χειρίσο-  
 φος μὲν ἡγήτο τοῦ στρατεύματος, λαβὼν τὸ ἄμφ' αὐτὸν καὶ  
 τοὺς γυμνήτας πάντας· Ξενοφῶν δὲ σὺν τοῖς ὀπισθοφυ-  
 λαζιν ὀπλίταις εἶπετο, οὐδένα ἔχων γυμνήτα· οὐδεὶς γὰρ  
 5 ἐδόκει κίνδυνος εἶναι, μή τις ἄνω πορευομένων ἐκ τοῦ ὀπι-  
 σθεν ἐπίσποιτο. Καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ ἄκρον ἀναβαίνει Χειρί-  
 σοφος, πρὶν τινα αἰσθῆσθαι τῶν πολεμίων· ἔπειτα δὲ ὕψη-  
 γεῖτο· ἐφείπετο δὲ αἰεὶ τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τοῦ στρατεύματος εἰς  
 τὰς κώμας τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἄγκυσι τε καὶ μυχοῖς τῶν ὀρέων.  
 10 Ἐνθα δὲ οἱ μὲν Καρδοῦχοι, ἐκλιπόντες τὰς οἰκίας, ἔχον-  
 τες καὶ γυναῖκας, καὶ παῖδας, ἔφευγον ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη· τὰ  
 δ' ἐπιτήδεια πολλὰ ἦν λαμβάνειν· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ χαλκώμασι  
 παμπόλλοις κατεσκευασμένοι αἱ οἰκίαι, ὧν οὐδὲν ἔφερον οἱ  
 Ἕλληνες· οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐδίωκον, ὑποφειδόμενοι, εἴ  
 15 πος [ἂν] ἐθελήσειαν οἱ Καρδοῦχοι διῆναι αὐτοὺς ὡς διὰ  
 φιλίας τῆς χώρας, ἐπέπερ βασιλεῖ πολέμιοι ἦσαν. Τὰ  
 μέντοι ἐπιτήδεια, ὅτῃ τις ἐπιτυγχάνοι, ἐλάμβανον· ἀνάγκη  
 γὰρ ἦν. Οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι οὔτε καλούντων ὑπήκουον, οὔτε  
 ἄλλο τι φιλικὸν οὐδὲν ἐποιοῦν. Ὅτε δὲ οἱ τελευταῖοι τῶν  
 20 Ἑλλήνων κατέβαινον εἰς τὰς κώμας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκρου ἤδη  
 σκυταῖοι, διὰ γὰρ τὸ στεγὴν εἶναι τὴν ὁδὸν ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν  
 ἢ ἀνάβασις αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο καὶ κατὰβασις εἰς τὰς κώμας, τό-  
 τε δὲ συλλεγέντες τινὲς τῶν Καρδούχων τοῖς τελευταίοις ἐπέ-  
 θεντο, καὶ ἀπέκτεινάν τινας, καὶ λίθοις καὶ τοξεύμασι κα-  
 25 τέτρωσαν, ὀλίγοι τινὲς ὄντες· ἐξ ἀπροςδοκίτου γὰρ αὐτοῖς  
 ἐπέπεσε τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. Εἰ μέντοι τότε πλείους συνελέγησαν,  
 ἐκινδύνευσαν ἂν διαφθαρῆναι πολὺ τοῦ στρατεύματος. Καὶ  
 ταύτην μὲν τὴν νύκτα οὕτως ἐν ταῖς κώμας ἡδύσθησαν· οἱ  
 δὲ Καρδοῦχοι πυρὰ πολλὰ ἔκαιον κύκλῳ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων, καὶ  
 30 συνεώρων ἀλλήλους.

Ἄμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ συνελθοῦσι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχα-  
 γοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔδοξε, τῶν τε ὑποζυγίων τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ  
 τὰ δυνατώτατα πορεύεσθαι ἔχοντας, καταλιπόντας τὰ ἄλλα,

καὶ ὅποσα ἦν νωστὶ αἰχμάλωτα ἀνδράποδα ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ, πάντα ἀφίεναι. Σχολαίαν γὰρ ἔποιοιεν τὴν πορείαν πολλὰ ὄντα τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα· καὶ πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν, οἱ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὄντες, ἀπόμαχοι ἦσαν· διπλάσιαι τε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔδει πορίζεσθαι καὶ φέρεσθαι, πολλῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὄρων. Λόξαν δὲ ταῦτα, ἐκήρυξαν οὕτω ποιεῖν.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀριστῆσαντες ἐπορεύοντο, ὑποστάντες ἐν στενῷ οἱ στρατηγοί, εἴ τι εὐρίσκοιεν τῶν εἰρημένων μὴ ἀφαιμένον, ἀφηροῦντο· οἱ δ' ἐπείθοντο, πλὴν εἴ τις τι ἔκλεψεν, οἷον ἢ παιδὸς ἐπιθυμήσας ἢ γυναικὸς τῶν εὐπρεπῶν. Καὶ 10 ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν οὕτως ἐπορεύθησαν, τὰ μὲν τι μαχόμενοι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀναπνύμενοι. Εἰς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν χειμὼν γίγνεται πολὺς, ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἦν πορεύεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἱκανὰ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Καὶ ἡγεῖτο μὲν Χειρίσοφος, ὡπισθοφυλάκει δὲ Ξενοφῶν. Καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἰσχυρῶς ἐπε- 15 τίθεντο, καὶ στενῶν ὄντων τῶν χωρίων, ἐγγὺς προσιόντες ἐτόξουν καὶ ἐσφενδόων· ὥστε ἠναγκάζοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπιδιώκοντες καὶ πάλιν ἀναχάζοντες σχολῇ πορεύεσθαι· καὶ θαμινὰ παρηγγεῖλεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν ὑπομένειν, ὅτε οἱ πολέμιοι ἰσχυρῶς ἐπικέοιντο. Ἐνθα ὁ Χειρίσοφος ἄλλοτε μὲν, ὅτε 20 παρεγγυῶτο, ὑπέμενε, τότε δὲ οὐχ ὑπέμενε, ἀλλ' ἦγε ταχέως, καὶ παρηγγύα ἔπεσθαι· ὥστε δῆλον ἦν, ὅτι πρᾶγμα τι εἶη· σχολὴ δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἰδεῖν παρελθόντι τὸ αἷτιον τῆς σπουδῆς· ὥστε ἡ πορεία ὁμοία φυγῇ ἐγίνετο τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλαξι. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀποθνήσκει ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς Λακωνικὸς Κλεώνυμος, τοξευθεὶς διὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος καὶ τῆς στολάδος εἰς τὰς πλευράς, καὶ Βασίλας Ἀρκάς, διαμπερές εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ σταθμόν, εὐθύς ὥσπερ εἶχεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸν Χειρίσοφον, ἡτιάτο αὐτόν, ὅτι οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλ' ἠναγκάζοντο φεύγοντες ἅμα μάχε- 30 σθαι. “Καὶ νῦν δύο καλῶ τε καὶ ἀγαθῶ ἀνδρε τεθνάτην, καὶ οὕτε ἀνελέσθαι, οὕτε θάψαι αὐτῶ ἐδυνάμεθα.” Ἀποκρίνεται πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Χειρίσοφος· “Βλέπων,” ἔφη, “εἰς τὰ

ὄρη, καὶ ἶδε, ὡς ἄβατα πάντα ἐστί. Μία δὲ αὕτη ὁδός, ἣν ὄρῃς, ὄρθια· καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ὄρῃ ἀνθρώπων ἔξεστι σοι ὄχλον τοσοῦτον, οἳ κατειληφότες φυλάττουσι τὴν ἔκβασιν. Ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἔσπευδον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σε οὐχ ὑπέμενον, εἴ πως δύ-  
 5 ναίμην φθάσαι, πρὶν κατειληφθαι τὴν ὑπερβολήν· οἱ δὲ ἡγεμόνες, οὓς ἔχομεν, οὐ φασιν εἶναι ἄλλην ὁδόν." Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν λέγει· "Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ ἔχω δύο ἄνδρας. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡμῖν πράγματα παρῆχον, ἐνηδρεύσαμεν, ὅπερ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀναπνεύ-  
 σαι ἐποίησε, καὶ ἀπεκτείναμεν τινὰς αὐτῶν, καὶ ζῶντας  
 10 προῦθυμήθημεν λαβεῖν, αὐτοῦ τούτου ἔνεκεν, ὅπως ἡγεμό-  
 σιν εἰδοῦσι τὴν χώραν χρησαίμεθα."

Καὶ εὐθὺς ἀγαγόντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἤλεχον διαλα-  
 βόντες, εἴ τινα εἰδεῖεν ἄλλην ὁδὸν ἢ τὴν φανεράν. Ὁ μὲν  
 οὖν ἕτερος οὐκ ἔφη, καὶ μάλα πολλῶν φόβων προσχομένων·  
 15 ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐδὲν ὠφέλιμον ἔλεγεν, ὀρῶντος τοῦ ἑτέρου κατε-  
 σφάγη. Ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς ἔλεξεν, ὅτι οὗτος μὲν διὰ ταῦτα οὐ  
 φαίη εἰδέναι, ὅτι αὐτῷ τυγχάνει θυγάτηρ ἐκῆ παρ' ἀνδρὶ  
 ἐκδιδυμένη· αὐτὸς δ' ἔφη ἡγήσασθαι δυνατὴν καὶ ὑποζυ-  
 γλοῖς πορεύεσθαι ὁδόν. Ἐρωτώμενος δ', εἰ εἴη τι ἐν αὐ-  
 20 τῇ δυσπάριτον χωρίον, ἔφη, εἶναι ἄκρον, ὃ εἰ μὴ τις προκα-  
 ταλήψοιτο, ἀδύνατον εἶσεσθαι παρελθεῖν. Ἐνταῦθα ἐδό-  
 κει, συγκαλέσαντας λοχαγοὺς καὶ πελταστὰς καὶ τῶν ὀπλι-  
 τῶν, λέγειν τε τὰ παρόντα, καὶ ἐρωτᾶν, εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἔστιν,  
 ὅστις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐθέλοι γενέσθαι, καὶ ὑποστὰς ἐθελοντὴς  
 25 πορεύεσθαι. Ἐφίστανται τῶν μὲν ὀπλιτῶν Ἀριστῶνμος  
 Μεθυδριεὺς Ἀρκάς, καὶ Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος Ἀρκάς. Ἀντι-  
 στασιάζων δὲ αὐτοῖς Καλλίμαχος Παφάσιος Ἀρκάς, καὶ  
 οὗτος ἔφη ἐθέλειν πορεύεσθαι, προςλαβὼν ἐθελοντὰς ἐκ  
 παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος· "Εὐ γὰρ οἶδα," ἔφη, "ὅτι ἔσπον-  
 30 ται πολλοὶ τῶν νέων ἐμοῦ ἡγουμένον." Ἐκ τούτου ἐρω-  
 τῶσιν, εἴ τις καὶ τῶν γυνητῶν ταξιαρχῶν ἐθέλοι συμπο-  
 ρεύεσθαι. Ἐφίσταται Ἀριστίας Χίος, ὃς πολλacho πολλοῦ  
 ἄξιος τῇ στρατιᾷ εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο.

## Κεφάλαιον β'.

Καὶ ἦν μὲν δεῖλη ἡδὴ, οἱ δ' ἐκίλευον αὐτοὺς ἐμφαγόντας πορεύεσθαι· καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα δῆσαντες παραδιδόασιν αὐτοῖς· καὶ συντίθενται, τὴν μὲν νύκτα, ἣν λάβωσι τὸ ἄκρον, τὸ χωρίον φυλάττειν· ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ σάλπιγγι σημαίνειν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄνω ὄντας εἶναι ἐπὶ τοὺς κατέχοντας 5 τὴν φανεράν ἔκβασιν· αὐτοὶ δὲ συμβοηθήσειν ἐκβαίνοντες ὡς ἂν δύνωνται τάχιστα. Ταῦτα συνθέμενοι, οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο, πληθος ὡς διςχίλιοι· καὶ ὕδωρ πολὺ ἦν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ· Ξενοφῶν δέ, ἔχων τοὺς ὀπισθοφυλάκας, ἤγετο πρὸς τὴν φανεράν ἔκβασιν, ὅπως ταύτῃ τῇ ὁδῷ οἱ πολέμοι πρὸς 10 ἔχοιεν τὸν νοῦν, καὶ ὡς μάλιστα λάθοιεν οἱ περιϊόντες. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ χαράδρᾳ οἱ ὀπισθοφυλάκες, ἣν ἵδρι διαβάντας πρὸς τὸ ὄρεθιον ἐκβαίνειν, τηνικαῦτα ἐκυλίνδουν οἱ βάρβαροι ὀλοιστροχοὺς ἀμαξιάλους, καὶ μείζους καὶ ἐλάττους [λίθους], οἱ φερόμενοι πρὸς τὰς πέτρας πταλόντες διεσφεν- 15 δονῶντο· καὶ παντάπασιν οὐδὲ πελάσαι οἶόν τ' ἦν τῇ ὁδῷ. Ἐνιοὶ δὲ τῶν λοχαγῶν, εἰ μὴ ταύτῃ δύχαιντο, ἄλλῃ ἐπειρῶντο· καὶ ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν μέχρι σκότος ἐγένετο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥσντο ἀφανεῖς εἶναι ἀπιόντες, τότε ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον· ἐτύγχανον δὲ καὶ ἀνάριστοι ὄντες αὐτῶν οἱ ὀπισθοφυλά- 20 κήσαντες. Οἱ μέντοι πολέμοι, φοβούμενοι δηλονότι, οὐδὲν ἐπαύσαντο δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς κυλινδοῦντες τοὺς λίθους· τεκμήρασθαι δ' ἦν τῷ ψόφῳ. Οἱ δέ, ἔχοντες τὸν ἡγεμόνα, κύνκλω περιϊόντες, καταλαμβάνουσι τοὺς φυλάκας ἀμφὶ πῦρ καθιμένους· καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατακαπνόντες, τοὺς δὲ κατα- 25 διώσαντες, αὐτοὶ ἐνταῦθα ἔμενον, ὡς κατέχοντες τὸ ἄκρον. Οἱ δ' οὐ κατεῖχον, ἀλλὰ μαστὸς ἦν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, παρ' ὧν ἦν ἡ στεγὴ αὕτη ὁδός, ἐφ' ἣ ἐκάθηντο οἱ φύλακες. Ἐφοδος μέντοι αὐτόθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἦν, οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ φανερᾷ ὁδῷ ἐκάθηντο. 30

Καὶ τὴν μὲν νύκτα ἐνταῦθα διήγαγον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα  
 ὑπέφαιεν, ἐπορεύοντο σιγῇ συντεταγμένοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμί-  
 ους· καὶ γὰρ ὁμίχλη ἐγένετο· ὥστε ἔλαθον ἐγγὺς προσελ-  
 θόντες. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον ἀλλήλους, ἥ τε σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγγετο,  
 5 καὶ ἀλαλάζαντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔεντο ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· οἱ  
 δ' οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ καταλιπόντες τὴν ὁδόν, φεύγοντες  
 ὀλίγοι ἀπέθνησκον· εὖζωνοι γὰρ ἦσαν. Οἱ δ' ἄμφι Χει-  
 ρισοφον, ἀκούσαντες τῆς σάλπιγγος, εὐθύς ἔεντο ἄνω κατὰ  
 τὴν φανεράν ὁδόν· ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν κατὰ ἀτρίβεις  
 10 ὁδοὺς ἐπορεύοντο, ἧ ἔτυχον ἕκαστοι ὄντες, καὶ ἀναβάντες  
 ὡς ἐδύναντο, ἀνίμων ἀλλήλους τοῖς δόρασι. Καὶ οὗτοι  
 πρῶτοι συνέμιξαν τοῖς προκαταλαβοῦσι τὸ χωρίον. Ξενο-  
 φῶν δέ, ἔχων τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων τοὺς ἡμίσεις, ἐπορεύετο,  
 ἥπερ οἱ τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἔχοντες· εὐδοωτάτῃ γὰρ ἦν τοῖς ὑπο-  
 15 ζυγίοις· τοὺς δ' ἡμίσεις ὀπισθεν τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἔταξε.  
 Πορευόμενοι δ' ἐντυγχάνουσι λόφῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ, κατε-  
 λημμένῳ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, οὓς ἡ ἀποκόψαι ἦν ἀνάγκη, ἣ  
 διεξεῦχθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων. Καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἄν  
 ἐπορεύθησαν, ἥπερ οἱ ἄλλοι· τὰ δ' ὑποζύγια οὐκ ἦν ἄλλη  
 20 ἢ ταύτῃ ἐκβῆναι. Ἐνθα δὴ παρακλειυσάμενοι ἀλλήλοις,  
 προσβάλλουσι πρὸς τὸν λόφον ὀρθοῖσι τοῖς λόχοις, οὐ κύκλῳ,  
 ἀλλὰ καταλιπόντες ἄφοδον τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἰ βούλονται  
 φεύγειν. Καὶ τέως μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀναβαίνοντας, ὅπη ἐδύναν-  
 το ἕκαστος, οἱ βύρβαροι ἐτόξενον καὶ ἔβαλλον, ἐγγὺς δ' οὐ  
 25 προσέεντο, ἀλλὰ φυγῇ λείπουνσι τὸ χωρίον. Καὶ τοῦτόν τε  
 παρεληλύθεισαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ἕτερον ὀρώντες ἔμπροσθεν  
 λόφον κατεχόμενον, ἐπὶ τοῦτον αὐτίς ἐδόκει πορεύεσθαι.  
 Ἐννοήσας δ' ὁ Ξενοφῶν, μή, εἰ ἔρημον καταλείπει τὸν ἡλω-  
 κότα λόφον, καὶ πάλιν λαβόντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπιθοῖντο τοῖς  
 30 ὑποζυγίοις παριοῦσιν (ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ ἦν τὰ ὑποζύγια, αἵτε  
 διὰ στενῆς τῆς ὁδοῦ πορευόμενα), καταλείπει ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου  
 λοχαγούς Κηφισόδωρον Κηφισοφῶντος, Ἀθηναῖον, καὶ Ἀμ-  
 φικράτην Ἀμφιδήμον, Ἀθηναῖον, καὶ Ἀρχαγόραν Ἀργεῖον,

φυγάδα· αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὸν δευ-  
τερον λόφον, καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τοῦτον αἰρούσιν. Ἐτι  
δ' αὐτοῖς τρίτος μαστὸς λοιπὸς ἦν πολὺ ὀρθιωτάτος, ὃ ὑπὲρ  
τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ καταληφθείσης φυλακῆς τῆς νυκτὸς ὑπὸ  
τῶν προελθόντων. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἔγγυς ἦγον οἱ Ἕλληνες, λείπου-  
σιν οἱ βάρβαροι ἀμαχητεὶ τὸν μαστόν· ὥστε θανμαστόν  
γενίσθαι πᾶσι, καὶ ὑπώπτειον, δείσαντας αὐτούς, μὴ κυ-  
κλωθέντες πολιορκοῖντο, ἀπολιπεῖν. Οἱ δὲ ἄρα ἀπὸ τοῦ  
ἄκρου καθορῶντες τὰ ὀπισθεν γιγνόμενα, πάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς  
ὀπισθοφύλακας ἐχώρουν. 10

Καὶ Ξενοφῶν μὲν σὺν τοῖς νεωτάτοις ἀνέβαινον ἐπὶ τὸ  
ἄκρον, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐκέλευσεν ὑπάγειν, ὅπως οἱ τελευταῖοι  
λόχοι προσμύξαιεν· καὶ προελθόντας κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐν τῷ  
ὁμαλῷ θύειναι τὰ ὄπλα εἶπεν. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἦλθεν  
Ἀρχαγόρας ὁ Ἀργεῖος πεφευγὼς καὶ λέγει, ὡς ἀπεκόπησαν  
ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου λόφου, καὶ ὅτι τεθνᾶσι Κηφισόδωρος καὶ  
Ἀμφικράτης, καὶ ἄλλοι, ὅσοι μὴ ἀλλόμενοι κατὰ τῆς πέτρας  
πρὸς τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἀφίκοντο. Ταῦτα δὲ διαπρα-  
ξάμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι, ἤκον ἐπ' ἀντίπορον λόφον τῷ μαστῷ·  
καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν διελέγετο αὐτοῖς δι' ἐρμηνείας περὶ σπονδῶν,  
καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπῆτει. Οἱ δ' ἔφασαν ἀποδώσειν, ἐφ' ᾧ  
μὴ καίειν τὰς κώμας. Συνωμολόγει ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν. Ἐν  
ᾧ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο στράτευμα παρεῖναι, οἱ δὲ ταῦτα διελέγοντο,  
πάντες, οἱ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ τόπου συνεβύβησαν, ἐνταῦθα  
ἵσταντο οἱ πολέμιοι. Καὶ ἐπεὶ ἤρξαντο καταβαίνειν ἀπὸ  
τοῦ μαστοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους, ἔνθα τὰ ὄπλα ἔκειντο, ἔντο  
δὴ οἱ πολέμιοι πολλῶς πλήθει καὶ θορύβῳ· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐγέ-  
νοντο ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ μαστοῦ, ἀφ' οὗ Ξενοφῶν κατέ-  
βαινον, ἐκυλίνδουν πέτρας· καὶ ἐνὸς μὲν κατέαζαν τὸ σκέλος,  
Ξενοφῶντα δὲ ὁ ὑπασπιστὴς ἔχων τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀπέλιπεν·  
Εὐρύλοχος δὲ Λουσιεὺς Ἀρκὰς προσέδραμεν αὐτῷ ὀπλίτης,  
καὶ πρὸ ἀμφοῖν προβεβλημένος ἀπεχώρει, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρὸς  
τοὺς συνεταγμένους ἀπῆλθον.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου πᾶν ὁμοῦ ἐγένετο τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, καὶ ἐσκή-  
 νησαν αὐτοῦ ἐν πολλαῖς καὶ καλαῖς οἰκλαῖς, καὶ ἐπιτηδείοις  
 σαφιλέσσι· καὶ γὰρ οἶνος πολὺς ἦν, ὃν ἐν λάκκοις κονιατοῖς  
 ἔχον. Ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ Χειρίσοφος διεπράξαντο, ὥστε λα-  
 5 βόντες τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀποδοῦναι τὸν ἡγεμόνα· καὶ πάντα  
 ἐποίησαν τοῖς ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν, ὥς περ νομίζε-  
 ται ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἄνευ ἡγεμόνος  
 ἐπορεύοντο· μαχόμενοι δ' οἱ πολέμοι, καὶ ὅπη εἴη στενὸν  
 χωρίον προκαταλαμβάνοντες, ἐκώλυνον τὰς παρόδους. Ὅπο-  
 10 τε μὲν οὖν τοὺς πρώτους κωλύοιεν, Ξενοφῶν ὅπισθεν ἐκ-  
 βαίνων πρὸς τὰ ὄρη, ἔλυσεν τὴν ἀπόφραξιν τῆς παρόδου τοῖς  
 πρώτοις, ἀνωτέρω πειρώμενος γίγνεσθαι τῶν κωλόντων·  
 ὁπότε δὲ τοῖς ὅπισθεν ἐπιθοοῖντο, Χειρίσοφος ἐκβαίνων, καὶ  
 πειρώμενος ἀναπέραν γίγνεσθαι τῶν κωλόντων, ἔλυσεν τὴν  
 15 ἀπόφραξιν τῆς παρόδου τοῖς ὅπισθεν. Καὶ αἰεὶ οὕτως  
 ἐβοήθουν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ἀλλήλων ἐπεμέλοντο. Ἦν  
 δὲ ὁπότε καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀναβᾶσι πολλὰ πράγματα παρεῖ-  
 χον οἱ βάρβαροι πάλιν καταβαίνουσιν· ἑλαφροὶ γὰρ ἦσαν,  
 ὥστε καὶ ἐγγύθεν φεύγοντες ἀποφεύγειν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο  
 20 εἶχον ἢ τόξα καὶ σφενδόνας. Ἀριστοὶ δὲ τοξόται ἦσαν·  
 εἶχον δὲ τόξα ἐγγὺς τριπλήχη, τὰ δὲ τοξεύματα πλέον ἢ δι-  
 πλήχη· εἰλκον δὲ τὰς νευράς, ὁπότε τοξεύοιεν, πρὸς τὸ κάτω  
 τοῦ τόξου τῷ ἀριστερῷ ποδὶ προεσβαίνοντες. Τὰ δὲ τοξεύ-  
 25 ματα ἔχωρει διὰ τῶν ἀσπίδων καὶ διὰ τῶν θωράκων· ἐχρῶν-  
 το δὲ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ λάβοιεν, ἀκορτίους, ἐναγκυ-  
 λῶντες. Ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χωρίοις οἱ Κρηῖτες χρησιμώτατοι  
 ἐγένοντο· ἤρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Στρατοκλῆς Κρής.

## Κεφάλαιον γ'.

Ταύτην δ' αὖ τὴν ἡμέραν ἡύλισθησαν ἐν ταῖς κόμαις ταῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ παρὰ τὸν Κεντρίτην ποταμόν, εὖρος ὡς δίπλεθρον, ὃς ὀρίζει τὴν Ἀρμενίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Καρδούχων χώραν· καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐνταῦθα ἀνεπαύσαντο ἄσμενοι ἰδόντες πεδίον· ἀπέιχε δὲ τῶν ὀρίων ὁ ποταμός ὡς 6  
 ἑξ ἢ ἐπὶ σταδία τῶν Καρδούχων. Τότε μὲν οὖν ἡύλισθησαν μάλα ἡδέως, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχοντες, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν παρεληλυθότων πόνων μνημονεύοντες. Ἐπὶ γὰρ ἡμέρας, ὅσας περ ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῶν Καρδούχων, πάσας μαχόμενοι διετίλεισαν, καὶ ἔπαθον κακὰ, ὅσα οὐδὲ τὰ σύμπαντα 10  
 ὑπὸ βασιλείᾳ καὶ Τισσαφέρους. Ὡς οὖν ἀπηλλαγμένοι τούτων, ἡδέως ἐκοιμήθησαν.

Ἄμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὀρώσιν ἱππείας που πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐξωπλισμένους, ὡς κωλύσοντας διαβαίνειν· πεζοὺς δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις παρατεταγμένους ἄνω τῶν ἱππέων, ὡς 15  
 κωλύσοντας εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐκβαίνειν. Ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι Ὀρόντου καὶ Ἀρτούχου, Ἀρμένιοι καὶ Μαρδόνιοι καὶ Χαλδαῖοι μισθοφόροι. Ἐλέγοντο δὲ οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ἐλεύθεροι καὶ ἄλκιμοι εἶναι· ὅπλα δ' εἶχον γέφυρα μακρὰ καὶ λόγχας. Αἱ δὲ ὄχθαι αὐταί, ἐφ' ὧν παρατεταγμένοι οὗτοι ἦσαν, τρία ἢ 20  
 τέτταρα πλίθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπέιχον· ὁδὸς δὲ μία ἢ ὀρωμένη ἦν ἄγουσα ἄνω, ὥς περ χειροποίητος· ταύτην ἐπειρῶντο διαβαίνειν οἱ Ἕλληνες. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πειρωμένοις τό τε ὕδωρ ὑπὲρ τῶν μαστῶν ἐφαίνετο, καὶ ταχὺς ἦν ὁ ποταμός  
 μεγάλῳις λίθοις καὶ ὀλισθηροῖς, καὶ οὔτε ἐν τῷ ἴσθμῳ τὰ 25  
 ὅπλα ἦν ἔχειν· εἰ δὲ μή, ἤρπαζεν ὁ ποταμός· ἐπὶ τε τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰ ὅπλα εἴ τις φέροι, γυμνοὶ ἐγύγνοντο πρὸς τὰ τοξεύματα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα βίβλη· ἀνεχώρησαν οὖν, καὶ αὐτοῦ  
 ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν.

- Ἐνθα δὲ αὐτοὶ τὴν πρὸςθεν νύκτα ἦσαν, ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους  
 ἑώρων τοὺς Καρδούχους πολλοὺς συνειλεγμένους ἐν τοῖς  
 ὄπλοις. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ πολλὴ ἀθυμία ἦν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὁρῶσι  
 μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν δυσπορίαν, ὁρῶσι δὲ τοὺς διαβαίνειν  
 5 κωλύοντας, ὁρῶσι δὲ τοῖς διαβαίνουσιν ἐπικεισομένους  
 τοὺς Καρδούχους ὀπισθεν. Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν  
 καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἔμενον ἐν πολλῇ ἀπορίᾳ ὄντες. Ξενοφῶν δὲ  
 ὄναρ εἶδεν· ἔδοξεν ἐν πίδαις δεδέσθαι, αὐταὶ δὲ αὐτῷ αὐ-  
 τόματοι περιφύηται, ὥστε λυθῆναι καὶ διαβαίνειν, ὅπουσον  
 10 ἐβουλέτο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὄρθρος ἦν, ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Χειρίσο-  
 φον, καὶ λέγει, ὅτι ἐλπίδας ἔχει καλῶς ἔσσεσθαι· καὶ διη-  
 γεῖται αὐτῷ τὸ ὄναρ. Ὁ δὲ ἤδετό τε, καὶ ὥς τάχιστα ἔως  
 ὑπέφαιναν, ἐθύοντιο πάντες οἱ παρόντες στρατηγοί· καὶ τὰ  
 ἱερὰ καλὰ ἦν εὐθύς ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου. Καὶ ἀπιώντες ἀπὸ  
 15 τῶν ἱερῶν οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ παρήγγελλον τῇ στρατιᾷ  
 ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι. Ἀριστῶντι δὲ τῷ Ξενοφῶντι προσέτρεχον  
 δύο νεανίσκω· ἤδεσαν γὰρ πάντες, ὅτι ἐξείη αὐτῷ καὶ ἀρι-  
 στῶντι καὶ δειπνῶντι προσελθεῖν, καὶ, εἰ καθεύδοι, ἐπεγεί-  
 ραντα εἰπεῖν, εἴ τίς τι ἔχοι τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. Καὶ  
 20 τότε ἔλεγον, ὅτι τυγχάνοιεν φεύγαντα συλλέγοντες ὥς ἐπὶ  
 πῦρ, κάπειτα κατίδοιεν ἐν τῷ πέραν ἐν πέτραις καθηκού-  
 σαις ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν γέροντά τε καὶ γυναῖκα, καὶ  
 παιδίσκας, ὥσπερ μαρσίπους ἱματίων κατατιθεμένους ἐν  
 πέτρᾳ ἀντρώδει. Ἰδοῦσι δὲ σφισι δόξαι, ἀσφαλές εἶναι δια-  
 25 βαίνειν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἱππεῦσι πρόσβατον εἶναι  
 κατὰ τοῦτο. Ἐκδύντες δὲ ἔφασαν, ἔχοντες τὰ ἐγχειρίδια  
 γυμνά, ὥς νευσούμενοι διαβαίνειν· πορευόμενοι δέ, πρό-  
 σθεν διαβαίνειν, πρὶν βρέξαι τὰ αἰδοῖα· καὶ διαβάντες, καὶ  
 λαβόντες τὰ ἱμάτια, πάλιν ἤκειν.  
 30 Εὐθύς οὖν ὁ Ξενοφῶν αὐτὸς τε ἔσπενδε, καὶ τοῖς νεανί-  
 σκοις ἐρχεῖν ἐκέλευσε, καὶ εὐχεσθαι τοῖς φήνασι θεοῖς τὰ τε  
 ὀνειράτα καὶ τὸν πόρον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐπιτελέσαι.  
 Σπείσας δὲ εὐθύς ἦγε τοὺς νεανίσκους παρὰ τὸν Χειρίσο-

φον· καὶ διηγοῦνται ταῦτά. Ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ὁ Χειρίσοφος σπονδὰς ἐποίη. Σπείσαντες δέ, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις παρήγγελλον συσκευάζεσθαι, αὐτοὶ δέ, συγκαλίσαντες τοὺς στρατηγούς, ἐβουλευόντο, ὅπως ἂν κάλλιστα διαβαῖεν, καὶ τοὺς τε ἔμπροσθεν νικῶεν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀπισθεν μηδὲν κακὸν πά- 5 σχοιεν. Καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, Χειρίσοφον μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ δισβαίνειν, ἔχοντα τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ στρατεύματος, τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ ἔτι ὑπομένειν σὺν Ξενοφῶντι· τὰ δὲ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἐν μίᾳσφ τούτων διαβαίνειν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καλῶς ταῦτα εἶχεν, ἐπορεύοντο· ἡγοῦντο δὲ οἱ νεανίσκοι, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες 10 τὸν ποταμόν· ὁδὸς δὲ ἦν ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν ὡς τέτταρα στάδια.

Πορευομένων δ' αὐτῶν ἀντιπαρήσαν αἱ τάξεις τῶν ἰπ-  
πέων. Ἐπειδὴ δ' ἦσαν κατὰ τὴν διάβασιν καὶ τὰς ὄχθας  
τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ αὐτὸς πρῶτος Χειρίσο- 15  
φος στεφανωσάμενος καὶ ὑποδὺς ἐλάβαντα τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ  
τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι παρήγγελλε· καὶ τοῖς λοχαγοῦς ἐκέλευεν  
ἄγειν τοὺς λόχους ὀρθίους, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν  
δεξιᾷ ἑαυτοῦ. Καὶ οἱ μὲν μάντις ἐσφαγιάζοντο εἰς τὸν  
ποταμόν· οἱ δὲ πολέμοι ἐτόξευόν τε καὶ ἐσφενδύων· ἀλλ' 20  
οὕτω ἐξικνούντο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καλὰ ἦν τὰ σφάγια, ἐπαϊάνιζον  
πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ ἀνηλάλαζον, συνωλόλυζον δὲ καὶ αἱ  
γυναῖκες ἅπασαι. Πολλοὶ γάρ ἦσαν ἐταῖραι ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι.

Καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἐνέβαινε καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ· ὁ δὲ  
Ξενοφῶν, λαβὼν τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων τοὺς εὐζωνοτάτους, 25  
ἔθει ἀνὰ κράτος πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον τὸν κατὰ τὴν ἔκβασιν  
τὴν εἰς τὰ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ὄρη· προσποιούμενος ταύτῃ δια-  
βὰς ἀποκλείσειν τοὺς παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν ἰππέας. Οἱ δὲ  
πολέμοιοι, ὀρῶντες μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον εὐπεγῶς τὸ  
ὔδαρ διαπερῶντας, ὀρῶντες δὲ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ξενοφῶντα θίον- 30  
τας εἰς τοῦμπυλιν, δέισαντες, μὴ ἀποκλεισθῆναι, φεύγου-  
σιν ἀνὰ κράτος ὡς πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔκβασιν ἄνω.  
Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐγένοντο, ἔτειναν ἄνω πρὸς τὸ ὄρος.

Λύκιος δέ, ὁ τὴν τάξιν ἔχων τῶν ἱππέων, καὶ Αἰσχίνης, ὁ τὴν τάξιν ἔχων τῶν πελταστῶν τῶν ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον, ἐπεὶ ἐώρων ἀνὰ κράτος φεύγοντας, εἶποντο· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐβόων μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συνεκβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος.  
 5 Χειρίσοφος δ' αὖ, ἐπεὶ διέβη, τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας οὐκ ἐδίωκεν, εὐθύς δὲ κατὰ τὰς προσηκούσας ὄχθας ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξέβαινεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνω πολεμίους. Οἱ δὲ ἄνω, ὀρῶντες μὲν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἱππέας φεύγοντας, ὀρῶντες δὲ ὀπλίτας ἐπιόντας σφίσι, ἐκλείπουσι τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄκρα.

10 Ξενοφῶν δέ, ἐπεὶ τὰ πέραν ἰώρα καλῶς γιγνόμενα, ἀπέχωρει τὴν ταχίστην πρὸς τὸ διαβαῖνον στράτευμα· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Καρδοῦχοι φανεροὶ ἦδη ἦσαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον καταβαίνοντες, ὡς ἐπιθησόμενοι τοῖς τελευταίοις. Καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν τὰ ἄνω κατεῖχε, Λύκιος δὲ σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπιχειρήσας  
 15 ἐπιδιώξει, ἔλαβε τῶν σκευοφόρων τὰ ὑπολείπομενα, καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἐσθιῆτά τε καλὴν καὶ ἐκπώματα. Καὶ τὰ μὲν σκευοφόρα τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ὁ ὄχλος ἀκμὴν διέβαινε· Ξενοφῶν δὲ στρέψας πρὸς τοὺς Καρδούχους ἀντία τὰ ὄπλα ἔθετο· καὶ παρήγγειλε τοῖς λοχαγοῖς, κατ' ἐνωμοτίας ποιή-  
 20 σασθαι ἕκαστον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόχον, παρ' ἀσπίδας παραγαγόντας τὴν ἐνωμοτίαν ἐπὶ φάλαγγος· καὶ τοὺς μὲν λοχαγούς καὶ τοὺς ἐνωμοτάρχας πρὸς τῶν Καρδούχων ἵναι, οὐραγούς δὲ καταστήσασθαι πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ.

Οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι, ὡς ἐώρων τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας τοῦ  
 25 ὄχλου ψιλουμένους, καὶ ὀλίγους ἤδη φαινομένους, θάπτον δὴ ἐπήεσαν, ὥδ' αἱ τινες ἄδοντες. Ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος, ἐπεὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτῷ ἀσφαλῶς εἶχε, πέμπει παρὰ Ξενοφῶντα τοὺς πελταστὰς καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ τοξότας, καὶ κελεύει ποιεῖν, ὅτι αὖν παραγγέλλῃ. Ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτούς, καταβαίνοντας ὁ  
 30 Ξενοφῶν, πέμψας ἄγγελον κελεύει αὐτοῦ μέναι ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μὴ διαβάντας· ὅταν δ' ἄρξωνται αὐτοὶ διαβαίνειν, ἐναντίους ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν σφῶν ἐμβαίνειν ὡς διαβησομένους, διηγκυλισμένους τοὺς ἀκοντιστάς, καὶ ἐπιβεβλημένους

τοὺς τοξότας· μὴ πρόσω δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ προβαίνειν. Τῷς δὲ παρ' ἐαυτῷ παρήγγειλεν, ἐπειδὴν σφενδόνη ἐκινῆται, καὶ ἄσπὶς ψοφῇ, παιανίσαντας θεῖν αἰεὶ εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους· ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἀναστρέψωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὁ σαλπικτιῆς σημήνῃ τὸ πολεμικόν, ἀναστρέψαντας ἐπὶ δόρυ ἡγεῖσθαι μὲν τοὺς οὐραγούς, θεῖν δὲ πάντας ὅτι τάχιστα, καὶ διαβαίνειν, ἥ ἕκαστος τὴν τάξιν εἶχεν, ὥς μὴ ἐμποδίζεῖν ἀλλήλους· ὅτι οὗτος ἄριστος ἔσοιτο, ὃς ἂν πρῶτος ἐν τῷ πέραν γένηται.

Οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι, ὄρωντες ὀλίγους ἦδη τοὺς λοιπούς 10 (πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν μένων τεταγμένων ἦρχοντο ἐπιμελησόμενοι οἱ μὲν ὑποζυγίων, οἱ δὲ σκευῶν, οἱ δὲ ἑταιρῶν), ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐπέκειντο θρασείως, καὶ ἤρχοντο σφενδονῶν καὶ τοξεύειν. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες παιανίσαντες ὠρμησαν δρόμῳ ἐπ' αὐτούς· οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐδίδξαντο· καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ὠπλισμένοι, ὥς 15 μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ἱκανῶς πρὸς τὸ ἐπιδραμεῖν καὶ φεύγειν, πρὸς τὴν εἰς χεῖρας δέχεσθαι οὐχ ἱκανῶς. Ἐν τούτῳ σημαίνει ὁ σαλπικτιῆς· καὶ οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι ἔφευγον πολὺ ἔτι θᾶπτον· οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες τὰ ἐναντία στρέψαντες, ἔφευγον διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅτι τάχιστα. Τῶν δὲ πολεμίων οἱ μὲν 20 τινες αἰσθόμενοι, πάλιν ἔδραμον ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, καὶ τοξεύοντες ὀλίγους ἔτρωσαν· οἱ δὲ πολλοί, καὶ πέραν ὄντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἔτι φανεροὶ ἦσαν φεύγοντες. Οἱ δὲ ὑπαντήσαντες ἀνθριζόμενοι, καὶ προσωτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ προδύοντες, ὕστερον τῶν μετὰ Ξενοφῶντος διέβησαν πάλιν· καὶ ἐτρώ- 25 θησάν τινες καὶ τούτων.

### Κεφάλαιον δ'.

Ἐπὶ δὲ διέβησαν ἀμφὶ μέσον ἡμέρας, συνταξάμενοι ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῆς Ἀρμενίας πεδίων ἅπαν καὶ λίους γηλόφους, οὐ μῖον ἢ πίντε παρασάγγας· οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν

ἐγγὺς τοῦ ποταμοῦ κῶμαι, διὰ τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς πρὸς  
 τοὺς Καρδούχους. Εἰς δὲ ἦν ἀφίκοντο κώμην, μεγάλη τε  
 ἦν, καὶ βυσιλειόν τε εἶχε τῷ σατράπῃ, καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς πλείσταις  
 οἰκίαις τύρσεις ἐπῆσαν· ἐπιτήδεια δ' ἦν δαφυλῇ. Ἐντεῦθεν  
 5 δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμούς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα, μέχρις  
 ὑπερῆλθον τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ. Ἐντεῦθεν  
 δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμούς τρεῖς παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα  
 ἐπὶ τὸν Τηλεβόαν ποταμόν. Οὗτος δ' ἦν μέγας μὲν οὐ, κα-  
 λὸς δέ· κῶμαι δὲ πολλαὶ περὶ τὸν ποταμόν ἦσαν. Ὁ δὲ  
 10 τόπος οὗτος Ἀρμενία ἐκαλεῖτο ἢ πρὸς ἑσπέραν. Ὁ Παρχος  
 δ' αὐτῆς ἦν Τηρίβαζος, ὃ καὶ βασιλεῖ φίλος γενόμενος· καὶ  
 ὁπότε παρῆν, εὐδεῖς ἄλλος βασιλείᾳ ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαλ-  
 λεν. Οὗτος προσήλασεν ἱππίας ἔχων, καὶ προπέμψας ἐρημ-  
 νεία, εἶπεν, ὅτι βούλοιο διαλεχθῆναι τοῖς ἄρχουσι. Τοῖς  
 15 δὲ στρατηγοῖς ἔδοξεν ἀκοῦσαι· καὶ προσελθόντες εἰς ἐπή-  
 κοον, ἡρώτων, τί θέλοι. Ὁ δὲ ἔλεγεν, ὅτι σπείσασθαι  
 βούλοιο ἐφ' ᾧ μήτ' αὐτὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀδικεῖν, μήτ'  
 ἐκείνους καίειν τὰς οἰκίας, λαμβάνειν τε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὅσων  
 δεοῖντο. Ἐδόξε ταῦτα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, καὶ ἐσπέλσαντο ἐπὶ  
 20 τούτοις.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμούς τρεῖς διὰ πεδίον, πα-  
 ρασάγγας πέντεκαίδεκα· καὶ Τηρίβαζος παρηκολούθει  
 ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἀπέχων ὥς δέκα σταδίους· καὶ  
 ἀφίκοντο εἰς βασιλεία καὶ κώμας περὶ πολλὰς, πολλῶν τῶν  
 25 ἐπιτηδείων μεσάς. Στρατοπειδευομένων δ' αὐτῶν γίνεται  
 τῆς νυκτὸς χιὼν πολλή· καὶ ἔωθεν ἔδοξε διασκηρῆσαι τὰς  
 τάξεις καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς κατὰ τὰς κώμας· οὐ γὰρ εὖρων  
 πολέμον οὐδένα, καὶ ἀσφαλὲς ἐδόκει εἶναι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος  
 τῆς χιόνος. Ἐνταῦθα εἶχον πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὅσα ἐστὶν  
 30 ἀγαθὰ, ἱερεῖα, σῖτον, οἶνους παλαιούς εὐώδεις, ἀσταφίδας,  
 ὄσπρια παντοδαπά. Τῶν δὲ ἀποσκηδανυμένων τινὲς ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλεγον, ὅτι κατίδοιεν σφράγισμα, καὶ νύ-  
 κτωρ πολλὰ πυρὰ φαίνοντο. Ἐδόκει δὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς

οὐκ ἀσφαλές εἶναι διασκηνοῦν, ἀλλὰ συναγαγεῖν τὸ στρα-  
τευμα πάλιν. Ἐντεῦθεν συνῆλθον· καὶ γὰρ ἐδόκει διαι-  
θριάζειν. Νυκτερεσόντων δ' αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα, ἐπιπίπτει  
χιὼν ἄπλετος, ὥστε ἀπέκρυψε καὶ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τοὺς ἀν-  
θρώπους κατακειμένους· καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια συνεπέδησεν ἡ  
χιὼν· καὶ πολλὸς ὄκνος ἦν ἀνίστασθαι· κατακειμένων γὰρ  
ἄλεινόν ἦν ἡ χιὼν ἐπιπεπτωκυῖα, ὅτῳ μὴ παραφύσειη.  
Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἐτόλμας γυμνὸς ὢν ἀναστὰς σχίζειν ξύλα,  
τάχα ἀναστάς τις καὶ ἄλλος ἐκείνου ἀφελόμενος ἔσχισεν.  
Ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀναστάντες πῦρ ἔκαιον καὶ 10  
ἐχρίοντο· πολὺ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα εὗρίσκετο χρίσμα, ᾧ ἐχρῶντο  
ἀντ' ἐλαίου, σύσιον καὶ σησάμινον καὶ ἀμυγδάλινον, ἐκ τῶν  
πικρῶν, καὶ τερβιλθινον. Ἐκ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ  
μύρον εὗρίσκετο.

Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδόκει πάλιν διασκηνητέον εἶναι κατὰ τὰς 15  
κώμας εἰς στέγας. Ἐνθα δὴ οἱ στρατιῶται σὺν πολλῇ κραυγῇ  
καὶ ἡδονῇ ἔθειον ἐπὶ τὰς στέγας καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ὅσοι δέ, ὅτε  
τοπρότερον ἀπῆσαν, τὰς οἰκίας ἐνέπηρσαν, ὑπὸ τῆς αἰθρίας  
δίκην ἐδίδουσαν κακῶς σκηνοῦντες. Ἐντεῦθεν ἔπεμψαν τῆς  
νυκτὸς Δημοκράτην Τεμενίτην, ἄγκρας δόντες, ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη, 20  
ἐνθα ἔφασαν οἱ ἀποσκεδαννύμενοι καθορᾶν τὰ πυρὰ· οὐ-  
τος γὰρ ἐδόκει καὶ πρότερον πολλὰ ἦδη ἀληθεῦσαι τοιαῦτα,  
τὰ ὄντα τε ὡς ὄντα, καὶ τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὡς οὐκ ὄντα. Πορευ-  
θεῖς δέ, τὰ μὲν πυρὰ οὐκ ἔφη ἰδεῖν, ἄνδρα δὲ συλλαβὼν  
ἦκεν ἄγων, ἔχοντα τόξον Περσικόν, καὶ φαρέτραν, καὶ σά- 25  
γαριν, οἶανπερ καὶ αἱ Ἀμαζόνες ἔχουσιν. Ἐρωτώμενος δὲ  
[τὸ] ποδαπὸς εἶη, Πέρσης μὲν ἔφη εἶναι, πορεύεσθαι δὲ  
ἀπὸ τοῦ Τηριβάζου στρατεύματος, ὅπως ἐπιτήδεια λάβοι.  
Οἱ δ' ἡρώτων αὐτόν, τὸ στρατεύμα ὅπόσον τε εἶη, καὶ ἐπὶ  
τίνι συνειλεγμένον. Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, ὅτι Τηριβάζος εἶη ἔχων 30  
τήν τε ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, καὶ μισθοφόρους Χάλυβας καὶ Τυό-  
χους· παρεσκευάσθαι δὲ αὐτόν ἔφη, ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ  
τοῦ ὄρους ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς, ἥπερ μοναχῇ εἶη πορεία, ἐνταῦθα  
ἐπιθηρόμενον τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.

Ἀκούσασι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ταῦτα ἔδοξε τὸ στρατεύμα συναγαγεῖν· καὶ εὐθύς, καταλιπόντες φύλακας καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς μένουσι Σοφαίνετον Συμφάλειον, ἐπορεύοντο, ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνα τὸν ἁλόντα ἄνθρωπον. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑπερέβαλον τὰ ὄρη, οἱ πελτασταί, προΐοντες καὶ κατιδόντες τὸ στρατόπεδον, οὐκ ἔμεναν τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ἀλλ' ἀνὰ κραγόντες ἔθιον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον [τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων]. Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι, ἀκούσαντες τὸν θόρυβον, οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλ' ἔφηνον· ὅμως δὲ ἀπέθανόν τινες τῶν βαρβάρων· καὶ ἵπποι 10 ἦλωσαν ὥς εἴκοσι, καὶ ἡ σκηνὴ ἡ Τηριβάζου ἑάλω, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ κλῖναι ἀργυρόποδες, καὶ ἐκπώματα, καὶ οἱ ἀρτοκόποι καὶ οἱ οἰνοχόοι φάσκοντες εἶναι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκύθοντο ταῦτα οἱ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν στρατηγοί, ἔδοκει αὐτοῖς ἀπείναι τὴν ταχίστην ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, μή τις ἐπίθεις γένοιτο τοῖς κα- 15 ταλειμμένοις. Καὶ εὐθύς ἀνακαλεσάμενοι τῇ σάλπιγγι ἀπῆσαν, καὶ ἀφίκοντο αὐθημερὸν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον.

### Κεφάλαιον ε'.

Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἔδοκει πορευτέον εἶναι ἢ δύναιτο τάχιστα, πρὶν ἢ συλλεγῆναι τὸ στρατεύμα πάλιν, καὶ καταλαβεῖν τὰ στενά. Συσκευασάμενοι δ' εὐθύς, ἐπορεύοντο 20 διὰ χιόνος πολλῆς, ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες πολλούς· καὶ αὐθημερὸν ὑπερβαλόντες τὸ ἄκρον, ἐφ' ᾧ ἔμελλεν ἐπιτίθεσθαι Τηριβάζος, κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμούς ἐρήμους τρεῖς παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν, καὶ διέβαινον αὐτὸν βρεχόμενοι πρὸς 25 τὸν ὀμφαλόν. Ἐλέγοντο δὲ αὐτοῦ αἱ πηγαὶ οὐ πρόσω εἶναι. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος πολλῆς καὶ πεδίου σταθμούς τρεῖς παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα. Ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐγένετο χαλεπός, καὶ ἄνεμος βορρῆας ἐναντίος ἔπνει, παντάπασιν ἀποκαίων πάντα, καὶ πηγνύς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. Ἐν-

Θα δὴ τῶν μάντιών τις εἶπε σφαγιαῖσθαι τῷ ἀνέμῳ· καὶ σφαγιαῖσται· καὶ πᾶσι δὴ περιφανῶς ἔδοξε λῆξαι τὸ χαλεπὸν τοῦ πνεύματος. Ἦν δὲ τῆς χιόνος τὸ βάθος ὀργυῖα· ὥστε καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων πολλὰ ἀπώλειτο, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὥς τριάκοντα. Διηγέροντο δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν νύκτα πῦρ καίοντες· ξύλα δ' ἦν ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ πελλὰ· οἱ δὲ ὀψὲ προσιόντες ξύλα οὐκ εἶχον. Οἱ οὖν πύλαι ἤκοντες καὶ πῦρ καίοντες οὐ προσέεισαν πρὸς τὸ πῦρ τοὺς ὀψίζοντας, εἰ μὴ μεταδοῦν αὐτοῖς πυροὺς ἢ ἄλλο τι ὃν ἔχοιεν βρωτῶν. Ἐνθα δὲ μετεδίδοσαν ἀλλήλοις, ὧν εἶχον ἕκαστοι. 10 Ἐνθα δὲ τὸ πῦρ ἔκαίετο, διατηχομένης τῆς χιόνος βόθρου ἐγίγνοντο μεγάλοι ἔς τε ἐπὶ τὸ δάπεδον· οὐ δὲ παρῆν μετρεῖν τὸ βάθος τῆς χιόνος.

Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ὅλην ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐβουλιμύασαν. Ξενοφῶν 15 δὲ ὀπισθοφυλακῶν, καὶ καταλαμβάνων τοὺς πέπτοντας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἡγνέει, ὅ τι τὸ πάθος εἶη. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἶπε τις αὐτῷ τῶν ἐμπείρων, ὅτι σαφῶς βουλιμύωσι, καὶ ἐάν τι φάγωσιν, ἀναστήσονται, περιῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια, εἴ ποὺ τι ὀρώη βρωτόν, διεδίδου, καὶ διέπεμπε διδόντας τοὺς δυναμένους παρατρέχειν τοῖς βουλιμύωσιν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τι ἐμφάγοιεν, ἀνίσταντο καὶ ἐπορεύοντο. Πορευομένων δέ, Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἀμφὶ κνέφας πρὸς κώμην ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ ὕδροφορούσας ἐκ τῆς κώμης γυναῖκας καὶ κόρας πρὸς τῇ κρήνῃ καταλαμβάνει ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἐρύματος. Αὗται ἡρώτων 25 αὐτούς, ἴνες εἰεν. Ὁ δὲ ἐρμηνεύς εἶπε Περσισί, ὅτι παρὰ βασιλείως πορεύοιντο πρὸς τὸν σατράπην. Αἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο, ὅτι οὐκ ἐνταῦθα εἶη, ἀλλ' ἀπέχοι ὅσον παρασάγγην. Cί δ', ἐπεὶ ὀψὲ ἦν, πρὸς τὸν κομάρχην συνεισέρχονται εἰς τὸ ἔρυμα σὺν ταῖς ὕδροφόροις. Χειρίσοφος μὲν οὖν καὶ ὅσοι 30 ἐδινηθήσαν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐνταῦθα ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο· τῶν δ' ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι διατελεῖσαι τὴν ὁδόν, ἐνυκτέρευσαν ἄσαιο καὶ ἄνεν πυρός· καὶ ἐνταῦθα

τινες ἀπώλοντο τῶν στρατιωτῶν. Ἐφείποντο δὲ τῶν πολε-  
 μίων συνειλεγμένοι τινές, καὶ τὰ μὴ δυνάμενα τῶν ὑπόζυ-  
 γίων ἤρκαζον, καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐμάχοντο περὶ αὐτῶν. Ἐλεί-  
 ποντο δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ τε διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τῆς  
 5 χιόνος τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, οἳ τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ψύχους τοὺς δακτύ-  
 λους τῶν ποδῶν ἀποσεσηπότες. Ἦν δὲ τοῖς μὲν ὀφθαλμοῖς  
 ἐπικούρημα τῆς χιόνος, εἴ τις μέλαν τι ἔχων πρὸ τῶν ὀφ-  
 θαλμῶν πορευόιτο· τῶν δὲ ποδῶν, εἴ τις κινοῖτο, καὶ μηδέ-  
 ποτε ἡσυχίαν ἔχοι, καὶ εἰ τὴν γύκτα ὑπολύοιτο. Ὅσοι δὲ  
 10 ὑποδεδεμένοι ἐκομῶντο, εἰσεδύοντο εἰς τοὺς πόδας οἱ ἱμάν-  
 τες, καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα περιεπήγνυντο· καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν, ἐπει-  
 δὴ ἀπέλιπε τὰ ἀρχαῖα ὑποδήματα, καφβάτιναι αὐτοῖς, πε-  
 ποιημένοι ἐκ τῶν νεοδάριων βοῶν. Διὰ τὰς τοιαύτας οὖν  
 ἀνάγκας ὑπελείποντο τινες τῶν στρατιωτῶν· καὶ ἰδόντες μέλαν  
 15 τι χωρίον, διὰ τὸ ἐκλειοιπέναι αὐτόθι τὴν χιόνα, εἵκαζον τετη-  
 κίναί. Καὶ ἐτετήκει διὰ κρήνην τινά, ἣ πλησίον ἦν ἀτμίζουσα  
 ἐν γάπῃ· ἐνταῦθα ἐκτραπόμενοι ἐκάθηντο, καὶ οὐκ ἔφασαν πο-  
 ρεύσθαι. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν, ἔχων ὀπισθοφύλακας, ὡς ᾔσθετο,  
 ἐδεῖτο αὐτῶν πάσῃ τέχνῃ καὶ μηχανῇ, μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι, λέ-  
 20 γων, ὅτι ἔπονται πολλοὶ πολέμιοι συνειλεγμένοι· καὶ τελευτῶν  
 ἐχαλέπαιναν. Οἱ δὲ σφάττειν ἐκέλευον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν δύνασθαι  
 πορευθῆναι. Ἐνταῦθα ἔδοξε κράτιστον εἶναι, τοὺς ἐπομέ-  
 νους πολεμίους φοβῆσαι, εἴ τις δύναιτο, μὴ ἐπιπέσοιεν τοῖς  
 κάμνουσι. Καὶ ἦν μὲν σκότος ἤδη, οἱ δὲ προσήεσαν πολλῶ  
 25 θορύβῳ, ἀμφὶ ὧν εἶχον διαφερόμενοι. Ἐνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν  
 ὀπισθοφύλακες ἔξαναστάντες, αἶτε ὑγαινοντες, ἔδραμον εἰς  
 τοὺς πολεμίους· οἱ δὲ κάμνοντες, ἀνακραγόντες ὅσον ἐδύ-  
 ναντο μέγιστον, τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὰ δόρατα ἔκρουσαν. Οἱ  
 δὲ πολέμιοι δέισαντες, ἦκαν ἑαυτοὺς κατὰ τῆς χιόνος εἰς τὴν  
 30 γάπην, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι οὐδαμοῦ ἐφθέγγετο.

Καὶ Ξενοφῶν μὲν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, εἰπόντες τοῖς ἀσθε-  
 νοῦσιν, ὅτι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἤξουσιν τινες ἐπ' αὐτούς, πορευό-  
 μενοι, πρὶν τέτταρα στάδια διελθεῖν, ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἐν τῇ

ὁδῷ ἀναπαυομένοις ἐπὶ τῆς χιόρος τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐγκα-  
καλυμμένοις, καὶ οὐδὲ φυλακὴ, οὐδεμία καθειστική· καὶ  
ἀνίστασαν αὐτούς. Οἱ δ' ἔλεγον, ὅτι οἱ ἔμπροσθεν οὐχ  
ὑποχωροῖεν. Ὁ δὲ παριῶν καὶ παραπροπέμπων τῶν πελ-  
ταστῶν τοὺς ἰαχυροτάτους, ἐκέλευε σκίψασθαι, τί εἴη τὸ  
κωλύον. Οἱ δὲ ἀπήγγελλον, ὅτι ὅλον οὕτως ἀναπαύοιτο τὸ  
στράτευμα. Ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ περὶ Ξενοφῶντα ἠύλισθησαν  
αὐτοῦ ἄνευ πυρός καὶ ἄδειπνοι, φυλακάς, οἷας ἐδύνατο,  
καταστησάμενοι. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἦν, ὁ Ξενοφῶν,  
πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας τοὺς νεωτάτους, ἀναστήσαν- 10  
τας ἐκέλευσεν ἀναγκάζειν προΐναι. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Χειρίσοφος  
πέμπει τῶν ἐκ τῆς κόμης σκευομένους, πῶς ἔχοιεν οἱ τελευ-  
ταῖοι. Οἱ δὲ ἄσμενοι ἰδόντες, τοὺς μὲν ἀσθενοῦντας τούτοις  
παρίδοσαν κομίζειν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπορεύοντο·  
καὶ πρὶν εἴκοσι στάδια διελθυθέναι, ἦσαν πρὸς τῇ κόμῃ, ἥ 15  
Χειρίσοφος ἠύλιζετο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις, ἔδοξε  
κατὰ τὰς κόμας ἀσφαλές εἶναι τὰς τάξεις σκηνοῦν. Καὶ  
Χειρίσοφος μὲν αὐτοῦ ἔμεινεν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι, διαλαχόντες ὡς  
ἰώρων κόμας, ἐπορεύοντο, ἕκαστοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντες.

Ἐνθα δὲ Πολυκράτης Ἀθηναῖος, λοχαγός, ἐκέλευσεν 20  
ἀφιέναι αὐτόν· καὶ λαβὼν τοὺς εὐζώνους, θιῶν ἐπὶ τὴν κό-  
μην, ἣν εἰλήχει Ξενοφῶν, καταλαμβάνει πάντας ἔνδον τοὺς  
κωμήτας καὶ τὸν κωμάρχην· καὶ πῶλους εἰς δασμὸν βασι-  
λεῖ τρεφομένους, ἑπτακαίδεκα· καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ κω-  
μάρχου, ἐννάτην ἡμέραν γεγαμημένην· ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς λα- 25  
γὼς ὤχετο θηράσων, καὶ οὐχ ἦλθε ἐν ταῖς κόμαις. Αἱ δ' οἰ-  
κίαι ἦσαν κατ'ἀγειοι, τὸ μὲν στόμα ὥσπερ φρέατος, κάτω  
δ' εὐρεῖαι· αἱ δ' εἰσοδοὶ τοῖς μὲν ὑποζυγίοις ὀρνυταί, οἱ δὲ  
ἄνθρωποι ἐπὶ κλίμακας κατέβαινον. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς οἰκίαις  
ἦσαν αἶγες, ὄιες, βόες, ὄρνιθες, καὶ τὰ ἔχοντα τούτων· τὰ 30  
δὲ κτήνη πάντα χιλῶ ἔνδον ἐτρέφετο. Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ πυροὶ  
καὶ κριθαὶ καὶ ὄσπρια καὶ οἶνος κριθίνος ἐν κρατῆρσιν·  
ἐνῆσαν δὲ καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ κριθαὶ ἰσοχυλεῖς· καὶ κάλαμοι ἐνέ-

κειντο, οἱ μὲν μείζους, οἱ δὲ ἐλάττους, γόνата οὐκ ἔχοντες. Τούτους δ' ἔδει, ὁπότε τις διψῶν, λαβόντα εἰς τὸ στέμα μύζειν· καὶ πᾶν ἄκρατος ἦν, εἰ μὴ τις ὕδωρ ἐπιχείοι· καὶ μάλα ἡδὺ πόμα συμμαθόντι ἦν.

• Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τὸν μὲν ἄρχοντα τῆς κώμης ταύτης σύν-  
 δειπρον ἐποίησατο, καὶ θαρρύνειν ἐκέλευεν αὐτόν, λέγων, ὅτι  
 οὔτε τῶν τέκνων στερήσεται, τὴν τε οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ἀντεμ-  
 πλήσαντες τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπίσιν, ἣν ἀγαθόν τι τῷ στρα-  
 τεύματι ἐξηγησάμενος φαίνεται, ἔστ' ἂν ἐν ἄλλῃ ἔθνη γέ-  
 10 νωνται. Ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ὑπαισχνεῖτο, καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος οἶ-  
 νον ἔφρασεν ἔνθα ἦν κατοφωρυγμένος. Ταύτην μὲν οὖν  
 τὴν νύκτα διασκηφίσαντες οὕτως ἐκοιμήθησαν ἐν πᾶσι  
 ἀφθόνοις πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται, ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχοντες τὸν κω-  
 μάρχην καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ὁμοῦ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς. Τῇ  
 15 δ' ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ Ξενοφῶν, λαβὼν τὸν κωμάρχην, πρὸς τὸν  
 Χειρίσοφον ἐπορεύετο· ὅπου δὲ παρῖοι κώμη, ἐτρέπετο  
 πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς κώμαις, καὶ κατελάμβανε πανταχοῦ εὐω-  
 χυμένους καὶ εὐθυμούμενους, καὶ οὐδαμῶθεν ἀφίεσαν,  
 πρὶν παραθεῖναι αὐτοῖς ἄριστον· οὐκ ἦν δ' ὅπου οὐ παρε-  
 20 τίθεσαν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τράπεζαν κρέα ἄρνια, ἐρίφεια, χοί-  
 ρεια, μόσχια, ὀρνίθια, σὺν πολλοῖς ἄρτοις, τοῖς μὲν πυρίνοις,  
 τοῖς δὲ κριθίνοις. Ὅποτε δὲ τις φιλοφρονούμενός τῳ βού-  
 λοιτο προπιεῖν, εἰλκεν ἐπὶ τὸν κρατῆρα· ἐνθεν ὑποκύψαντα  
 ἔδει ῥοφούντα πιεῖν ὥσπερ βοῦν. Καὶ τῷ κωμάρχῃ ἐδίδουσιν  
 25 λαμβάνειν, ὃ τι βούλοιοτο. Ὁ δὲ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέχετο·  
 ὅπου δὲ τινα τῶν συγγενῶν ὕδοι, πρὸς ἑαυτὸν αἰεὶ ἐλάμβαν-  
 εν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθον πρὸς Χειρίσοφον, κατελάμβανον καὶ  
 ἐκείνους σκηνοῦντας, εὐτεφανωμένους τοῦ ξηροῦ χιλοῦ στε-  
 30 φάνοις, καὶ διακανοῦντας Ἀρμενίους παῖδας σὺν ταῖς βαρ-  
 βαρικαῖς στολαῖς· τοῖς δὲ παιμὲν ἐδείκνυσαν ὥσπερ ἐνεοῖς ὃ  
 τι δέοι ποιεῖν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀλλήλους ἐφιλοφρονήσαντο Χειρί-  
 σοφος καὶ Ξενοφῶν, κοινῇ δὴ ἀνηρώτων τὸν κωμάρχην διὰ

τοῦ περσιζόντος ἐρμηνεύς, τίς εἶη ἡ χώρα. Ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν, ὅτι Ἀρμενία. Καὶ πάλιν ἠρώτων, τίνοι οἱ ἵπποι τρέφονται. Ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν, ὅτι βασιλεῖ θασμός· τὴν δὲ πλησίον χώραν ἔφη εἶναι Χάλυβας, καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἔφραζεν, ἣ εἶη. Καὶ αὐτὸν τότε μὲν ᾤχετο ἄγων ὁ Ξενοφῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ οἰκέτας, καὶ ἵππον, ὃν εἰλήφει, παλαιότερον δίδωσι τῷ κωμάρχη ἀναθρέψαντι καταθῦσαι, ὅτι ἤκουσεν, αὐτὸν ἱερὸν εἶναι τοῦ Ἥλλου, δεδιώς, μὴ ἀποθάνῃ· ἐκεκάνκωτο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς πορείας· αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν πῶλων λαμβάνει, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν καὶ λοχαγῶν ἔδωκεν ἐκάστῳ πῶλον. Ἦσαν δ' οἱ ταύτῃ ἵπποι μέiones μὲν τῶν Περσικῶν, θυμοειδέστεροι δὲ πολλῶ. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ διδάσκει ὁ κωμάρχης, περὶ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων σακκία περιειλεῖν, ὅταν διὰ τῆς χιόνος ἄγωσιν· ἄνευ γὰρ τῶν σακκίων κατεδύοντο μέχρι τῆς γαστρούς.

18

### Κεφάλαιον 5'.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἦν ὀγδόη, τὸν μὲν ἡγεμόνα παραδίδωσι Χειρισόφῳ, τοὺς δ' οἰκέτας καταλείπει τῷ κωμάρχη, πλὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ [τοῦ] ἄρτι ἡβάσκοντος. Τοῦτον δ' Ἐπισθένεια Ἀμφιπολίτη παραδίδωσι φυλάττειν, ὅπως, εἰ καλῶς ἡγήσαιτο, ἔχων καὶ τοῦτον ἅπιοι. Καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ εἰσεφόρησαν ὡς ἐδύναντο πλεῖστα, καὶ ἀναζεύξαντες ἐπορεύοντο. Ἦγεῖτο δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ κωμάρχης λελυμένος διὰ χιόνος· καὶ ἦδη τ' ἦν ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ σταθμῷ, καὶ ὁ Χειρισόφος αὐτῷ ἔχαλεπάνθη, ὅτι οὐκ εἰς κόμας ἦγεν. Ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν, ὅτι οὐκ εἶεν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ. Ὁ δὲ Χειρισόφος αὐτὸν ἔπαισε μὲν, ἔδησε δ' οὐ. Ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου ἐκείνος τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποδρὰς ᾤχετο, καταλιπὼν τὸν υἱόν. Τοῦτό γε δὴ Χειρισόφῳ καὶ Ξενοφῶντι μόνον διάφορον ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ ἐγένετο, ἣ τοῦ

ἡγεμόνος κάκωσις καὶ ἀμέλεια. Ἐπισθίνης δὲ ἡράσθη τε τοῦ παιδός, καὶ οἰκαδὲ κομίσας πιστοτάτῃ ἐχρήτο.

Μετὰ τοῦτο σταθμούς ἐπὶ ἐπορεύθησαν, ἀνὰ πέντε παρασάγγας τῆς ἡμέρας, παρὰ τὸν Φᾶσιν ποταμόν, εὖφος ὡς 5 πλεθριαῖον. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμούς δύο, παρασάγγας δέκα· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ εἰς τὸ πεδίον ὑπερβολῇ ἀπήντησαν αὐτοῖς Χάλυβες καὶ Τάοχοι καὶ Φασιανοί. Χειρίσσοφος δέ, ἐπεὶ κατείδε τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ, ἐπαύσατο πορνεύμενος, ἀπέχων ὡς πεντήκοντα σταδίους, ἵνα μὴ 10 κατὰ κέρας ἄγων πλησιάζῃ τοῖς πολεμίοις· παρηγγεῖλε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παράγειν τοὺς λόχους, ὅπως ἐπὶ φάλαγγος γένοιτο τὸ στράτευμα. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤλθον σὶ ὀπισθοφύλακες, συνεκάλεσε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγούς, καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε·

“Οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, κατέχουσι τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τοῦ 15 ὄρους· ὥρα δὲ βουλευέσθαι, ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιούμεθα. Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν δοκεῖ παραγγέλλειν μὲν ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἡμᾶς δὲ βουλευέσθαι, εἴτε τήμερον εἴτε αὐριον δοκεῖ ὑπερβάλλειν τὸ ὄρος.” “Ἐμοὶ δέ γε,” ἔφη ὁ Κλεάνωρ, “δοκεῖ, ἐπὶ ὡς τάχιστα ἀριστήσωμεν, ἐξοπλισά- 20 μένους ὡς τάχιστα ἵεναι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. Εἰ γὰρ διατρίψομεν τὴν τήμερον ἡμέραν, οἳ τε νῦν ὀρῶντες ἡμᾶς πολέμιοι θαρσαλέωτεροι ἔσονται, καὶ ἄλλους εἰκὸς τούτων θαρρόντων πλείους προσγενέσθαι.”

Μετὰ τοῦτον Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν· “Ἐγὼ δ’ οὕτω γινώσκω· 25 Εἰ μὲν ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ μάχεσθαι, τοῦτο δεῖ παρασκευάσασθαι, ὅπως ὡς κράτιστα μαχεύμεθα· εἰ δὲ βουλόμεθα ὡς ῥᾶστα ὑπερβάλλειν, τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ σκεπτεῖον εἶναι, ὅπως ὡς ἐλάχιστα μὲν τραύματα λάβωμεν, ὡς ἐλάχιστα δὲ σώματα ἀνδρῶν ἀποβάλωμεν. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ὄρος ἐστὶ τὸ ὁρώμενον 30 πλεόν, ἢ ἐφ’ ἐξήκοντα στάδια, ἄνδρες δ’ οὐδαμῇ φυλάττοντες ἡμᾶς φανεροὶ εἰσιν, ἀλλ’ ἢ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ὁδόν· πολὺ οὖν κρεῖττον, τοῦ ἐρήμου ὄρους καὶ κλέψαι τι πειραῖσθαι λαθόντας καὶ ἀρπάσαι φθάσαντας, ἢν δυνώμεθα, μᾶλλον,

ἥ πρὸς ἰσχυρὰ χωρία καὶ ἄνδρας παρεσκευασμένους μάχεσθαι. Πολὺν γὰρ ἔχον, ὄφθιον ἀμαχεῖ ἵεναι, ἥ ὁμαλόν, ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν πολεμίων ὄντων· καὶ νύκτωρ ἀμαχεῖ [ὡς] μᾶλλον ἂν τὰ πρὸ ποδῶν ὀρώη τις, ἥ μεθ' ἡμέραν μαχόμενος· καὶ ἡ τρηχεῖα τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμαχεῖ ἰοῦσιν εὐμειναιτέρα ἢ ἡ ὁμαλὴ τὰς κεφαλὰς βαλλομένοις. Κλέψαι δὲ οὐκ ἀδύνατόν μοι δοκᾷ εἶναι, ἔξον μὲν νυκτός ἵεναι, ὡς μὴ ὀράσθαι· ἔξον δὲ ἀπελθεῖν τοσοῦτον, ὡς μὴ αἰσθησιν παρήχειν. Δοκοῦμεν δ' ἂν μοι, ταύτῃ πρὸςποιούμενοι πρὸςβαλεῖν, ἐρημονιτέρῳ ἂν τῷ ἄλλῳ ὄφει χρῆσθαι· μένοιεν γὰρ αὐ- 10 τοῦ μᾶλλον ἀθρόοι οἱ πολέμιοι. Ἄτις τί ἐγὼ περὶ κλοπῆς συμβύλλομαι; Ἦμᾶς γὰρ ἔγωγε, ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἀκούω, τοὺς Λακιδαιμονίους, ὅσοι ἐστὶ τῶν ὁμοίων, εὐθύς ἐκ παιδων κλέπτειν μελετᾶν· καὶ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καλὸν κλέπτειν, ὅσα μὴ κωλύει νόμος. Ὅπως δὲ ὡς κρᾶτιστα κλέ- 15 πτητε καὶ πειράσθε λανθάνειν, νόμιμον ἄρα ὑμῖν ἐστίν, ἰὰν ληφθῆτε κλέπτοντες, μαστιγοῦσθαι. Ἦν οὖν μᾶλα σοὶ καιρός ἐστιν ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν παιδείαν, καὶ φυλάξασθαι μέντοι, μὴ ληφθῶμεν κλέπτοντες τοῦ ὄρους, ὡς μὴ πολλὰς πληγὰς λάβωμεν.” 20

“Ἀλλὰ μέντοι,” ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, “καὶ ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἀκούω τοὺς Ἀθηναίους δεινοὺς εἶναι κλέπτειν τὰ δημόσια, καὶ μᾶλα ὄντος δεινοῦ τοῦ κινδύνου τῷ κλέπτοντι, καὶ τοὺς κρατίστους μέντοι μάλιστα, εἴπερ ὑμῖν οἱ κρᾶτιστοι ἄρχειν ἀξιοῦνται· ὥστε ὦρα καὶ σοὶ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὴν παιδείαν.” 25 “Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν,” ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφών, “ἔτοιμός εἰμι, τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἔχων, ἐπειδὴν δειπνήσωμεν, ἵεναι καταληψόμενος τὸ ὄρος. Ἐχω δὲ καὶ ἡγεμόνας· οἱ γὰρ γυμνήτες τῶν ἐφεπομένων ἡμῖν κλωπῶν ἑλαβόν τινας ἐπεδρεῦσαντες· καὶ τούτων πυνθάνομαι, ὅτι οὐκ ἄβατόν ἐστι τὸ ὄρος, ἀλλὰ τέ- 30 μεται καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ βουσὶν· ὥστε, ἥνπερ ἅπαξ λάβωμέν τε τοῦ ὄρους, βατὰ καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἔσται. Ἐλπίζω μέντοι, αὐτὰ τοὺς πολεμίους μενεῖν ἔτι, ἐπειδὴν ὤθωσιν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ

ὁμοίῳ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων· οὐδὲ γὰρ νῦν ἐθέλουσι καταβαίνειν εἰς τὸ ἴσον ἡμῖν.” Ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος εἶπε· “Καὶ τί δέ σέ εἶναι, καὶ λείπειν τὴν ὀπισθοφυλακίαν; ἀλλ’ ἄλλους πέμψον, ἂν μὴ τινες ἐθελούσιοι φαίνωνται.” Ἐκ τούτου Ἀριστώνυμος Μεθυδριεὺς ἔρχεται ὀπλίτας ἔχων, καὶ Ἀρσιτέας Χίος γυμνήτας, καὶ Νικόμαχος Οἰταῖος γυμνήτας· καὶ σύνθημα ἐποίησαντο, ὅποτε ἔχοιεν τὰ ἄκρα, πυρὰ καλεῖν πολλά. Ταῦτα συνθέμενοι ἡρίστων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἀρίστου προήγαγεν ὁ Χειρίσοφος τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν ὡς δέκα στάδια πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ὅπως ὡς μάλιστα δοκοίη ταύτην προσάξειν.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδείπνησαν, καὶ νῦν ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν ταχθέντες ὄχοντο, καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τὸ ὄρος· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι αὐτοῦ ἀνεπαύοντο. Οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι, ὡς ᾗσθοντο ἐχόμενον τὸ ὄρος, ἐρηγόρεσαν, καὶ ἔκαιον πυρὰ πολλὰ διὰ νυκτός. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, Χειρίσοφος μὲν θυσάμενος ἤγε κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν· οἱ δὲ τὸ ὄρος καταλαβόντες κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα ἐπήρσαν. Τῶν δ’ αὖ πολεμίων τὸ μὲν πολὺ ἔμενεν ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ ὄρους, μέρος δ’ αὐτῶν ἀπήντα τοῖς κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα. Πρὶν δὲ ὁμοῦ εἶναι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀλλήλοις, συμμιγνύουσιν οἱ κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα, καὶ νικῶσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ διώκουσιν. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου οἱ μὲν πελτασταὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δρόμῳ ἔθεον πρὸς τοὺς παρατεταγμένους, Χειρίσοφος δὲ βύδην ταχὺ ἐφέλπετο σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις. Οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι οἱ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἄνω ἐώρων ἡττώμενον, φεύγουσι· καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν, γέφυρα δὲ ἀμύπολλα ἐλήφθη· ἃ οἱ Ἕλληνες ταῖς μαχαίραις κόπτοντες ἀχρεῖα ἐποίουν. Ὡς δ’ ἀνέβησαν, θύσαντες καὶ τρόπαιον στησάμενοι, κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον, καὶ εἰς κώμας πολλῶν [καὶ] ἀγαθῶν γεμούσας ἤλθον.

## Κεφάλαιον ζ'.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς Τυόχους, σταθμούς  
 πάντα παρασάγγας τριώκοντα· καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπέλιπε·  
 χωρία γὰρ ᾤκον ἰσχυρὰ οἱ Τάοχοι, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια  
 πάντα εἶχον ἀνακεκομισμένοι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο εἰς χω-  
 ρίον, ὃ πόλιν μὲν οὐκ εἶχεν, οὐδ' οἰκίας, συνελθούσας δ'  
 ἦσαν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ κτήνη πολλά,  
 Χειρίσοφος μὲν πρὸς τοῦτο προσέβαλλεν εὐθύς ἥκων· ἐπεὶ  
 δὲ ἡ πρώτη τάξις ἀπέκαμιν, ἄλλη προσήει, καὶ αὐθις ἄλλη·  
 οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀθρόοις περιστῆναι, ἀλλὰ ποταμὸς ἦν κύκλω.  
 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἦλθε σὺν τοῖς ὀπισθοφυλάξι καὶ πελ- 10  
 τασταῖς καὶ ὀπλίταις, ἐνταῦθα δὴ λέγει Χειρίσοφος· “Εἰς  
 καλὸν ἦκει· τὸ γὰρ χωρίον αἰρετέον· τῇ γὰρ στρατιᾷ οὐκ  
 ἔστι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, εἰ μὴ ληψόμεθα τὸ χωρίον.”

Ἐνταῦθα δὴ κοινῇ ἐβουλευόντο· καὶ τοῦ Ξενοφώντος  
 ἐρωτῶντος, τί τὸ κωλύον εἴη εἰσελθεῖν, εἶπεν ὁ Χειρίσοφος· 15  
 “Ἀλλὰ μία αὕτη ἐστὶ πάροδος, ἣν ὀρᾷς· ὅταν δὲ τις ταύτη  
 περᾶται παριέναι, κυλινδοῦσι λίθους ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς  
 ὑπερχούσης πέτρας· ὅς δ' ἂν καταληφθῇ, οὕτω διατίθε-  
 ται.” Ἀμα δ' ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ συντετριμμένους ἀνθρώπους  
 καὶ σκέλη καὶ πλευράς. “Ἴν δὲ τοὺς λίθους ἀναλώσωσιν,” 20  
 ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, “ἄλλο τι ἢ οὐδὲν κωλύει παριέναι; οὐ γὰρ  
 δὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου ὀρῶμεν, εἰ μὴ ὀλίγους τούτους ἀνθρώ-  
 πους· καὶ τούτων δύο ἢ τρεῖς ὥπλισμένους. Τὸ δὲ χωρί-  
 ον, ὡς καὶ σὺ ὀρᾷς, σχεδὸν τρία ἡμίπλεθρά ἐστιν, ἃ δεῖ βυλ-  
 λομένους παρελθεῖν. Τούτου δὲ ὅσον πλέθρον δασὺ πίτυσι 25  
 διαλειπούσαις μεγάλαις, ἀνθ' ὧν ἐστηκότες ἄνδρες τί ἂν  
 πάσχοιεν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν φερομένων λίθων ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν κυλιν-  
 δομένων; τὸ λοιπὸν οὐκ ἤδη γίγνεται ὡς ἡμίπλεθρον,  
 ὃ δεῖ, ὅταν λωφήσωσιν οἱ λίθοι, παραδραμεῖν.” “Ἀλλ'  
 εὐθις,” ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, “ἐπειδὴν ἀρξώμεθα εἰς τὸ 30

δασὺ παριέναι, φέρονται οἱ λίθοι πολλοί." "Αὐτὸ ἄν,"  
 ἔφη, "τὸ δέον εἴη· θάπτειν γὰρ [ἀληθῶς] ἀναλώσουσι  
 τοὺς λίθους. Ἀλλὰ πορευώμεθα, ἐνθεν ἡμῖν μικρόν [ὑπε-  
 ρον] τι παραδραμεῖν ἔσται, ἢν δυνώμεθα· καὶ ἀπελθεῖν  
 5 ῥάδιον, ἢν βουλώμεθα."

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο Χειρίσοφος καὶ Ξενοφῶν καὶ Καλ-  
 λίμαχος Παφράσιος, λοχαγός· τοῦτον γὰρ ἡγεμονία ἦν τῶν  
 ὀπισθοφυλάκων λοχαγῶν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι λο-  
 χαγοὶ ἔμενον ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ. Μετὰ τοῦτο οὖν ἀπῆλθον  
 10 ὑπὸ τὰ δένδρα ἄνθρωποι ὡς ἐβδομήκοντα, οὐκ ἀθροοί, ἀλλὰ  
 κατ' ἓνα, ἕκαστος φυλαττόμενος ὡς ἐδύνατο. Ἀγασίας δὲ ὁ  
 Στυμφάλιος καὶ Ἀριστάννυμος Μεθυδριεύς, καὶ οὗτοι τῶν  
 ὀπισθοφυλάκων λοχαγοὶ ὄντες, καὶ ἄλλοι δέ, ἐφίστασαν ἔξω  
 τῶν δένδρων· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀσφαλὲς ἐν τοῖς δένδροις ἱστάναι  
 15 πλεῖον, ἢ τὸν ἓνα λόχον. Ἐνθα δὴ καὶ Καλλίμαχος μῆχα-  
 ρῆται τι· προέτρεχεν ἀπὸ τοῦ δένδρου, ὑφ' ᾧ ἦν αὐτός, δύο  
 ἢ τρία βήματα· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ λίθοι φέροντο, ἀνεχάζετο εὐπε-  
 τῶς· ἐφ' ἐκάστης δὲ προδρομῆς πλεον ἢ δέκα ἄμαζαι πε-  
 τρῶν ἀνγέλισκοντο. Ὁ δὲ Ἀγασίας, ὡς ὅρῃ τὸν Καλλίμαχον,  
 20 ἀέποiei, καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν θειώμενον, δέiσας, μὴ οὐ  
 πρῶτος παραδράμοι εἰς τὸ χωρίον, οὔτε τὸν Ἀριστάννυμον  
 πλησίον ὄντα παρακαλίσας, οὔτε Εὐρύλοχον τὸν Λουσιέα,  
 ἱταίρους ὄντας, οὔτ' ἄλλον οὐδένα, χωρεῖ αὐτός, καὶ παρήρ-  
 χεται πάντας. Ὁ δὲ Καλλίμαχος, ὡς ἰώρα αὐτὸν παριόντα,  
 25 ἐπιλαμβάνεται αὐτοῦ τῆς ἔντος· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ παρῖθι αὐ-  
 τοὺς Ἀριστάννυμος Μεθυδριεύς, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Εὐρύλοχος  
 Λουσιεύς· πάντες γὰρ οὗτοι ἀντεποιοῦντο ἀρετῆς, καὶ διη-  
 γωνίζοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους· καὶ οὕτως ἐρίζοντες αἰροῦσι τὸ  
 χωρίον. Ὡς γὰρ ἅπαξ εἰσέδραμον, οὐδεὶς ἔτι πέτρος ἄνω-  
 30 θεν ἤνιχθη. Ἐνταῦθα δὴ δεινὸν ἦν θίαμα· αἱ γὰρ γυναῖ-  
 κες, ῥίπτουσαι τὰ παιδία, εἶτα καὶ ἑαυτὰς ἐπικατεφύλιπτον·  
 καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ὡς αὐτῶς. Ἐνθα δὴ καὶ Λινίας ὁ Στυμφά-  
 λιος, λοχαγός, ἰδὼν τινα θίοντα ὡς ῥίπτοντα ἑαυτὸν, στολῆν

ἔχοντα καλήν, ἐπιλαμβάνεται ὡς αὐτὸν καλύσων. Ὁ δ' αὐτὸν ἐπισπᾷται, καὶ ἀμφοτέροι ὥχοντο κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν φερόμενοι, καὶ ἀπέθανον. Ἐντεῦθεν ἄνθρωποι μὲν ὅλλοι πάντῃ ἐλήφθησαν, βόες δὲ καὶ ὄνοι πολλοὶ καὶ πρόβατα.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ Χαλύβων σταθμοὺς ἐπὶ παρασάγγας πεντήκοντα. Οὗτοι ἦσαν ὧν διῆλθον ἀλκιμώτατοι, καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἦσαν· εἶχον δὲ θώρακας λινοῦς μέχρι τοῦ ἵππου, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν περὶ γων σπάρτα πυκνὰ ἐστραμμένα. Εἶχον δὲ καὶ κνημίδας καὶ κράνη, καὶ παρὰ 10 τὴν ζώην μαχαίριον, ὅσον ξυήλην Λακωνικὴν, ᾧ ἔσφαττον, ὧν κρατεῖν δύναιτο· καὶ ἀποτέμοντες ἂν τὰς κεφαλὰς, ἔχοντες ἐπορεύοντο· καὶ ἦδον, καὶ ἐχόρευον, ὅποτε οἱ πολέμιοι ὀφείσθαι αὐτοὺς ἔμελλον· εἶχον δὲ καὶ δόρυ ὡς πεντεκαίδεκα πηχῶν, μίαν λόγχην ἔχον. Οὗτοι ἐνέμενον ἐν τοῖς πο- 15 λίσμασιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ παρέλθοιεν οἱ Ἕλληνες, εἶποντο αἰεὶ μαχόμενοι· ὥκουν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὄχυροῖς· καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐν τούτοις ἀνακεκομισμένοι ἦσαν· ὥστε μηδὲν λαμβάνειν αὐτόθεν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀλλὰ διετράφησαν τοῖς κτήνεσιν, ἃ ἐκ τῶν Ταόχων ἔλαβον. Ἐκ τούτου οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ 20 τὸν Ἀρπασον ποταμόν, εὖρος τεττάρων πλέθρων. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ Σκυθινῶν σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσι, διὰ πεδίου εἰς κόμας· ἐν αἷς ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς, καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο.

Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἦλθον σταθμοὺς τέτταρας, παρασάγγας εἴ- 25 κοσι, πρὸς πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα, οἰκουμένην· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Γυμνάς. Ἐκ ταύτης ὁ τῆς χώρας ἄρχων τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἡγεμόνα πέμπει, ὅπως διὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν πολεμίας χώρας ἐπάγοι αὐτούς. Ἐλθὼν δ' ἐκεῖνος, λέγει, ὅτι ἄξι αὐτοὺς εἰς χωρίον, ὅθεν [πέντε ἡμερῶν] ὄψονται θάλατταν· εἰ δὲ μή, 30 τεθνάναι ἐπηγγέλλετο. Καὶ ἡγούμενος, ἐπειδὴ ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πολεμίαν, παρεκελεύετο αἰθεῖν καὶ φθείρειν τὴν χώραν· ᾧ καὶ δῆλον ἐγένετο, ὅτι τούτου ἕνεκα ἔλθοι, οὐ

τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐνοίας. Καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ὄρος τῇ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ· ὄνομα δ' ἦν τῷ ὄρει Θήχης. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ πρῶτοι ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔρους, καὶ κατεῖδον τὴν θάλατταν, πολλὴ κραυγὴ ἐγένετο. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ξενοφῶν  
 5 καὶ οἱ ὀπισθοφυλάκες, ᾗθήθησαν καὶ ἔμπροσθεν ἄλλους ἐπιτίθεσθαι πολεμίους· εἶποντο γὰρ καὶ ὀπισθεν οἱ ἐκ τῆς καιομένης χώρας· καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ ὀπισθοφυλάκες ἀπέκτεινάν τε τινὰς καὶ ἐξώγησαν, ἐνέδραν ποιησάμενοι· καὶ γέγραφα ἔλαβον δασέων βοῶν ὠμοβοῖνα ἅμφι τὰ εἴκοσιν.  
 10 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ βοὴ πλείων τε ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἐγγύτερον, καὶ οἱ αἱ ἐπιόντες ἔθιον δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τοὺς αἱ βοῶντας, καὶ πολλῶ μεῖζον ἐγίγνετο ἢ βοή, ὅσῳ δὴ πλείους ἐγίγνοντο, ἐδόκει δὴ μεῖζόν τι εἶναι τῷ Ξενοφῶντι. Καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐφ' ἵππον, καὶ Λύκιον καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας ἀναλαβὼν, παρεβόηθει· καὶ τάχα δὴ  
 15 ἀκούουσι βοῶντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν, “θάλαττα, θάλαττα,” καὶ παρεγγυώντων. Ἐνθα δὴ ἔθιον ἅπαντες καὶ οἱ ὀπισθοφυλάκες, καὶ τὰ ὑποξίγια ἡλάνετο καὶ οἱ ἵπποι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, ἐνταῦθα δὴ περιέβυλλον ἀλλήλους, καὶ στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς, δακρύοντες. Καὶ  
 20 ἐξαπίνης, ὅτου δὴ παρεγγυήσαντος, οἱ στρατιῶται φέρουσι λίθους, καὶ ποιοῦσι κολωνὸν μέγαν. Ἐνταῦθα ἀντίθισαν πλῆθος δερμάτων ὠμοβοῖνων, καὶ βακτηρίας, καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα γέγραφα, καὶ ὁ ἡγεμὼν αὐτός τε κατέτεμνε τὰ γέγραφα, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις διεκελεύετο. Μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἀποπέμ-  
 25 πουσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες, δώρα δόντες ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, ἵππον, καὶ φιάλην ἀργυρᾶν, καὶ σκευὴν Περσικὴν, καὶ δαρεικούς δέκα· ἥτει δὲ μάλιστα τοὺς δακτυλίους, καὶ ἔλαβε πολλοὺς παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν. Κώμην δὲ δείξας αὐτοῖς, οὗ σκηπήσουσι, καὶ τὴν ὁδόν, ἣν πορεύσονται εἰς Μάκρωνας, ἐπεὶ ἐσπέρα  
 30 ἐγένετο, ὥχετο τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπίων.

## Κεφάλαιον η'.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες διὰ Μακρώνων σταθμούς τρεῖς παρασάγγας δέκα. Τῇ πρώτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν, ὃς ὠρίζε τὴν τε τῶν Μακρώνων χώραν καὶ τὴν τῶν Σκυθινῶν. Εἶχον δ' ὑπερδύξιον χωρίον οἷον χαλεπώτατον, καὶ ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς ἄλλον ποταμόν, εἰς ὃν ἐνέβαλλεν ὁ ὀρίζων, δι' οὗ ἔδει διαβῆναι. Ἦν δὲ οὗτος θαυὺς δένδρεσι παχέσι μὲν οὐ, πυκνοῖς δέ. Ταῦτα, ἐπεὶ προσῆλθον οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἔκοπτον, σπενδόντες ὡς τάχιστα ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου ἐξελθεῖν. Οἱ δὲ Μάκρωνες, ἔχοντες γέφυρα καὶ λόγχας καὶ τριχίλους χιτῶνας, καταντιπύρας τῆς διαβάσεως παραπεταγμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἀλλήλοις διεκελεύοντο, καὶ μύθους εἰς τὸν ποταμόν ἐρρίπτουν· ἐξικνοῦντο δὲ οὐδ' αὖτως, οὐδ' ἔβλαπτον οὐδένα.

Ἐνθα δὴ προσέρχεται τῷ Ξενοφῶντι τῶν πελταστῶν τις ἀνὴρ, Ἀθήνησι φάσκων δεδουλευκέναι, λέγων, ὅτι γιγνώσκω τὴν φωνὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. “Καὶ οἶμαι,” ἔφη, “ἐμὴν ταύτην τὴν πατρίδα εἶναι· καὶ εἰ μὴ τι κωλύει, ἐθέλω αὐτοῖς διαλεχθῆναι.” “Ἄλλ' οὐδὲν κωλύει,” ἔφη· “ἀλλὰ διαλέγου, καὶ μάθ' ἐπρωτον αὐτῶν, τίνες εἰσίν.” Οἱ δ' εἶπον, ἐρωτήσαντος, ὅτι Μάκρωνες. “Ἐρώτα τοίνυν,” ἔφη, “αὐτούς, τί ἀντιτετάχαται, καὶ χρήζουσιν ἡμῖν πολέμιοι εἶναι;” Οἱ δ' ἀπεκρίναντο· “Ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἔρχεσθε.” Λέγειν ἐκέλευον οἱ στρατηγοί, “ὅτι γε οὐ κακῶς ποιήσαντες, ἀλλὰ βασιλεῖ πολεμήσαντες, ἀπερχόμεθα εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ ἐπὶ θύλατταν βουλόμεθα ἀφικέσθαι,” Ἡρώτων ἐκεῖνοι, εἰ δοῖεν αὖ τούτων τὰ πιστά. Οἱ δ' ἔφασαν καὶ δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν ἐθέλειν. Ἐντεῦθεν διδῶσιν οἱ Μάκρωνες βαρβαρικὴν λόγχην τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐκείνοισι Ἑλληνικὴν· ταῦτα γὰρ ἔφασαν πιστὰ εἶναι· θεοὺς δ' ἐπεμαρτύραντο ἀμφοτέροι.

Μετὰ δὲ τὰ πιστὰ εὐθύς οἱ Μάκρωνες τὰ δένδρα συνεξέκοπτον, τὴν τε ὁδὸν ὠδοποιοῦν, ὡς διαβιβάσσοντες, ἐν μέσοις ἀναμειγμένοι τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν· καὶ ἀγοράν, οἷαν ἐδί-  
 ναντο, παρείχον· καὶ παρήγαγον τρισὶν ἡμέραις, ἕστε ἐπὶ  
 5 τὰ τῶν Κόλχων ὄρια κατέστησαν τοὺς Ἑλλήνας. Ἐνταῦθα ἦν ὄρος μέγα, προσβατὸν δέ· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου οἱ Κόλχοι παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν. Καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀντιπαρετάξαντο κατὰ φάλαγγα, ὡς οὕτως ἄξοντες πρὸς τὸ ὄρος· ἔπειτα δὲ ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς συλλεγεῖσι βουλευ-  
 10 σασθαι, ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιούνται. Ἐλέξεν οὖν Ξενοφῶν, “ὅτι δοκεῖ, παύσαντας τὴν φάλαγγα, λόχους ὀρθίους ποιῆσαι· ἡ μὲν γὰρ φάλαγξ διασπασθήσεται εὐθύς· τῇ μὲν γὰρ ἀνοδόν, τῇ δὲ εὐοδὸν εὐρήσομεν τὸ ὄρος· καὶ εὐθύς τοῦτο ἀθρυμίαν ποιήσει, ὅταν τεταγμένοι εἰς φάλαγγα ταύ-  
 15 τὴν διεσπασμένην ὀρώσιν. Ἐπειτα δέ, ἣν μὲν ἐπὶ πολλοὺς τεταγμένοι προσάγωμεν, περιτεύσουσιν ἡμῶν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ τοῖς περιττοῖς χρήσονται ὅ τι ἂν βούλωνται· ἐὰν δ' ἐπὶ ὀλίγων τεταγμένοι ἵωμεν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη θαναμαστόν, εἰ διακοπήν ἡμῶν ἢ φάλαγξ ὑπὸ ἀθρόων πῃ καὶ βελῶν καὶ ἀν-  
 20 θρώπων [πολλῶν] συμπεσόντων· εἰ δὲ πῃ τοῦτο ἔσται, τῇ ὅλῃ φάλαγγι κακὸν ἔσται. Ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ, ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους ποιησασμένους, τοσοῦτον χωρίον κατασχεῖν διαλιπόν-  
 τας τοῖς λόχοις, ὅσον ἔξω τοὺς ἐσχάτους λόχους γενέσθαι τῶν πολεμίων κεράτων· καὶ οὕτως ἐσόμεθα τῆς τε τῶν πο-  
 25 λεμίων φάλαγγος ἔξω οἱ ἔσχατοι λόχοι, καὶ ὀρθίους ἄγοντες οἱ κράτιστοι ἡμῶν πρῶτοι προσίασιν, ἥ τε ἂν εὐοδὸν ἢ, ταύτῃ ἕκαστος ἄξει ὁ λόχος. Καὶ εἰς τε τὸ διαλείπον οὐ ῥάδιον ἔσται τοῖς πολεμίοις εἰσελθεῖν, ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν λόχων ὄντων, διακόψαι τε οὐ ῥάδιον ἔσται λόχον ὀρθιον προς-  
 30 ιόντα. Ἐὰν τὲ τις πιεῖται τῶν λόχων, ὁ πλησίον βοηθήσει· ἦν τε εἰς πῃ δυνηθῇ τῶν λόχων ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον ἀναβῆναι, οὐδεὶς μηκέτι μελεῖ τῶν πολεμίων.” Ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποιοῦν ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ

εὐώνυμον ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιῦ, εἶπε τοῖς στρατιώταις· “Ἄνδρες, οὗτοι εἰσιν, οὓς ὄρατε, μόνοι ἔτι ἡμῖν ἐμποδῶν τοῦ μὴ ἡδῆ εἶναι, ἐνθα πάλαί σπεύδομεν· τούτους, ἣν πως δυνατόμεθα, καὶ ὧμούς δεῖ καταφαιεῖν.”

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν ταῖς χώραις ἕκαστοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ τοὺς λόχους 5 ὀρθίους ἐποίησαντο, ἐγένοντο μὲν λόχοι τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἀμφὲ τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντα, ὁ δὲ λόχος ἕκαστος σχεδὸν εἰς τοὺς ἑκατόν· τοὺς δὲ πελταστὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας τριχῇ ἐποίησαντο, τοὺς μὲν τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἔξω, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ δεξιῦ, τοῖς δὲ κατὰ μέσον, σχεδὸν ἑξακοσίους ἑκάστιους. Ἐκ τούτου παρηγγύ- 10 ησαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ εὐχεσθαι· εὐξάμενοι δὲ καὶ παιανίσαντες ἐπορεύοντο. Καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν καὶ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς πελτασταὶ ἔξω γινόμενοι τῆς τῶν πολεμίων φάλαγγος ἐπορεύοντο· οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι, ὥς εἶδον αὐτούς, ἀντιπορεύονται· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιόν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον διε- 15 σπύσθησαν, καὶ πολὺ τῆς ἐαντιῶν φάλαγγος ἐν τῷ μέσῳ κινὸν ἐποιεῖσαν. Ἰδόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς διαχάζοντας οἱ κατὰ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν πελτασταί, ὧν ἦρχεν Αἰσχίνης ὁ Ἀκαρνάν, νομίσαντες φεύγειν, ἀνὰ κράτος ἔθιον· καὶ οὗτοι πρῶτοι ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος ἀναβαίνουσι· συνεφείπετο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ Ἀρκα- 20 δικὸν ὀπλιτικόν, ὧν ἦρχε Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχομένιος. Οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι, ὥς ἦρξαντο θεῖν, οὐκέτι ἔστησαν, ἀλλὰ φυγῇ ἄλλος ἄλλῃ ἐτράπετο. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἀναβάντες ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐν πολλαῖς κώμαις καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πολλὰ ἐχούσαις. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐδὲν ἦν, ὅ τι καὶ ἐθαύμασαν· τὰ 25 δὲ σμήνη πολλὰ ἦν αὐτόθι, καὶ τῶν κηρίων ὅσοι ἔφαγον τῶν στρατιωτῶν, πάντες ἄφρονές τε ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ ἤμουν, καὶ κάτω διεχώριε αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὀρθὸς οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο ἵστασθαι· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ὀλίγον ἐδηδοκότες, σφόδρα μεθύουσιν ἐψέκων· οἱ δὲ πολὺ, μαινομένοις· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν. Ἐκείν- 30 το δὲ οὕτω πολλοί, ὥσπερ τροπῆς γεγενημένης, καὶ πολλὴ ἦν ἀθυμία. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπέθανε μὲν οὐδεὶς, ἀμφὶ δὲ

τὴν αὐτὴν που ὥραν ἀνεφρόνουν· τρίτῃ δὲ καὶ τετάρτῃ ἀνίσταντο ὥςπερ ἐκ φαρμακοποσίας.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν δύο σταθμούςς ἐπτά παρασάγγας, καὶ ἦλθον ἐπὶ θάλατταν, εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα, πόλιν Ἐλληνίδα, οἰκουμένην, ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ Πόντῳ, Σινωπέων ἀποικίαν, ἐν τῇ Κόλχων χώρα. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας ἅμφὶ τὰς τριάκοντα, ἐν ταῖς τῶν Κόλχων κόμμαις· καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὁρμώμενοι ἐλπίζοντο τὴν Κολχίδα. Ἀγορᾶν δὲ παρεῖχον [ἐν] τῷ στρατοπέδῳ Τραπεζοῦντιοι, καὶ ἐδέξαντό τε τοὺς  
 10 Ἕλληνας καὶ ξένια ἔδωσαν, βούς καὶ ἄλφιστα καὶ οἶνον. Συνδιεπράττειντο δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν πλησίων Κόλχων, τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ μάλιστα οἰκούντων· καὶ ξένια καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ἦλθον [τὸ] πλεόν, βόες. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὴν θυσίαν, ἣν εὐξάντο, παρεσκευάζοντο· ἦλθον δὲ αὐτοῖς ἱκανοὶ βόες ἀπυθῦσαι  
 15 τῷ Διὶ τῷ Σωτήρι καὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ ἡγεμόσυνα· καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δὲ θεοῖς, ἃ εὐξάντο. Ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν ἐν τῷ ὄρει, ἔνθαπερ ἐσκήνουν· εἵλοντο δὲ Ἀρακόντιον Σπαρτιάτην (ὃς ἔφυγε παῖς ἐτι ὦν οἰκοῦν, παῖδα ἄκων κατακτανών, ξυήλη πατάξας), δρόμου τε ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ  
 20 τοῦ ἀγῶνους προστατῆσαι.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ θυσία ἐγένετο, τὰ δέματα παρέδωσαν τῷ Ἀρακοντίῳ, καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον, ὅπου τὸν δρόμον ποιηκῶς εἶη. Ὁ δὲ δείξας, ὅπου παρεστηκότες ἐτύγγανον, “Οὗτος ὁ λόφος,” ἔφη, “κάλλιστος τρέχειν, ὅπου ἂν τις  
 25 βούληται.” “Πῶς οὖν,” ἔφασαν, “δυνήσονται παλαίειν ἐν σκληρῷ καὶ θασεῖ οὕτως;” Ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “Μῦλλον τι ἀνιάσεται ὁ καταπεσών.” Ἰγωνίζοντο δὲ παῖδες μὲν στάδιον τῶν αἰχμαλώτων οἱ πλείστοι, δόλιχον δὲ Κρηῆτες πλείους ἢ ἐξήκοντα ἔθειον· πάλην δὲ, καὶ πυγμὴν, καὶ παγκράτιον  
 30 ἕτεροι· καὶ καλὴ θεία ἐγένετο· πολλοὶ γὰρ κατέβησαν, καί, αἵτε θεωμένων τῶν ἐταίρων, πολλή φιλονεικία ἐγένετο. Ἐθίον δὲ καὶ ἵπποι· καὶ ἔδει αὐτοὺς, κατὰ τοῦ πρινοῦς ἐλάσαντας, ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ ἀναστρέψαντας πάλιν ἄνω πρὸς τὸν βο-

μόν ἄγειν. Καὶ κάτω μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ ἐκυλινδοῦντο· ἄνω δὲ  
πρὸς τὸ ἰσχυρῶς ὄρθιον μόλις βάδην ἐπορεύοντο οἱ ἵπποι.  
Ἐνθα πολλή κραυγὴ καὶ γέλως καὶ παρακίλευσις ἐγένετο  
αὐτῶν.

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# ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

## ΚΤΡΟΤ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΕΩΣ

### ΒΙΒΑΙΟΝ ΠΕΜΠΤΟΝ.

#### Κεφάλαιον α'.

“ΟΣΑ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει τῇ μετὰ Κύρου ἔπραξαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ τῇ μέχρις ἐπὶ θάλατταν τὴν ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ Πόντῳ, καὶ ὡς εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα πόλιν Ἕλλη- νίδα ἀφίκοντο, καὶ ὡς ἀπέθυσαν, ἃ εὗξαντο σωτήρια θύ- σειν, ἐνθα πρῶτον εἰς φίλλαν γῆν ἀφίκοντο, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου συνελθόντες ἐβουλευόντο περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς πορείας· ἀνέστη δὲ πρῶτος Ἀντιλέων Θού- ριος, καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε· “Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν,” ἔφη, “ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀπειρηκα ἤδη συσκευαζόμενος, καὶ βαδίζων, καὶ τρέχων, καὶ 10 τὰ ὄπλα φέρων, καὶ ἐν τάξει ἰών, καὶ φυλακὰς φυλάττων, καὶ μαχόμενος· ἐπιθυμῶ δὲ ἤδη, παυσάμενος τούτων τῶν πόνων, ἐπεὶ θάλατταν ἔχομεν, πλεῖν τὸ λοιπόν, καὶ ἐκτα- θείς, ὥσπερ Ὀδυσσεύς, καθεύδων ἀφικέσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλ- λάδα.” Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατιῶται ἀνεθορύβησαν, 15 ὥς εὖ λέγοι· καὶ ἄλλος ταῦτα ἔλεγε, καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόν- τες. Ἔπειτα Χειρίσοφος ἀνέστη, καὶ εἶπεν ὧδε· “Φίλος μοι ἐστίν, ὦ ἄνδρες, Ἀναξίβιος, ναυαρχῶν δὲ τυγχάνει· ἦν οὖν πέμπητέ με, οἶμαι ἂν ἐλθεῖν καὶ τριήρεις ἔχων καὶ πλοῖα, τὰ ἡμᾶς ἄξοντα· ὑμεῖς δ’ ἐπείπερ πλεῖν βούλεσθε, 20 περιμένετε, ἔστ’ ἂν ἐγὼ ἔλθω· ἤξω δὲ ταχέως.” Ἀκούσαν-

τες ταῦτα οἱ στρατιῶται ἤσθησάν τε καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο, πλεῖν αὐτὸν ὡς τάχιστα.

Μετὰ τοῦτον Ξενοφῶν ἀνέστη, καὶ ἔλεξεν ὥδε· “Χει-  
ρίσοφος μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ πλοῖα στέλλεται, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀναμενοῦμεν.  
“Οὐα οὖν μοι δοκεῖ καιρὸς εἶναι ποιεῖν ἐν τῇ μονῇ, ταῦτα 5  
ἐρῶ. Πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια δεῖ πορίζεσθαι ἐκ τῆς πο-  
λεμίας· οὔτε γὰρ ἀγορά ἐστὶν ἱκανή, οὔτε ὅτου ὠνησόμεθα  
πάρεστιν, εἰ μὴ ὀλίγοις τισίν· ἡ δὲ χώρα πολεμία· κίνδυ-  
νος οὖν, πολλοὺς ἀπόλλυσθαι, ἢ ἀμελῶς τε καὶ ἀφυλάκτως  
πορεύησθε ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ σὺν προνο- 10  
μαῖς λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἄλλως δὲ μὴ πλανᾶσθαι, ὥς  
σώζησθε· ἡμᾶς δὲ τούτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.” Ἔδοξε ταῦτα.  
“Ἐτι τοίνυν ἀκούσατε καὶ τὰδε· Ἐπὶ λείαν γὰρ ὑμῶν  
ἐκπορεύονται τινες. Οἶομαι οὖν βίλτιον εἶναι, ἡμῖν εἰπεῖν  
τὸν μέλλοντα ἐξέναι, φράζειν δὲ καὶ ὅποι, ἵνα καὶ τὸ πλη- 15  
θος εἰδῶμεν τῶν ἐξιόντων καὶ τῶν μενόντων, καὶ συμπαρα-  
σκευάζωμεν, εἴαν τι δέῃ· καὶ βοηθῆσαι τισιν ἂν καιρὸς ᾖ, εἰ-  
δῶμεν, ὅποι δεήσῃ βοηθεῖν· καὶ ἂν τις τῶν ἀπειροτέρων ἔγχει-  
ρῇ τι ποιεῖν, συμβουλευόμεν, πειρώμενοι εἰδέναι τὴν δύνα-  
μιν, ἐφ’ οὗς ἂν ἴωσιν.” Ἔδοξε καὶ ταῦτα. “Ἐννοεῖτε δὴ καὶ 20  
τόδ’,” ἔφη· “Σχολὴ τοῖς πολέμοις ληΐζεσθαι· καὶ δικαίως  
ἡμῖν ἐπιβουλεύουσιν· ἔχομεν γὰρ τὰ ἐκείνων· ὑπερκάθηνται  
δ’ ἡμῶν. Φύλακας δὴ μοι δοκεῖ δεῖν περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον  
εἶναι· εἴαν οὖν κατὰ μέρος μερισθέντες φυλάττωμεν καὶ  
σκοπῶμεν, ἥτιον δύναιντ’ ἂν ἡμᾶς θηρᾶν οἱ πολέμοι. 25  
Ἐτι τοίνυν τὰδε ὁρᾶτε· Εἰ μὲν ἡπιστάμεθα σαφῶς, ὅτι  
ῆξει πλοῖα Χειρίσοφος ἄγων ἱκανά, οἷδέν ἂν ἔδει, ὧν μέλλω  
λέγειν· νῦν δ’, ἐπεὶ τοῦτ’ ἄδηλον, δοκεῖ μοι πειραῖσθαι πλοῖα  
συμπαρασκευάζειν καὶ αὐτόθεν, Ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἔλθῃ, ὑπαρ-  
χόντων ἐνθάδε, ἐν ἀφθονωτέροις πλευσούμεθα· εἴαν δὲ μὴ 30  
ἄγῃ, τοῖς ἐνθάδε χρησόμεθα. Ἐγὼ δ’ ὁρῶ πλοῖα πολλάκις  
παραπλέοντα· εἰ οὖν αἰτησάμενοι παρὰ Τραπεζοντιῶν  
μακρὰ πλοῖα, κατάγοιμεν καὶ φυλάττοιμεν αὐτά, τὰ πηδά-

λια παραλυόμενοι, ἕως ἂν ἱκανὰ τὰ ἄξοντα γένηται, ἴσως ἂν οὐκ ἀπορήσαιμεν κομιδῆς, οὔας δεόμεθα." Ἔδοξε καὶ ταῦτα. "Ἐννοήσατε δ'," ἔφη, "εἰ εἰκὸς καὶ τρέφειν ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, οὓς ἂν καταγύγωμεν, ὅσον ἂν χρόνον ἡμῶν ἔνεκα  
 5 μένωσι, καὶ ναῦλον συνθέσθαι, ὅπως ὠφελοῦντες καὶ ὠφελῶνται." Ἔδοξε καὶ ταῦτα. "Δοκεῖ τοίνυν μοι," ἔφη, "ἦν ἄρα καὶ ταῦτα ἡμῖν μὴ ἐκπεραλῆνται, ὥστε ἀρκεῖν πλοῖα, τὰς ὁδούς, ἃς δυσπόρους ἀκούομεν εἶναι, ταῖς παρὰ θάλατταν οἰκουμέναις πόλεσιν ἐντείλασθαι ὁδοποιεῖν· πεί-  
 10 σονται γὰρ καὶ διὰ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ βούλεσθαι ἡμῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι."

Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀνέκραγον, ὥς οὐ δέοι ὁδοιπορεῖν. Ὁ δέ, ὥς ἔγνω τὴν ἀφροσύνην αὐτῶν, ἐπεψήφισε μὲν οὐδέν, τὰς δὲ πόλεις ἐκούσας ἔπεισε ποιεῖν τὰς ὁδούς· λέγων, ὅτι θᾶττον  
 15 ἀπαλλάσσονται, ἢν εὐποροὶ γένωνται αἱ ὁδοί. ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ πεντηκόντορον παρὰ τῶν Τραπεζουντίων, ἣ ἐπέστησαν Δέξιππον, Λακωνικὸν περλοίκον. Οὗτος, ἀμελήσας τοῦ συλλαβεῖν πλοῖα, ἀποδράς ἔρχετο ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου, ἔχων τὴν ναῦν. Οὗτος μὲν οὖν δίκαια ἔπαθεν ὕστερον· ἐν Θράκῃ  
 20 γὰρ παρὰ Σεύθῃ πολυπραγμονῶν τι ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ Νικάνδρου τοῦ Λακωνικοῦ. ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ τριακόντορον, ἣ ἐπεστήθη Πολυκράτης Ἀθηναῖος· ὃς ὅποσα λαμβάνοι πλοῖα κατήγεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀγώγιμα, εἴ τι ἦγον, ἐξαιρούμενοι, φύλακας καθίστασαν, ὅπως σῶα εἴη·  
 25 τοῖς δὲ πλοίοις ἐχρήσαντο εἰς παραγωγὴν. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἦν, ἐπὶ λείαν ἐξήεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐνετύγχανον, οἱ δὲ καὶ οὐ. Κλεινέτος δ' ἐξαγαγὼν καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἄλλον λόγον πρὸς χωρίον χαλεπὸν, αὐτός τε ἀπέθανε καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ.

## Κεφάλαιον β΄.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια οὐκ εἴη ἢ λαμβάνειν, ὥστε ἀπαν-  
θήμεναι ἐπὶ τὸ στρατεύμα, ἐκ τούτου λαβὼν ὁ Ξενοφῶν  
ἡγεμόνας τῶν Τραπεζουντίων, ἐξάγει εἰς Ἀρillas τὸ ἡμισυ  
τοῦ στρατεύματος, τὸ δὲ ἡμισυ φυλάττειν κατέλιπε τὸ στρα-  
τόπεδον· οἱ γὰρ Κόλχοι, αἵτε ἐκπεπωκότες ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν, 6  
πολλοὶ ἦσαν ἀθρόοι, καὶ ὑπερεκάθητο ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων. Οἱ  
δὲ Τραπεζούντιοι, ὁπόθεν μὲν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ῥάδιον ἦν λα-  
βεῖν, οὐκ ἤγον· φίλοι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἦσαν· εἰς τοὺς Ἀρillas δὲ  
προθύμως ἤγον, ὅφ' ὧν κακῶς ἔπασχον, εἰς χωρία τε ὀρεῖνὰ  
καὶ δύνεατα, καὶ ἀνθρώπους πολεμικωτάτους τῶν ἐν τῷ 10  
Πόντῳ.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ ἄνω χώρῃ οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὁποῖα τῶν  
χωρίων τοῖς Ἀρillas ἀλώσιμα εἰδοκεῖ εἶναι, ἐμπιπράντες  
ἀπῆλσαν· καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν λαβεῖν, εἰ μὴ ὕς καὶ βοῦς, ἢ ἄλλο τι  
κτῆνος τὸ πῦρ διαπεφυγός. Ἐν δ' ἦν χωρίον, [ὃ] μητρό- 15  
πολις αὐτῶν [ἐκαλεῖτο]· εἰς τοῦτο πάντες συνεβόηκσαν·  
περὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἦν χαράδρα ἰσχυρῶς βαθεῖα, καὶ πρόσοδοι  
χαλεπαὶ πρὸς τὸ χωρίον. Οἱ δὲ πελτασταί, προδραμόντες  
στάδια πέντε ἢ ἕξ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, διαβάντες τὴν χαράδραν,  
ὀρῶντες πρόβατα πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα, προσέβαλλον 20  
πρὸς τὸ χωρίον. Συνείποντο δὲ καὶ δορυφόροι πολλοί, οἱ  
ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐξωρηγμένοι· ὥστε ἐγένοντο οἱ διαβάντες  
πλείους, ἢ εἰς διςχιλούς ἀνθρώπους. Ἐπεὶ δὲ μαχόμενοι  
οὐκ ἐδύναντο λαβεῖν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ γὰρ τάφος ἦν περὶ αὐ-  
τὸ εὐρεῖα ἀναβεβλημένη, καὶ σκόλοπις ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναβολῆς, 25  
καὶ τύρσεις πυκναὶ ξύλιναι πεποιημέναι, ἀπιέναι ἤδη ἐπε-  
χείρουν· οἱ δὲ ἐπέκειντο αὐτοῖς. Ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἀέλ-  
θειν, ἦν γὰρ ἐφ' ἐνὸς ἢ κατάβασις ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου εἰς τὴν  
χαράδραν, πέμπουσι πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα, ὅς ἡγεῖτο τοῖς ὀπλι-  
ταις. Ὁ δ' ἐλθὼν λίγει, “ὅτι ἐστὶ χωρίον χρημάτων πολ- 30

λῶν μευτόν· τοῦτο οὔτε λαβεῖν δυνάμεθα· ἰσχυρὸν γὰρ  
 ἐστίν· οὔτε ἀπελθεῖν ῥῥῆδιον· μάχονται γὰρ ἐπεξεληλυθό-  
 τες, καὶ ἡ ἄφοδος χαλεπή·”

Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν, προσαγαγὼν πρὸς τὴν χαρά-  
 5 θραν, τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας ἐκέλευε θένειν τὰ ὄπλα· αὐτὸς δὲ  
 διαβὰς σὺν τοῖς λοχαγοῖς, ἐσκοπεῖτο, πότερον εἴη κρεῖττον  
 ἀπάγειν καὶ τοὺς διαβεβηκότας, ἢ καὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας διαβι-  
 βάσειν, ὡς ἀλόντος ἂν τοῦ χωρίου. Καὶ ἔδοκει τὸ μὲν ἀπά-  
 γειν οὐκ εἶναι ἄνευ πολλῶν νεκρῶν, εἶναι δ' ἂν ῥοντόν καὶ οἱ  
 10 λοχαγοὶ τὸ χωρίον· καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν συνεχώρησε, τοῖς ἱεροῖς  
 πιστεύσας· οἱ γὰρ μάντις ἀποδεδειγμένοι ἦσαν, ὅτι μάχη  
 μὲν ἔσται, τὸ δὲ τέλος καλὸν τῆς ἐξόδου. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν λο-  
 χαγοὺς ἐπεμπε διαβιβάσσοντας τοὺς ὀπλίτας, αὐτὸς δ' ἔμμενεν  
 ἀναχωρίσας ἅπαντας τοὺς πελταστάς, καὶ οὐδένα εἶα ἀκρο-  
 15 βολίζεσθαι. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦκον οἱ ὀπλίται, ἐκέλευσε τὸν λόχον  
 ἕκαστον ποιῆσαι τῶν λοχαγῶν, ὡς ἂν κράτιστα οἴηται ἀγω-  
 νεῖσθαι· ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ λοχαγοὶ πλησίον ἀλλήλων, οἱ πάντα  
 τὸν χρόνον ἀλλήλοις περὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἀντεποιοῦντο. Καὶ  
 οἱ μὲν [λοχαγοὶ] ταῦτα ἐπόλουν· ὁ δὲ τοῖς πελτασταῖς πᾶσι  
 20 παρήγγελλε διηγκυλισμένους ἵεναι, ὡς, ὅποταν σημήνῃ, ἀκον-  
 τίξειν δεῆσον· καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ἐπιβεβλησθαι ἐπὶ ταῖς νευ-  
 ραῖς, ὡς, ὅποταν σημήνῃ, τοξεύειν δεῆσον· καὶ τοὺς γυμνή-  
 τας λίθων ἔχειν μεστὰς τὰς διφθέρας· καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτηδεύουσας  
 ἔπεμπε τούτων ἐπιμεληθῆναι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντα παρσεκεύ-  
 25 αστο, καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ καὶ ὑπολοχαγοὶ καὶ οἱ ἀξιούντες τού-  
 των μὴ χείρους εἶναι πάντες παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἀλ-  
 λήλους μὲν δὴ συνεώρων· (μνηνοειδὴς γὰρ ἦν· ἡ τάξις διὰ τὸ  
 χωρίον·) ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπαιάνισαν, καὶ ἡ σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγγατο,  
 ἅμα τε τῷ Ἐνναλίῳ ἠγάλαξαν καὶ ἔθιον δρόμῳ οἱ ὀπλίται,  
 30 καὶ τὰ βεῖλη ὁμοῦ ἐφέρετο, λόγχοι, τοξεύματα, σφενδόνας,  
 καὶ πλείστοι δ' ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν λίθοι· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ καὶ πῦρ  
 προσέφερον. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ πληθους τῶν βελῶν ἔλιπον οἱ  
 πολέμιοι τὰ τὲ σταυρώματα καὶ τὰς τύρσεις· ὥστε Ἀγασίας

Στυμφάλιος καὶ Φιλόξενος Πελληνεὺς, καταθέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα, ἐν χιτῶνι μόνον ἀνέβησαν, καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλον εἶλκε, καὶ ἄλλος ἀναβιβήκει, καὶ ἡλώκει τὸ χωρίον, ὥς ἐδόκει. Καὶ οἱ μὲν πελτασται καὶ οἱ ψιλοὶ εἰσδραμόντες ἤρπαζον, ὃ τι ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο· ὃ δὲ Ξενοφῶν, σιὰς κατὰ τὰς πύλας, ὁπό- 5 σους ἐδύνατο κατεκώλυε τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἕξω· πολέμιοι γὰρ ἄλλοι ἐφαίνοντο ἐπ' ἄκροις τισὶν ἰσχυροῖς. Οὐ πολλοῦ δὲ χρόνου μετὰ τὸ γενομένου, κραυγὴ τ' ἐγίγνετο ἔνδον, καὶ ἔφευγον, οἱ μὲν καὶ ἔχοντες αἱ ἔλαβον, τάχα δὲ τις καὶ τε- τρωμένος· καὶ πολὺς ἦν ὠθισμὸς ἀμφὶ τὰ θύρετρα. Καὶ 10 ἐρωτώμενοι οἱ ἐκπίπτοντες, ἔλεγον, ὅτι ἄκρα τις ἐστὶν ἔν- δον, καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι πολλοί, οἱ παύουσιν ἐκδεδραμηκότες τοὺς [ἔνδον] ἀνθρώπους.

Ἐνταῦθα ἀνειπεῖν ἐκέλευσε Τολμίδην τὸν κήρυκα, εἶναι εἶσω τὸν βουλούμενόν τι λαμβάνειν. Καὶ ἔντο πολλοὶ εἶσω, 15 καὶ νικῶσι τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας οἱ εἶσω ὠθούμενοι, καὶ κατα- κλείουσι τοὺς πολεμίους πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἄκραν. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἕξω τῆς ἄκρας πάντα διηρπάσθη, καὶ ἐξεκομίσαντο οἱ Ἑλ- ληνες· οἱ δ' ὀπλίται ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸ σταύ- ρωμα, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν φέρουσαν. Ὅ 20 δὲ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἐσκόπουν, εἰ οἶόν τ' εἴη τὴν ἄκραν λαβεῖν· ἦν γὰρ οὕτω σωτηρία ἀσφαλής· ἄλλος δὲ πάνυ χαλεπὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι ἀπελθεῖν· σκοποῦμένοις δ' αὐ- τοῖς ἔδοξε παντάπασιν ἀνάλωτον εἶναι τὸ χωρίον. Ἐνταῦθα παρεσκευάζοντο τὴν ἄφοδον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν σταυροὺς ἕκαστοι 25 τοὺς καθ' αὐτοὺς διήρουν, καὶ τοὺς ἀχρεῖους καὶ φορτία ἔχοντας ἐξεπέμποντο καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τὸ πλεῖθος· κατέλι- πον δὲ οἱ λοχαγοί, οἷς ἕκαστος ἐπίστευεν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξαντο ἀποχωρεῖν, ἐπεξείθεον ἔνδοθεν πολλοί, γέγραφα καὶ λόγχαας ἔχοντες, καὶ κνημίδας, καὶ κράνη Παφλα- 30 γονικά· καὶ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἀνέβαινον τὰς ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τῆς εἰς τὴν ἄκραν φερούσης ὁδοῦ· ὥς τ' οὐδὲ διώκειν ἀσφαλὲς ἦν [αὐτοὺς] κατὰ τὰς πύλας, τὰς εἰς τὴν ἄκραν

φερούσας· καὶ γὰρ ξύλα μεγάλα ἐπερρίπτουν ἄνωθεν, ὥστε  
 χάλεπόν ἦν καὶ μένειν καὶ ἀπιέναι· καὶ ἡ νύξ φοβερά ἦν  
 ἐπιούσα. Μαχομένων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπορουμένων, θεῶν τις  
 αὐτοῖς μηχανὴν σωτηρίας δίδωσιν. Ἐξαπίνης γὰρ ἀνέλαμ-  
 5 ψεν οἰκία τῶν ἐν δεξιᾷ, ὅτουδ' ἑνάψαντος. Ὡς δ' αὕτη συν-  
 ἐπιπτεν, ἔφευγον οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν δεξιᾷ οἰκιῶν. Ὡς δ' ἔμα-  
 θεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν τοῦτο παρὰ τῆς τύχης, ἐνάπτειν ἐκέλευς καὶ  
 τὰς ἐν ἀριστερᾷ οἰκίας· αἱ δὲ ξύλιναι ἦσαν· ὥστε καὶ ταχὺ  
 ἐκαίοντο. Ἐφευγον οὖν καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν οἰκιῶν.  
 10 Οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ στόμα δὴ ἔτι μόνοι ἐλύπον, καὶ δῆλοι ἦσαν,  
 ὅτι ἐπικείμενοι ἐπὶ τῇ ἐξόδῳ τε καὶ καταβάσει. Ἐνταῦθα  
 παραγγέλλει φορεῖν ξύλα, ὅσοι ἐτύγγανον ἔξω ὄντες τῶν βε-  
 λῶν, εἰς τὸ μέσον ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἱκανὰ  
 ἦδη ἦν, ἀνῆψαν· ἀνῆπτον δὲ καὶ τὰς παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ χαρά-  
 15 κωμα οἰκίας, ὅπως οἱ πολέμοι ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἔχοιεν. Οὕτω  
 μόλις ἀπῆλθον ἀπὸ τοῦ χωρίου, πῦρ ἐν μέσῳ ἑαυτῶν καὶ  
 τῶν πολεμίων ποιησάμενοι. Καὶ κατεκαύθη πᾶσα ἡ πόλις  
 καὶ αἱ οἰκαὶ καὶ αἱ τύρσεις καὶ τὰ σταυρώματα καὶ τᾶλλα  
 πάντα, πλην τῆς ἄκρας.  
 20 Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπήεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἔχοντες τὰ ἐπιτή-  
 δεα. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν κατὰβασιν ἐφοβοῦντο τὴν εἰς Τραπε-  
 ζοῦντα, πρηνὴς γὰρ ἦν καὶ στενὴ, ψευδενέδραν ἐποιήσαντο·  
 καὶ ἀνὴρ, Μυσὸς τὸ γένος, καὶ τοῦτομα τοῦτο ἔχων, τῶν  
 Κρητῶν λαβῶν τέτταρας ἢ πέντε, ἔμενεν ἐν λασίῳ χωρίῳ, καὶ  
 25 προεποιεῖτο τοὺς πολεμίους λανθάνειν πειραῖσθαι· αἱ δὲ  
 πέλται αὐτῶν ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη διεφαινοντο, χαλκαῖ οὐσαι.  
 Οἱ μὲν οὖν πολέμοι, ταῦτα ὁρῶντες, ἐφοβοῦντο ὡς ἐνέδραν  
 οὐσαν· ἡ δὲ στρατιὰ ἐν τούτῳ κατέβαιναν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδό-  
 κει ἱκανὸν ἦδη ὑπεληλυθέναι τῷ Μυσῷ, ἐσήμνην φεύγειν  
 30 ἀνὰ κράτος· καὶ ὃς ἔξαναστὰς φεύγει καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ.  
 Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Κρηῖτες (ἀλίσκεσθαι γὰρ ἔφασαν τῷ δρό-  
 μῳ) ἐκπεσόντες ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ εἰς ὕλην κατὰ τὰς νάπας κυ-  
 λινδούμενοι ἐσώθησαν· ὁ Μυσὸς δὲ, κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν φεύ-

γων, ἐβόα βοηθεῖν· καὶ ἐβοήθησαν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἀνέλαβον τετρωμένον. Καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ πόδα ἀνεχώρησαν βαλλόμενοι οἱ βοηθήσαντες, καὶ ἀντιτοξούντες τινες τῶν Κρητῶν· οὕτως ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον πάντες σῶοι ὄντες.

### Κεφάλαιον γ'.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτε ὁ Χειρίσοφος ἤκειν, οὔτε πλοῖα ἱκανὰ ἦν, οὔτε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦν λαμβάνειν ἔτι, ἐδόκει ἀπιτεόν εἶναι. Καὶ ἐς μὲν τὰ πλοῖα τοὺς τε ἀσθενούντας ἐνεβίβασαν, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα ἔτη, καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τῶν σκευῶν ὅσα μὴ ἀνάγκη ἦν ἔχειν· καὶ Φιλήσιον καὶ Σοφαίνετον, τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τῶν στρατηγῶν, εἰςβίβασαν· 10  
 τες, τούτων ἐκέλευον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἐπορεύοντο· ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς ὁδοποιουμένη ἦν. Καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται πορευόμενοι εἰς Κερασοῦντα τριταῖοι, πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα, ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ, Σινωπίων ἄποιον, ἐν τῇ Κολχίδι χώρα. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας δέκα· καὶ ἐξέτασις ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐγένετο καὶ ἀρ- 15  
 θμός, καὶ ἐγένοντο ὀκτακισχίλιοι καὶ ἑξακόσιαι. Οὗτοι ἐσώθησαν ἐκ τῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἀπώλοντο ὑπὸ τε τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τῆς χιόνος, καὶ εἴ τις νόσῳ.

Ἐνταῦθα καὶ διαλαμβάνουσι τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων γεγόμενον ἀργύριον· καὶ τὴν δεκάτην, ἣν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι 20  
 ἐξῆλλον καὶ τῇ Ἐφεσίᾳ Ἀρτέμιδι, διέλαβον οἱ στρατηγοί, τὸ μέρος ἕκαστος, φυλάττειν τοῖς θεοῖς· ἀντὶ δὲ Χειρισόφου Νέων ὁ Ἀσινάιος ἔλαβε. Ξενοφῶν οὖν τὸ μὲν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀνάθημα ποιησάμενος, ἀνατίθησιν εἰς τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων θησανρόν, καὶ ἐπέγραψε τό τε αὐ- 25  
 τοῦ ὄνομα καὶ τὸ Προξένου, ὃς σὺν Κλεάρχῳ ἀπέθανε· ξένος γάρ ἦν αὐτῷ. Τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἐφεσίας, ὅτε ἀπῆει σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν εἰς Βοιωτοὺς ὁδόν, κατέλιπε παρὰ Μεγαβύζῳ τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος νεωκόρῳ, ὅτι αὐ-

τὸς κινδυνεύσων ἐδόκει ἵεναι [μετὰ Ἀγησιλάου ἐν Κορωνείᾳ]·  
 καὶ ἐπέστειλεν, ἣν μὲν αὐτὸς σωθῆ, ἑαυτῷ ἀποδοῦναι· εἰ δέ  
 τι πάθοι, ἀναθεῖναι, ποιησάμενον τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ὃ τι οἶοιτο  
 χαριῆσθαι τῇ θεῷ. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἔφυγεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν, κατοικοῦν-  
 5 τος ἤδη αὐτοῦ ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι, ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οἰ-  
 κισθέντι παρὰ τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν, ἀφικνεῖται Μεγάβρυτος εἰς  
 Ὀλυμπίαν θεωρήσων, καὶ ἀποδίδωσι τὴν παρακαταθήκην  
 αὐτῷ. Ξενοφῶν δὲ λαβὼν, χωρίον ὠνεῖται τῇ θεῷ, ὅπου  
 ἀνέϊλεν ὁ θεός. Ἐτυχε δὲ διὰ μέσου ῥέων τοῦ χωρίου  
 10 ποταμὸς Ξελινοῦς. Καὶ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δὲ παρὰ τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέ-  
 μιδος νεὼν Ξελινοῦς ποταμὸς παραρρέει, καὶ ἰχθύες δὲ ἐν  
 ἀμφοτέροις ἔννεισι καὶ κόγχοι· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι χω-  
 ρίῳ καὶ θῆραι πάντων, ὅπόσα ἐστὶν ἀγρευόμενα θηρία.  
 Ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ ναὸν καὶ βωμὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀργυρίου·  
 15 καὶ τολοιπὸν αἰὲ δεκατεύων τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ ὠραῖα, θυ-  
 σίαν ἐποίει τῇ θεῷ· καὶ πάντες οἱ πολῖται καὶ οἱ πρόσχω-  
 ροι, [ὁμοῦ] ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες, μετεῖχον τῆς ἐορτῆς. Πα-  
 ρεῖχε δὲ ἡ θεὸς τοῖς σκηνοῦσιν ἄλφιτα, ἄρτους, οἶνον, τρα-  
 γήματα, καὶ τῶν θυομένων ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς τομῆς λάχος, καὶ  
 20 τῶν θηρευομένων δέ. Καὶ γὰρ θήραν ἐποιούντο εἰς τὴν  
 ἐορτὴν οἱ τε Ξενοφῶντος παῖδες καὶ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν·  
 οἱ δὲ βουλόμενοι καὶ ἄνδρες συνεθήρων· καὶ ἡλίσκετο τὰ  
 μὲν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἱεροῦ χωρίου, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Φολόης,  
 σῦες καὶ δορκάδες καὶ ἔλαφοι. Ἔστι δὲ ὁ τόπος, ἧ' ἐκ Λα-  
 25 κεδαιμόνος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν πορεύονται, ὡς εἴκουσι στάδιοι  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Διὸς ἱεροῦ. Ἐνὶ δ' ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τόπῳ  
 καὶ [λειμὼν καὶ] ἄλση καὶ ὄρη δένδρων μευτά, ἱκανὰ καὶ  
 σῦς καὶ αἰγας καὶ οἷς τρέφειν καὶ ἵππους, ὥστε καὶ τὰ τῶν  
 εἰς τὴν ἐορτὴν ἰόντων ὑποζύγια εὐωχεῖσθαι. Περὶ δ' αὐ-  
 30 τὸν τὸν ναὸν ἄλλος ἡμέρων δένδρων ἐφυτεύθη, ὅσα ἐστὶ  
 τρωκτὰ ὠραῖα. Ὁ δὲ ναός, ὡς μικρὸς μέγας, τῷ ἐν Ἐφέ-  
 σω εἵκασται· καὶ τὸ ξύανον ἔνικεν, ὡς κυπαρίσσινον χρυσοῦ  
 ὄντι, τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. Καὶ στήλη ἔστηκε παρὰ τὸν ναόν,

γράμματα ἔχουσα· **ΙΕΡΟΣ Ο ΧΩΡΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΤΕ-  
ΜΙΔΟΣ. ΤΟΝ ΔΕ ΕΧΟΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΡΠΟΤΜΕΝΟΝ,  
ΤΗΝ ΜΕΝ ΔΕΚΑΤΗΝ ΚΑΤΑΘΕΙΝ ΕΚΑΣΤΟΣ  
ΕΤΟΣ, ΕΚ ΔΕ ΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΤΤΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΝΑΟΝ ΕΠΙ-  
ΣΚΕΤΑΖΕΙΝ· ΕΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΙΣ ΜΗ ΠΟΙΗ ΤΑΥΤΑ, \***  
**ΤΗΙ ΘΕΩΙ ΜΕΛΗΣΕΙ.**

### Κεφάλαιον δ΄.

Ἐκ Κεραισούντος δὲ κατὰ θάλατταν μὲν ἐκοιμίζοντο οἵπιοι  
καὶ πρόσθεν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι κατὰ γῆν ἐπορεύοντο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ  
ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς Μοσυνόικων ὁρίοις, πέμπουσιν εἰς αὐτοὺς  
Τιμησίθεον τὸν Τραπεζούντιον, πρόξενον ὄντα τῶν Μοσυ- 10  
νόικων, ἐρωτῶντες, πότερον ὥς διὰ φίλλας, ἢ ὥς διὰ πολε-  
μίας πορεύσονται τῆς χώρας. Οἱ δ' εἶπον, ὅτι οὐ διοί-  
σειεν· ἐπίστανον γὰρ τοῖς χωρίοις. Ἐντεῦθεν λέγει ὁ Τι-  
μησίθεος, ὅτι πολέμιοι εἰσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπείκεινα· καὶ  
ἐδόκει καλίσσαι ἐκείνους, εἰ βούλοιντο συμμαχίαν ποιήσα- 15  
σθαι· καὶ πεμφθεὶς ὁ Τιμησίθεος, ἤκεν ἄγων τοὺς ἄρ-  
χοντας. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐφίκοντο, συνῆλθον οἱ τε τῶν Μοσυνόι-  
κων ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων· καὶ ἔλεγε μὲν  
Ξενοφῶν, ἡρμήνευε δὲ Τιμησίθεος.

“Ὡ ἄνδρες Μοσύνοικοι, ἡμεῖς διασωθῆναι βουλόμεθα οὐ  
εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πεζῇ· πλοῖα γὰρ οὐκ ἔχομεν· κωλύουσι δὲ  
οὗτοι ἡμᾶς, οὓς ἀκούομεν ὑμῖν πολέμιους εἶναι. Ἐἰ οὖν  
βούλεσθε, ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν ἡμᾶς λαβεῖν συμμαχούς, καὶ τιμωρή-  
σασθαι, εἴ τι πώποθ' ὑμᾶς οὗτοι ἠδίκησαν, καὶ τολοιπὸν  
ὑμῶν ὑπηρέτους εἶναι τούτους. Εἰ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἀφήσετε, σκέ- 25  
ψασθε, πόθεν αὐτοῖς ἂν τοσαύτην δύναμιν λάβοιτε σύμμα-  
χον.” Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ ἄρχων τῶν Μοσυνόικων,  
ὅτι καὶ βούλοιντο ταῦτα, καὶ δέχοιντο τὴν συμμαχίαν.  
“Ἄγετε δὴ,” ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, “τί ἡμῶν δεήσεσθε χρήσασθαι,

ἄν σύμμαχοι υμῶν γενώμεθα; καὶ ὑμεῖς τί οἶοι τε ἔσεσθαι ἡμῖν συμπράξαι περὶ τῆς διόδου;" Οἱ δ' εἶπον, "ὅτι ἱκανοὶ ἐσμεν εἰς τὴν χώραν εἰσβάλλειν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα τὴν τῶν ὑμῖν τε καὶ ἡμῖν πολεμίων, καὶ δεῦρο ὑμῖν πέμψαι ναῦς τε καὶ ἄνδρας, οἵτινες ὑμῖν συμμαχοῦνται τε καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἡγήσονται."

Ἐπὶ τούτοις πιστὰ δόντες καὶ λαβόντες, ὥχοντο· καὶ ἔκον τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἄγοντες τριακόσια πλοῖα μονόξυλα, καὶ ἐν ἐκάστῳ τρεῖς ἄνδρας· ὧν οἱ μὲν δύο ἐκβάντες, εἰς τάξιν ἔθιντο τὰ ὄπλα· ὁ δὲ εἰς ἔμενε. Καὶ οἱ μὲν, λαβόντες τὰ πλοῖα, ἀπέπλευσαν· οἱ δὲ μένοντες ἐξετάζαντο ὧδε· Ἔστησαν ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν μάλιστα, ὥσπερ οἱ χοροί, ἀντιστοιχοῦντες ἀλλήλοις, ἔχοντες γέφρα πάντες λευκῶν βοῶν δασέα, εἰκασμένα κιττοῦ πετάλω· ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ παλτὸν ὡς ἐξάπηχυν, ἔμπροσθεν μὲν λόγχην ἔχον, ὀπισθεν δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ξύλου σφαιροειδές. Χιτωνίσκους δὲ ἐνεδεδύκεσαν ὑπὲρ γονάτων, πάχος ὡς λινοῦ στρωματοδέσμου· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ κεφαλῇ κράνη σκύτινα, οἷα περ τὰ Παφλαγονικά, κρώβυλον ἔχοντα κατὰ μέσον ἐγγυτάτῳ τιαροειδῇ· εἶχον δὲ καὶ σαγάρεις σιδηρεῖς.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐξῆρχε μὲν αὐτῶν εἰς, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες ἄδοντες ἐπορεύοντο ἐν ῥυθμῷ, καὶ διελθόντες διὰ τῶν τάξεων καὶ διὰ τῶν ὀπλων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπορεύοντο εὐθύς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐπὶ χωρίον, ὃ ἐδόκει ἐπιμαχώτατον εἶναι· ὥκειτο δὲ τοῦτο πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, τῆς μητροπόλεως καλουμένης αὐτοῖς, [καὶ] ἐχούσης τὸ ἀκρότατον τῶν Μοσυνόικων· καὶ περὶ τούτου ὁ πόλεμος ἦν· οἱ γὰρ αἰεὶ τοῦτ' ἔχοντες ἐδόκουν ἐγκρατεῖς καὶ πάντων Μοσυνόικων εἶναι. Καὶ ἔφασαν τούτους οὐ δικαίως ἔχειν τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ κοινὸν ὃν καταλαβόντας πλεονεκτεῖν.

Εἰπόντες δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τιτὲς, οὐ ταχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἀλλ' ἀρπαγῆς ἕνεκεν. Οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι, προσιόντων, τέως μὲν ἡσύχαζον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο τοῦ χωρίου, ἐκδραμόντες τρέπονται αὐτούς· καὶ ἀπέκτειναν συ-

χνοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων, καὶ τῶν συναναβάντων Ἑλλήνων τι-  
νύς, καὶ ἐδίωκον, μέχρις οὗ εἶδον τοὺς Ἑλληνας βοηθούοντας·  
εἶτα δὲ ἀποτραπόμενοι ὥχοντο· καὶ ἀποτεμόντες τὰς κε-  
φαλὰς τῶν νεκρῶν, ἐπεδείκνυσαν τοῖς τε Ἑλλήσι καὶ τοῖς  
ἐαυτῶν πολεμίοις· καὶ ἅμα ἐχόρευον, νόμῳ τινὶ ἄδοντες. 5  
Οἱ δ' Ἑλληνες μάλα ἤχθοντο, ὅτι τοὺς τε πολεμίους ἐπε-  
ποιήκεσαν θρασυτέρους, καὶ ὅτι οἱ ἐξελθόντες Ἑλληνες σὺν  
αὐτοῖς ἐπεφεύγεσαν, μάλ' ὄντες συχνοί· ὃ οὐκ ἔπαυτο πρόσθεν  
ἐπεποιήκεσαν ἐν τῇ στρατείᾳ. Ξενοφῶν δέ, συγκαλίσας  
τοὺς Ἑλληνας, εἶπεν· “Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, μηδὲν ἄθυ- 10  
μήσητε ἕνεκα τῶν γεγενημένων· ἴστε γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ἀγαθὸν  
οὐ μείον τοῦ κακοῦ γέγνηται. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐπίστασθε,  
ὅτι οἱ μέλλοντες ἡμῖν ἡγήσεσθαι τῷ ὄντι πολέμοι εἰσιν,  
οἷσπερ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀνάγκη· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ  
ἀμελήσαντες τῆς σὺν ἡμῖν τάξεως, καὶ ἱκανοὶ ἡγησάμενοι 15  
εἶναι σὺν τοῖς βαρβάροις ταῦτά πράττειν, ἅπερ σὺν ἡμῖν,  
δικὴν δεδῶκασιν· ὥστε αὐτοῖς ἦττον τῆς ἡμετέρας τάξεως  
ἀπολείπονται. Ἄλλ' ὑμᾶς δεῖ παρασκευάζεσθαι, ὅπως καὶ  
τοῖς φίλοις οὖσι τῶν βαρβάρων δόξετε κρείττους αὐτῶν εἶ-  
ναι, καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις δηλώσετε, ὅτι οὐχ ὁμοίοις ἀνδράσι 20  
μαχοῦνται νῦν τε καὶ ὅτε τοῖς αἰσχροῖς ἐμάχοντο.”

Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν οὕτως ἔμειναν· τῇ δ' ὕστε-  
ρα ἡμέρᾳ θύσαντες, ἐπεὶ ἐκαλλίεργησαν, ἀριστήσαντες, ὀρθίους  
τοὺς λόχους ποιησάμενοι, καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώ-  
ρυμον κατὰ ταῦτα ταξάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο, τοὺς τοξότας με- 25  
ταξὺ τῶν λόχων [ὀρθίῳ ὄντων] ἔχοντες, ὑπολείπομένους δὲ  
μικρὸν τοῦ στόματος τῶν ὀπλιτῶν. Ἦσαν γὰρ τῶν πολε-  
μίων, οἱ εὗζωνοι κατατρέχοντες τοῖς Ἰλίοις ἔβαλλον. Τού-  
τους οὖν ἀνέστελλον οἱ τοξόται καὶ οἱ πελτασταί· οἱ δ' ἄλ-  
λοι βάδην ἐπορεύοντο, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ χωρίον, ἀφ' οὗ τῇ 30  
προτεραίᾳ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐτράπησαν, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς. Ἐν-  
ταῦθα γὰρ οἱ πολέμοι ἦσαν ἀντιτεταγμένοι. Τούτους μὲν οὖν  
πελτασταὶς ἐδέξαντο οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ ἐμάχοντο· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγ-

γὺς ἦσαν οἱ ὀπλῖται, ἐτράποντο. Καὶ οἱ μὲν πελτασταὶ εὐθὺς εἶποντο, διώκοντες ἄνω πρὸς τὴν μητρόπολιν· οἱ δὲ ὀπλῖται ἐν τάξει εἶποντο. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἄνω ἦσαν πρὸς ταῖς τῆς μητροπόλεως οἰκίαις, ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ πολέμιοι ὁμοῦ δὴ πάν-  
 5 τες γενόμενοι ἐμάχοντο, καὶ ἐξηκόντιζον τοῖς παλτοῖς· καὶ ἄλλα δόρατα ἔχοντες παχέα, μακρά, ὅσα ἀνὴρ ἂν φέροι μό-  
 λις, τούτοις ἐπειφῶντο ἀμύνεσθαι ἐκ χειρός.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐχ ὕφειντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλ' ὁμόσπε ἔχώρουν, ἔφυγον οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐντεῦθεν, ἅπαντες λιπόντες τὸ χω-  
 10 ρίον. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν, ὃ ἐν τῷ μούσυνι τῷ ἐπ' ἄκρου ὠκοδομημένῳ, ὃν τρέφουσι πάντες κοινῇ αὐτοῦ μένοντα καὶ φυλάττοντα, οὐκ ἤθελεν ἐξελθεῖν, οὐδὲ οἱ ἐν τῷ πρότερον αἰρεθέντι χωρίῳ· ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ σὺν τοῖς μούσυνοις κατεκαύ-  
 15 θησαν. Οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες, διαρπάζοντες τὸ χωρίον, εὗρισκον θησαυροὺς ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἄρτων νενηγμένων πατρίους πε-  
 ρουσινῶν, ὡς ἔφασαν οἱ Μοσύνοικοι· τὸν δὲ νέον σῖτον σὺν τῇ καλαμῇ ἀποκείμενον· ἦσαν δὲ ζεαὶ αἱ πλεῖσται. Καὶ δελφίνων τεμάχη ἐν ἀμφορεῦσιν εὗρίσκετο τεταριχευμένα,  
 καὶ στέαρ ἐν τεύχεσι τῶν δελφίνων, ᾧ ἐχρῶντο οἱ Μοσύνοι-  
 20 κοί, καθάπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες τῷ ἐλαίῳ. Κάρυα δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνωγαίων ἦν πολλὰ τὰ πλατέα, οὐκ ἔχοντα διαφτην οὐδεμί-  
 αν. Τούτῳ καὶ πλείστῳ σίτῳ ἐχρῶντο ἔφοντες καὶ ἄρτους ὀπιῶντες. Οἶνος δ' εὗρίσκετο, ὃς ἄκρατος μὲν, ὅξυς ἐφαί-  
 νετο εἶναι ὑπὸ τῆς ἀυστηρότητος· κεραιθεῖς δὲ, εὐώδης τε  
 25 καὶ ἡδύς.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες ἀριστήσαντες ἐνταῦθα, ἐπορεύοντο εἰς τὸ πρόσω, παραδόντες τὸ χωρίον τοῖς συμμαχήσασι τῶν Μοσυνοίκων. Ὅποσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα παρήεσαν χωρία τῶν σὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ὄντων, τὰ εὐπροσώματα οἱ μὲν ἔλεπον,  
 30 οἱ δὲ ἐκόντες προσεχώρουν. Τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα τοιαῦδ' ἦν τῶν χωρίων· ἀπειχον αἱ πόλεις ἀπ' ἀλλήλων σταδία ὀγδοήκοντα, αἱ δὲ πλεον, αἱ δὲ μείον· ἀναβοάοντων δὲ ἀλλήλων συνή-  
 κουν εἰς τὴν ἐτέραν ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρας πόλεως. Οὕτως ὑψηλῇ

τε καὶ κοίλῃ ἢ χώρᾳ ἦν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενοι ἐν τοῖς φέ-  
 λοις ἦσαν, ἐπεδείκνυσαν αὐτοῖς παῖδας τῶν εὐδαιμόνων σι-  
 τευτούς, τεθραμμένους καρύοις ἐφ' ὁῖς, ἀπαλοὺς καὶ λευκοὺς  
 σφόδρα, καὶ οὐ πολὺ δέοντας ἴσους τὸ πλάτος καὶ τὸ μῆκος  
 εἶναι· ποικίλους δὲ τὰ νῶτα, καὶ τὰ ἔμπροσθεν πάντα ἐστιγ- 5  
 μένους ἀνθέμιον. Ἐξήτουν δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἑταίραις, αἷς ἦγον  
 οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐμφανῶς συγγίγνεσθαι· νόμος γὰρ ἦν σφίσι  
 οὗτος. Λευκοὶ δὲ πάντες οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες. Τούτους  
 ἔλεγον οἱ στρατευσάμενοι βαρβαρωτάτους διελθεῖν, καὶ  
 πλείστον τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν νόμων κειρωσιμένους. Ἐν τε 10  
 γὰρ ὄχλῳ ὄντες, ἐποίουν, ἅπερ ἂν ἄνθρωποι ἐν ἐρημίᾳ ποιή-  
 σαιαν, ἄλλως δὲ οὐκ ἂν τολμῶεν· μόνοι τε ὄντες ὅμοια  
 ἔπραττον, ἅπερ ἂν μετ' ἄλλων ὄντες· διελέγοντό τε ἑαυτοῖς,  
 καὶ ἐγέλων ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ ὠρχοῦντο ἐφιστάμενοι, ὅπου τύ-  
 χοιεν, ὥς περ ἄλλοις ἐπιδεικνύμενοι. 15

### Κεφάλαιον ε'.

Διὰ ταύτης τῆς χώρας οἱ Ἕλληνες, διὰ τε τῆς πολεμίας  
 καὶ τῆς φιλλας, ἐπορεύθησαν ὁκτὼ σταθμούς· καὶ ἀφι-  
 κνοῦνται εἰς Χάλυβας. Οὗτοι ὀλγοὶ ἦσαν καὶ ὑπήκοοι  
 τῶν Μοσυνοίκων· καὶ ὁ βίος ἦν τοῖς πλείστοις αὐτῶν ἀπὸ  
 σιδηρείας. Ἐντεῦθεν ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς Τιβαρηνοὺς. Ἡ δὲ 20  
 τῶν Τιβαρηνῶν χώρα πολὺ ἦν πεδινωτέρα, καὶ χωρία εἶχεν  
 ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ ἥτιον ἐρυμνά. Καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐξεῆζον πρὸς  
 τὰ χωρία πρὸςβάλλειν, καὶ τὴν στρατιάν ὀνηθῆναι τι· καὶ  
 τὰ ξένια, ἃ ἦκε παρὰ τῶν Τιβαρηνῶν, οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, ἀλλ'  
 ἐπιμεῖναι κελεύσαντες, ἕστε βουλευσάντο, ἐθύοντο. Καὶ 25  
 πολλὰ καταθυσάντων, τέλος ἀπεδείξαντο οἱ μάντιες πάντες  
 γνώμην, ὅτι σὺδαμῇ προσίεντο οἱ θεοὶ τὸν πόλεμον. Ἐν-  
 τεῦθεν δὴ τὰ ξένια ἐδέξαντο, καὶ ὥς διὰ φιλλας πορευόμενοι

δύο ἡμέρας, ἀφίκοντο εἰς Κοτύωρα, πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα, Σινωπέων ἀποίκους, οἰκοῦντας ἐν τῇ Τιβαρητῶν χώρῃ.

Μέχρις ἐνταῦθα ἐπέzeugεν ἡ στρατιά. Πλήθος τῆς καταβάσεως τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι μάχης ἄχρι εἰς 5 Κοτύωρα, σταθμοὶ ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι δύο, παρασάγγαι ἑξακόσιοι εἴκοσι, στάδιοι μύριοι καὶ ὀκτακισχίλιοι καὶ ἑξακόσιοι· χρόνου πλήθος, ὀκτὼ μῆνες. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τετταράκοντα καὶ πέντε. Ἐν δὲ ταύταις πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς ἔθυσαν, καὶ πομπὰς ἐποίησαν κατὰ ἔθνος ἕκαστος τῶν 10 Ἑλλήνων, καὶ ἄγῳνας γυμνικούς. Τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια ἐλάμβανον, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Παφλαγονίας, τὰ δ' ἐκ τῶν χωρίων τῶν Κοτυωριτῶν· οὐ γὰρ παρῆχον ἀγοράν, οὐδ' εἰς τὸ εἶχος τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας ἐδέχοντο.

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἔρχονται ἐκ Σινώπης πρέσβεις, φοβούμενοι 15 περὶ τῶν Κοτυωριτῶν τῆς τε πόλεως (ἦν γὰρ ἐκείνων, καὶ φόρους ἐκείνοις ἔφερον), καὶ περὶ τῆς χώρας, ὅτι ἤκουον θηρομένην· καὶ ἐλθόντες ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἔλεγον· προηγόρει δὲ Ἐκατάνυμος, δεινὸς νομιζόμενος εἶναι λέγειν·  
 “Ἐπεμψεν ἡμᾶς, ὡς ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, ἡ τῶν Σινωπέων 20 πόλις, ἐπαινεσόντάς τε ὑμᾶς, ὅτι ἐνικάτε Ἕλληνες ὄντες βαρβάρους, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ συνησθησομένους, ὅτι διὰ πολλῶν τε καὶ δεινῶν, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἀκούομεν, πραγμάτων σευσσμένοι πάρεστε. Ἀξιούμεν δέ, Ἕλληνες ὄντες καὶ αὐτοί, ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὄντων Ἑλλήνων ἀγαθὸν μὲν τι πάσχειν, κακὸν δὲ μηδέν· οὐδὲ 25 γὰρ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν πώποτε ὑπῆρξαμεν κακῶς ποιούντες. Κοτυωρῖται δὲ οὗτοι εἰσὶ μὲν ἡμέτεροι ἄποικοι· καὶ τὴν χώραν ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς ταύτην παραδεδώκαμεν, βαρβάρους ἀφελόμενοι· διὸ καὶ δασμὸν ἡμῖν φέρουσιν οὗτοι τεταγμένοι, καὶ Κερασούντιοι καὶ Τραπεζούντιοι ὡσαύτως· ὥςθ' ὅτι ἂν 30 τούτους κακῶν ποιήσητε, ἡ Σινωπέων πόλις νομίζει πάσχειν. Νῦν δὲ ἀκούομεν, ὑμᾶς εἰς τε τὴν πόλιν βίᾳ παρεληλυθότας, ἐνίοις σκηνοῦν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις, καὶ ἐκ τῶν χωρίων [βίᾳ] λαμβάνειν, ὧν ἂν δέησθε, οὐ πείθοντας. Ταῦτ' οὖν

οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν· εἰ δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσετε, ἀνάγκη ἡμῖν, καὶ Κορύλαν καὶ Παφλαγόνας, καὶ ἄλλον, ὄντινα ἂν δυνάμεθα, φίλον ποιῆσθαι."

Πρὸς ταῦτα ἀναστὰς Ξενοφῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἶπεν· "Ἡμεῖς δέ, ὦ ἀνδρες Σινωπεῖς, ἤκομεν ἀγαπῶντες, ὅτι τὰ σώματα διεσώσάμεθα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα· οὐ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἦν δυνατόν, ἅμα τε χρήματα ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν, καὶ τοῖς πολέμοις μάχεσθαι. Καὶ νῦν, ἐπειδὴ εἰς τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ἤλθομεν, ἐν Τραπεζοῦντι μὲν, παρῆχον γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀγοράν, ὠνούμενοι ἔχομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ ἀνθ' ὧν ἐτίμησαν ἡμᾶς, καὶ ξένια ἔδωκαν τῇ στρατιᾷ, ἀντετιμῶμεν αὐτούς· καὶ μὴ εἴ τις αὐτοῖς φίλος ἦν τῶν βαρβάρων, τούτων ἀπειχόμεθα· τοὺς δὲ πολέμιους αὐτῶν, ἐφ' οὓς αὐτοὶ ἠγοῶντο, κακὸν ἐποιοῦμεν, ὅσον ἐδυνάμεθα. Ἐρωτᾷτε δὲ αὐτούς, ὅπολων τιῶν ἡμῶν ἔτυχον· πάρεσαι γὰρ ἐνθάδε, οὓς ἡμῖν ἡγεμόνας διὰ φίλιαν ἢ πόλιν συνέπεμψεν. Ὅποι δ' ἂν ἐλθούτες ἀγοράν μὴ ἔχωμεν, ἂν τε εἰς βύρβαρον γῆν, ἂν τε εἰς Ἑλληνίδα, οὐχ ὕβρει ἄλλ' ἀνάγκη λυμβάνομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Καὶ Καρδούχους καὶ Χαλδαίους καὶ Τασόχους, καίπερ βασιλείας οὐχ ὑπηκόους ὄντας, ὅμως καὶ μάλα φοβερούς ὄντας πολέμιους ἐκτησάμεθα, διὰ τὸ ἀνάγκην εἶναι λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἐπεὶ ἀγοράν οὐ παρῆχον. Μάκρωνας δὲ, καίπερ βαρβάρους ὄντας, ἐπεὶ ἀγοράν, οἷαν ἐδύναντο, παρῆχον, φίλους τε ἐνομιζόμεν εἶναι, καὶ βίᾳ οὐδὲν ἐλαμβάνομεν τῶν ἐκείνων. Κοτυωρίτας δὲ, οὓς ὑμετέροισι φατέ εἶναι, εἴ τι αὐτῶν εἰλήφαμεν, αὐτοὶ αἴτιοι εἰσὶν· οὐ γὰρ ὥς φίλοι προσεφέροντο ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ κλείσαντες τὰς πύλας, οὔτ' εἰσὼ ἐδέχοντο, οὔτ' ἔξω ἀγοράν ἔπεμπον· ἥτις ἡμῶν παρ' ὧν ἀρμολογίαν τούτων αἴτιον εἶναι. Ὁ δὲ λέγεις, βίᾳ παρελθόντας σκηνοῦν, ἡμεῖς ἤξιοῦμεν τοὺς κάμνοντας εἰς τὰς στέγας διέξασθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀνέφγον τὰς πύλας, ἢ ἡμᾶς ἐδέχετο αὐτὸ τὸ χωρίον, ταῦτη εἰσελθόντες, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν βίαιον ἐποιήσαμεν· σκηνοῦσι δ' ἐν ταῖς

στάγαις οἱ κάμνοντες, τὰ βαρυτῶν θάπανῶντες· καὶ τὰς πύ-  
 λας φρουροῦμεν, ὅπως μὴ ἐπὶ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἄρμωσθῃ ὥσιν οἱ  
 κάμνοντες ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἢ κορίσασθαι, ὅταν βουλώ-  
 μεθα. Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι, ὡς ἑρᾶτε, σκηνοῦμεν ὑπαίθριοι ἐν τῇ  
 \* τάξει, παρεσκευασμένοι, ἂν μὲν τις εὖ ποιῇ, ἀντενποιεῖν· ἂν  
 δὲ κακῶς, ἀλέξασθαι. Ἄ δὲ ὑπέλησας, ὡς, ἣν ὑμῖν δοκῇ,  
 Κορύταν καὶ Παφλαγόνας συμμάχους ποιήσεσθε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς·  
 ἡμεῖς δέ, ἣν μὲν ἀνάγκη ἢ, πολεμήσομεν καὶ ἀμφοτέροις·  
 ἥδη γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοις πολλαπλασίους ὑμῶν ἐπολεμήσαμεν· ἂν  
 10 δὲ δοκῇ ἡμῖν, καὶ τὸν Παφλαγὸνα ποισύμεθα φίλον. Ἀκού-  
 ομεν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπιθυμεῖν τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως, καὶ χου-  
 ρίων τῶν ἐπιθαλαττίων. Πειρασόμεθα οὖν, συμπράττον-  
 τες αὐτῷ, ὡν ἐπιθυμεῖ, φίλοι γίγνεσθαι."

Ἐκ τούτου μάλα μὲν δῆλοι ἦσαν οἱ συμπρέσβεις τῷ Ἑκα-  
 15 τώνυμῳ χαλεπαίνοντες τοῖς εἰρημίοις. Περσελιδὸν δ' αὐ-  
 τῶν ἄλλος, εἶπεν, "ὅτι οὐ πόλεμον ποιησόμενοι ἦκοιεν, ἀλλ'  
 ἐπιδείζοντες, ὅτι φίλοι εἰσὶ. Καὶ ξενίοις, ἣν μὲν ἔλθῃτε πρὸς  
 τὴν Σινωπέων πόλιν, ἐκεῖ δεζόμεθα· νῦν δὲ τοὺς ἐνθάδε  
 κελεύσομεν διδόναι, ἃ δύνανται· ὁρᾶμεν γὰρ πάντες ἀληθῆ  
 20 ὄντα, ἃ λέγετε." Ἐκ τούτου ξενία τε ἐπεμπον οἱ Κοτύωρε-  
 ται, καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξένιζον τοὺς τῶν Σινω-  
 πέων πρέσβεις· καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους πολλὰ τε καὶ ἐπιστήδεις  
 διελέγοντο, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς πορείας ἐπον-  
 θάνοντο, καὶ ὧν ἑκάτεροι ἐδέοντο.

### Κεφάλαιον 5'.

25 Ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο. Τῇ  
 δ' ὑστεραίᾳ συνέλεξαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ  
 ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς πορείας, παρακαλέσαντας  
 τοὺς Σινωπέας, βουλεύεσθαι. ἔλτε γὰρ περὶ δέοι πορευ-  
 θήναι.

εσθαι, χρησιμοι ἂν ἐδόκουν εἶναι οἱ Σινωπεῖς ἡχοῦμενοι· ἔμπειροι γὰρ ἦσαν τῆς Παφλαγονίας· εἴτε κατὰ Θάλατταν, προσθεῖν ἐδόκει Σινωπέων· μόνοι γὰρ ἂν ἐδόκουν ἱκανοὶ εἶναι πλοῖα παρασχεῖν ἀρκοῦντα τῇ στρατιᾷ. Καλέσαντες οὖν τοὺς πρέσβεις συνεβουλευόντο, καὶ ἤξιον, Ἑλλήνας ὄν- 5 τας Ἑλλῆσι τούτῳ πρῶτον καλῶς δέχεσθαι, τῷ εὐνους τε εἶναι καὶ τὰ βέλτιστα συμβουλευεῖν.

Ἀναστάς δὲ Ἑκατάνυμος, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπελογήσατο, περὶ οὗ εἶπεν, ὡς τὸν Παφλαγόνα φίλον ποιήσονται, ὅτι οὐχ ὡς τοῖς Ἑλλῆσι πολεμησόντων σφῶν εἴποι, ἀλλ' ὅτι, ἐξόν τοῖς 10 βαρβάροις φίλους εἶναι, τοὺς Ἑλλήνας αἰρήσονται. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συμβουλευεῖν ἐκέλευον, ἐπευξάμενος ὥδε εἶπεν· “Εἰ μὲν συμβουλεύοιμι, ἃ βέλτιστά μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, πολλὰ μοι κἀγαθὰ γένοιτο· εἰ δὲ μή, τάναντία· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ ἱερὰ συμβουλὴ λεγομένη εἶναι δοκεῖ μοι παρεῖναι· νῦν γὰρ δὴ, 15 ἂν μὲν εὖ συμβουλεύσας φανῶ, πολλοὶ ἔσσεσθε οἱ ἐπαινοῦν- τές με· ἂν δὲ κακῶς, πολλοὶ ἔσσεσθε οἱ καταρώμενοι. Πράγματα μὲν οὖν οἶδ' ὅτι πολὺ πλείω ἔσομεν, ἐὰν κατὰ Θάλατταν κομίζησθε· ἡμᾶς γὰρ δεήσει τὰ πλοῖα πορρίζειν· ἣν δὲ κατὰ γῆς στείλλησθε, ὑμᾶς δεήσει τοὺς μαχομένους εἰ- 20 ναι. Ὅμως δὲ λεκτέα, ἃ γινώσκω· ἔμπειρος γὰρ εἰμι καὶ τῆς χώρας τῶν Παφλαγόνων, καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως· ἔχει γὰρ ἡ χώρα ἀμφοτέρω, καὶ πεδία κάλλιστα καὶ ὄρη ὑψηλότατα. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν οἶδα εὐθύς, ἥ τὴν εἰσβολὴν ἀνάγκη ποιεῖ- σθαι· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἄλλη, ἢ ἥ τὰ κέρατα τοῦ ὄρους τῆς 25 ὁδοῦ καθ' ἑκάτερά ἐστιν ὑψηλά· ἃ κρατεῖν κατέχοντες καὶ πάνν ὀλίγοι δύναιντ' ἂν· τούτων δὲ κατεχομένων, οὐδ' ἂν οἱ πάντες ἀνθρωποι δύναιτο διελθεῖν. Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ δεί- ξαιμι ἂν, εἴ μοι τινα βούλοισθε συμπέμψαι. Ἐπειτα δὲ οἶδα καὶ πεδία ὄντα καὶ ἱππεῖαν, ἣν αὐτοὶ οἱ βάρβαροι νο- 30 μίζουσι κρεῖττω εἶναι ἀπάσης τῆς βασιλείως ἱππείας. Καὶ νῦν οὗτοι οὐ παρεγίνοντο βασιλεῖ καλοῦντι· ἀλλὰ [καὶ] μείζον φρονεῖ ὁ ἄρχων αὐτῶν. Ἦν δὲ καὶ δυνηθῆτε τὰ τε

ὄρη κλέψαι, ἣ φθάσαι λαβόντες, καὶ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κρατῆτε  
 μαχόμενοι τοὺς τε ἱππέας τούτων καὶ πεζῶν μυριάδας πλείον  
 ἢ δώδεκα, ἧξετε ἐπὶ ποταμούς, πρῶτον μὲν τὸν Θερμαῖοντα,  
 εὐρος τριῶν πλέθρων, ὃν χαλεπὸν οἶμαι διαβαίνειν, ἄλλως  
 5 τε καὶ πολεμίων πολλῶν μὲν ἔμπροσθεν ὄντων, πολλῶν δὲ  
 ὀπίσθεν ἐπομένων· δεύτερον δ' Ἴριν, τρίπλεθρον ὡς αὐτως·  
 τρίτον δ' Ἄλυν, οὐ μείον δυοῖν σταδίων, ὃν οὐκ ἂν δύνα-  
 σθε ἄνευ πλοίων διαβῆναι· πλοῖα δὲ τίς ἔσται ὁ παρέχων;  
 ὡς δ' αὐτως καὶ ὁ Παρθένιος ἄβατος· ἐφ' ὃν ἔλθοιτε ἂν, εἰ  
 10 τὸν Ἄλυν τοῦτον διαβαίητε. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐ χαλεπὴν ὑμῖν  
 εἶναι νομίζω τὴν πορείαν, ἀλλὰ παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον. Ἄν  
 δὲ πλείητε, ἔστιν ἐνθὲνδε μὲν εἰς Σινώπην παραπλεῦσαι, ἐκ  
 Σινώπης δὲ εἰς Ἡράκλειαν· ἐξ Ἡρακλείας δὲ οὔτε πεζῇ,  
 οὔτε κατὰ θάλατταν ἀπορία· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ πλοῖα ἔστιν  
 15 ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεξεν, οἱ μὲν ὑπώπτευσον, φίλλας ἔνεκα τῆς  
 Κορύλλας λέγειν· καὶ γὰρ ἦν πρόξενος αὐτῷ· οἱ δὲ καὶ ὡς  
 δῶρα ληψόμενον διὰ τὴν συμβουλὴν ταύτην· οἱ δ' ὑπώ-  
 πτευσον καὶ τούτου ἔνεκα λέγειν, ὡς μὴ πεζῇ ἰόντες τὴν Σι-  
 20 νωπίων χώραν κακὸν τι ἐργάζοιντο. Οἱ δ' οὖν Ἕλληνες  
 ἐψηφίσαντο, κατὰ θάλατταν τὴν πορείαν ποιῆσθαι. Μετὰ  
 ταῦτα Ξενοφὼν εἶπεν· “ὦ Σινωπεῖς, οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες ἤρην-  
 ται πορείαν, ἣν ὑμεῖς συμβουλευέτε· οὕτω δ' ἔχει· εἰ μὲν  
 μέλλει πλοῖα ἕσεσθαι ἱκανὰ ἀριθμῶ, ὡς ἔνα μὴ καταπύ-  
 25 πσεσθαι ἐνθάδε, ἡμεῖς δὴ πλείοιμεν ἂν· εἰ δὲ μέλλοιμεν οἱ  
 μὲν καταλείψεσθαι, οἱ δὲ πλεύσεσθαι, οὐκ ἂν ἐμβαίημεν  
 εἰς τὰ πλοῖα. Γινώσκωμεν γάρ, ὅτι, ὅπου μὲν ἂν κρατῶ-  
 μεν, δυναίμεθ' ἂν καὶ σώζεσθαι, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχειν· εἰ  
 δὲ πού ἦττους τῶν πολεμίων ληφθῆσόμεθα, εὐδην δὴ, ὅτι  
 30 ἐν ἀνδραπόδων χώρᾳ ἰσόμεθα.” Ἀκούσαντες τοῦτο οἱ  
 πρίσβεις, πέμπουν ἐκέλευον πρίσβεις. Καὶ πέμπουσι Καλ-  
 λίμαχον Ἀρκάδα, καὶ Ἀρίστωνα Ἀθηναῖον, καὶ Σαμολᾶν  
 Ἀχαιόν· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔχοντο.

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ Ξενοφῶντι, ὁρῶντι μὲν πολλοὺς  
 ἐπλίτας τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὁρῶντι δὲ πολλοὺς πελταστὰς, πολ-  
 λούς δὲ καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας, καὶ ἱππίας δέ, καὶ  
 μάλα ἤδη διὰ τὴν τριβὴν ἱκανούς, ὄντας δ' ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ ἔν-  
 θα οὐκ ἂν ἂπ' ὀλίγων χρημάτων τοσαύτη δύναμις παρε- 6  
 σκευάσθῃ, καλὸν αὐτῷ ἰδοῦκε εἶναι καὶ χώραν καὶ δύνα-  
 μιν τῇ Ἑλλάδι προσκτήσασθαι, πόλιν κατοικίσαντας. Καὶ  
 γείεσθαι ἂν ἰδοῦκε αὐτῷ μεγάλη, καταλογιζομένη τό τε  
 αὐτῶν πλῆθος, καὶ τοὺς περιοικεῦντας τὸν Πόντον. Καὶ  
 ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐθύετο, πρὶν τινι εἰπεῖν τῶν στρατιωτῶν, 10  
 Σιλανὸν παρακαλέσας, τὸν Κύρου μάντιν γενόμενον, τὸν  
 Ἀμβρακιώτην. Ὁ δὲ Σιλανός, δεδιὼς μὴ γένοιτο ταῦτα,  
 καὶ καταμείνει πού ἡ στρατιὰ, ἐκφέρει εἰς τὸ στρατεύμα  
 λόγον, ὅτι Ξενοφῶν βούλεται καταμεῖναι τὴν στρατιάν, καὶ  
 πόλιν οἰκίσαι, καὶ ἱαντῷ ὄνομα καὶ δύναμιν περιποιήσα- 15  
 σθαι. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Σιλανὸς ἐβούλετο ὅτι τάχιστα εἰς τὴν  
 Ἑλλάδα ἀφικέσθαι· οὗς γὰρ παρὰ Κύρου ἔλαβε τριςχιλίους  
 θαραϊκούς, ὅτε τὰς δέκα ἡμέρας ἡγήθευσε θυόμενος Κύρου,  
 διαισεώκει. Τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν, τοῖς μὲν ἰδό-  
 κει βέλτιστον εἶναι καταμεῖναι, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς οὐ. Τιμα- 20  
 σίων δὲ ὁ Λαρδανεύς, καὶ Θώραξ ὁ Βοιωτίας, πρὸς ἐμπό-  
 ρους τινας παρόντας τῶν Ἡρακλειωτῶν καὶ Σινωπέων λίγουσιν,  
 “ ὅτι, εἰ μὴ ἐκποριοῦσι τῇ στρατιᾷ μισθόν, ὥστε ἔχειν τὰ ἐπι-  
 τήδεια ἐκπλέοντας, ὅτι κινδυνεύσει μείναι τοσαύτη δύναμις ἐν  
 τῷ Πόντῳ· βουλευέται γὰρ Ξενοφῶν, καὶ ἡμᾶς παρακαλεῖ, 25  
 ἐπειδὴν ἔλθῃ τὰ πλοῖα, τότε” εἰπεῖν ἐξαίφνης τῇ στρατιᾷ. “ Ἄν-  
 δρες, γυν μὲν ὁρῶμεν ἡμᾶς ἀπόρους ὄντας, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀπό-  
 πλῳ ἔχειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ οἰκαδε ἀπελθόντας ὀνῆσαι τε  
 τοὺς οἴκοι. Εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε τῆς κύκλῳ χώρας περὶ τὸν  
 Πόντον οἰκουμένης ἐκλεξάμενοι, ὅπη ἂν βούλησθε, κατα- 30  
 σχεῖν, καὶ τὸν μὲν θείοντα, ἀπιέναι οἰκαδε, τὸν δὲ ἐθείοντα,  
 μένειν αὐτοῦ, πλοῖα δὲ ἡμῖν πάρεστιν, ὥστε, ὅπη ἂν βούλη-  
 σθε, ἐξαίφνης ἂν ἐπιπέσοιτε.”

Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ ἔμποροι ἀπήγγελλον ταῖς πόλεσι· συνέπεμψε δ' αὐτοῖς Τιμασίων ὁ Λαρδανεύς Ἐρύμαχόν τε τὸν Λαρδανέα, καὶ Θώρακα τὸν Βοιώτιον, τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐροῦντας. Σινωπεῖς δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλεῶται ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες  
 5 πέμπουσι πρὸς Τιμασίωνα, καὶ κελεύουσι προστατεῦσαι, λαβόντα χρήματα, ὅπως ἐκπλεύσῃ ἡ στρατιά. Ὁ δέ, ἄσμενος ἀκούσας, ἐν συλλόγῳ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὄντων, λέγει τάδε·  
 “Οὐ δεῖ προσέχειν μονῇ, ὧς ἄνδρες, οὐδὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐδὲν περὶ πλείωνος ποιῆσθαι. Ἀκούω δὲ τινος θύεσθαι ἐπὶ  
 10 τούτῳ, οὐδ' ὑμῖν λέγοντας. Ἵπισχνοῦμαι δὲ ὑμῖν, ἐὰν ἐκπλήτετε, ἀπὸ νομηνίας μισθοφορὰν παρέξειν ὑμῖν Κυζικηνὸν ἐκάστω τοῦ μηνός· καὶ ἄξω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Τρωάδα, ἔνθεν καὶ εἰμὶ φυγὰς· καὶ ὑπάρξει ὑμῖν ἡ ἐμὴ πόλις· ἐκόντες γάρ με δέξονται. Ἠγήσομαι δὲ αὐτὸς ἐγώ, ἔνθεν πολλὰ  
 15 χρήματα λήψεσθε. Ἐμπειρος δὲ εἰμι τῆς Αἰολίδος καὶ τῆς Φρυγίας καὶ τῆς Τρωάδος καὶ τῆς Φαρναβάζου ἀρχῆς πάσης· τῆς μὲν, διὰ τὸ ἐκεῖθεν εἶναι, τῆς δέ, διὰ τὸ συνεστρατεῦσθαι ἐν αὐτῇ σὺν Κλεάρχῳ τε καὶ Δερκυλλίδῃ.”

Ἀναστάς δ' εὐθὺς Θώραξ ὁ Βοιώτιος, ὃς αἰεὶ περὶ στρα-  
 20 τηγίας Ξενοφῶντι ἐμάχετο, ἔφη, εἰ ἐξέλθοιεν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου, ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖς Χερσρόνησον, χώραν καλὴν καὶ εὐδαίμονα, ὥστε, τῷ βουλομένῳ, ἐνοικεῖν, τῷ δὲ μὴ βουλομένῳ, ἀπιέναι οἴκαδε· γελοῖον δ' εἶναι, ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι οὔσης χώρας πολλῆς καὶ ἀφθόνου, ἐν τῇ βαρβάρων μαστεύειν. “Ἔστε δ' ἄν,”  
 25 ἔφη, “ἐκεῖ γένησθε, καὶ γὰρ, καθάπερ Τιμασίων, ὑπισχνοῦμαι ὑμῖν τὴν μισθοφορὰν.” Ταῦτα δ' ἔλεγεν, εἰδώς, ἃ Τιμασίωνα οἱ Ἡρακλεῶται καὶ οἱ Σινωπεῖς ἐπαγγέλοιτο, ὥστε ἐκπλεῖν. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἐν τούτῳ εἰσὶν. Ἀναστάς δὲ Φιλῆσιος καὶ Λύκων, οἱ Ἀχαιοί, ἔλεγον, ὥς δεινὸν εἶη, ἰδίᾳ  
 30 μὲν Ξενοφῶντα πείθειν τε καταμένειν, καὶ θύεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς μονῆς, μὴ κοινοῦμενον τῇ στρατιᾷ· εἰς δὲ τὸ κοινὸν μηδὲν ἀγορεύειν περὶ τούτων· ὥστε ἠναγκάσθη ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἀναστῆναι καὶ εἰπεῖν τάδε·

“Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες, θύομαι μὲν, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, ὅποσα δύνα-  
 μαι, καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ ἔμμεντοῦ, ὅπως ταῦτα τυγχάνω  
 καὶ λέγων καὶ νοῶν καὶ πράττων, ὅποια μέλλει ὑμῖν τε κάλ-  
 λιστα καὶ ἄριστα ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἐμοί. Καὶ νῦν ἐθνύομην περὶ  
 αὐτοῦ τούτου, εἰ ἄμεινον εἴη ἄρχεσθαι λέγειν εἰς ὑμᾶς καὶ  
 πράττειν περὶ τούτων, ἢ παντάπασιν μὴδ’ ἄπεισθαι τοῦ  
 πράγματος. Σιλανὸς δὲ μοι ὁ μάντις ἀπεκρίνατο, τὸ μὲν  
 μέγιστον, τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ εἶναι· ἦδαι γὰρ καὶ ἐμὶ οὐκ ἄπειρον  
 ὄντα, διὰ τὸ αἰεὶ παρῆναι τοῖς ἱεροῖς· ἔλεξε δέ, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ἱε-  
 ροῖς φαίνοτο τις δόλος καὶ ἐπιβουλὴ ἐμοί, ὡς ἄρα γιγνώσκων,  
 ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐπεβούλευε διαβαλλεῖν με πρὸς ὑμᾶς. Ἐξήνεγκε  
 γὰρ τὸν λόγον, ὡς ἐγὼ πράττειν ταῦτα διανοοίμην ἤδη, οὐ  
 πίστεας ὑμᾶς. Ἐγὼ δέ, εἰ μὲν ἀποροῦντας ὑμᾶς ἐώρων,  
 τοῦτ’ ἂν ἐσκόπουν, ἀφ’ οὗ ἂν γένοιτο, ὥστε λαβόντας ὑμᾶς  
 πόλιν, τὸν μὲν βουλόμενον, ἀποπλεῖν ἤδη, τὸν δὲ μὴ βου-  
 λόμενον, ἐπεὶ κτήσαιοτο ἱκανά, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ οἰκείους  
 ἀφελῆσαι τι. Ἐπεὶ δ’ ὁρῶ ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ πλοῖα πέμποντας  
 Ἡρακλεώτας καὶ Σινωπεῖς, ὥστε ἐκπλεῖν, καὶ μισθὸν ὑπι-  
 σχνουμένους ὑμῖν ἄνδρας ἀπὸ νουμηνίας, καλὸν μοι δοκεῖ  
 εἶναι, σωζομένους, ἔνθα βουλόμεθα, μισθὸν τῆς σωτηρίας  
 λαμβάνειν· καὶ αὐτὸς τε ἀναπαύομαι ἐκείνης τῆς διανοίας,  
 καὶ ὅποσοι πρὸς με προσήεσαν, λέγοντες, ὡς χρὴ ταῦτα  
 πράττειν, ἀναπαύσασθαι φημι χρῆναι. Οὕτω γὰρ γιγνώ-  
 σκω· ὁμοῦ μὲν ὄντες πολλοί, ὥσπερ νυνί, δοκεῖτε ἂν μοι  
 καὶ ἔντιμοι εἶναι, καὶ ἔχειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ἐν γὰρ τῷ κρατεῖν  
 ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ λαμβάνειν τὰ τῶν ἡτιόνων· διασπασθέντες δέ,  
 καὶ κατὰ μικρὰ γενομένης τῆς δυνάμεως, οὗτ’ ἂν τροφὴν δύ-  
 ναισθε λαμβάνειν, οὔτε χαίροντες ἂν ἀπαλλάξαίτε. Δοκεῖ  
 οὖν μοι, ἅπερ ὑμῖν, ἐκπορεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα· καὶ ἂν  
 τις μείη, ἢ ἀπολιπὼν τινα ληφθῇ, πρὶν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ εἶναι  
 πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα, κρίνεσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς ἀδικοῦντα. Καὶ  
 ὅτῳ δοκεῖ,” ἔφη, “ταῦτα, ἀράτω τὴν χεῖρα.” Ἀνέτειναν  
 ἅπαντες.

Ὁ δὲ Σιλανὸς ἐβύα, καὶ ἐπεχείρει λέγειν, ὥς δίκαιον εἶη ἀπιέναι τὸν βουλόμενον. Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οὐκ ἠνείχοντο, ἀλλ' ἠπειλουν αὐτῷ, εἰ λήψονται ἀποδιδράσκοντα, ὅτι τὴν δίκην ἐπιθήσοιεν. Ἐντεῦθεν, ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσαν οἱ Ἰπρακλεῶται, 5 ὅτι ἐκπλεῖν δεδογμένον εἶη, καὶ Ξενοφῶν αὐτὸς ἐπεψηφικῶς εἶη, τὰ μὲν πλοῖα πέμπουσι, τὰ δὲ χρήματα, ἃ ὑπέυχοντο Τιμασίῳ καὶ Θώρακι, ἐψευσμένοι ἦσαν τῆς μισθοφορᾶς. Ἐνταῦθα ἐκπεπληγμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἐθεδίσσαν τὴν στρατιάν, οἱ τὴν μισθοφορὰν ὑπεσχημένοι. Παραλαβόντες οὖν οὗ- 10 τοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγούς, οἷς ἀνεκεκόλωντο, ἃ πρό- σθεν ἔπραττον, (ἅπαντες δ' ἦσαν, πλὴν Νέωνος τοῦ Ἀσιναίου, ὃς Χειρισόφῳ ὑπεστρατήγει· Χειρίσοφος δὲ οὐπω παρῆν) ἔρχονται πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα, καὶ λέγουσιν, ὅτι μεταμῆλοι αὐτοῖς, καὶ δοκολή κράτιστον εἶναι πλεῖν εἰς Φᾶσιν, 15 ἐπεὶ πλοῖα [ἐκεῖ] ἐστι, καὶ κατασχεῖν τὴν Φασιανῶν χώραν. Αἰήτου δ' υἱοῦς ἐτύγγανε βασιλεύων αὐτῶν. Ξενοφῶν δ' ἀπεκρίνατο, “ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν τούτων εἴποι εἰς τὴν στρατιάν· ἡμεῖς δὲ συλλέξαντες,” ἔφη, “εἰ βούλεσθε, λέγετε.” Ἐνταῦθα ἀποθείκνυνται Τιμασίῳ ὁ Λαρδανεύς γνώμην, μὴ 20 ἐκκλησιάζειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ἑαυτον λοχαγούς πρῶτους πεираσθαι πείθειν. Καὶ ἀπειθόντες ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν.

### Κεφάλαιον ζ'.

Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἀνεπύθοντο ταῦτα πραττόμενα. Καὶ ὁ Νέων λέγει, ὥς Ξενοφῶν, ἀναπεπεικῶς τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγούς, διανοεῖται ἄγειν ἑξαπατήσας τοὺς στρατιώτας πάλιν 25 εἰς Φᾶσιν. Ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται χαλεπῶς ἔφερον· καὶ σύλλογοι ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ κύκλοι συνίσταντο· καὶ μάλα φοβεροὶ ἦσαν, μὴ ποιήσειαν, οἷα καὶ τοὺς τῶν Κόλχων κήρυκας ἐποίησαν, καὶ τοὺς ἀγορανόμους· ὅσοι γὰρ μὴ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν κατέφυγον, κατελείσθησαν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ᾤσθη

νετο ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ὡς τάχιστα συναγαγεῖν αὐτῶν ἄγοράν, καὶ μὴ εἶσαι συλλεγῆναι αὐτομάτους· καὶ ἐπέλευσε τὸν κήρυκα συλλέξαι ἄγοράν. Οἱ δ', ἐπεὶ τοῦ κήρυκος ἤκουσαν, συνέδραμον καὶ μάλα ἐτοίμως. Ἐνταῦθα Ξενοφῶν τῶν μὲν στρατηγῶν σὺ κατηγόρει, ὅτι ἤλθον πρὸς αὐτόν, λέγει δὲ ὧδε·

“Ἀκούω τινὰ διαβάλλειν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐμέ, ὡς ἐγὼ ἄρα ἐξαπατήσας ὑμᾶς μέλλω ἄγειν εἰς Φᾶσιν. Ἀκούσατε οὖν μου, πρὸς θεῶν· καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἐγὼ φαίνομαι ἀδικῶν, οὐ χρὴ με ἐνθένδε ἀπελθεῖν, πρὶν ἂν δῶ [τὴν] δίκην· ἂν δ' ὑμῖν φαίνωνται ἀδικοῦντες οἱ ἐμὲ διαβάλλοντες, οὕτως αὐτοῖς χρῆσθε, ὥσπερ ἄξιον. Ἔμεῖς δὲ ἐπίστασθε δήπου, ὁπόθεν ὁ ἥλιος ἀνίσχει, καὶ ὅποι δύεται· καὶ ὅτι, ἐὰν μὲν τις εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα μέλλῃ ἵεναι, πρὸς ἐσπέραν δεῖ πορεύεσθαι· ἐὰν δὲ τις βούληται εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους, τοῦμπαλιν ἰς πρὸς ἔω. Ἔστιν οὖν, ὅστις τοῦτο δύναιτ' ἂν ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατήσας, ὡς ὁ ἥλιος, ἐνθεν μὲν ἀνίσχει, δύεται δ' ἐνταῦθα· ἐνθεν δὲ δύεται, ἀνίσχει δ' ἐντεῦθεν; Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοῦτό γε ἐπίστασθε, ὅτι ὁ Βορέας μὲν ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φέρει, Νότος δὲ εἴσω εἰς Φᾶσιν· καὶ λέγετε, ὅταν ὁ Βορρᾶς πνέῃ, ὡς καλοὶ πλοῖ εἰσιν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Τοῦτο οὖν ἔστιν ὅπως τις ἂν ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατήσας, ὥστ' ἐμβαίνειν, ὁπόταν Νότος πνέῃ; Ἀλλὰ γὰρ [ὑμᾶς], ὁπόταν γαλήνῃ ἦ, ἐμβιβῶ. Οὐκοῦν ἐγὼ μὲν ἐν ἐνὶ πλοίῳ πλεουσοῦμαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ τουλάχιστον ἐν ἑκατόν. Πῶς ἂν οὖν ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ ἢ βιασαίμην σὺν ἐμοὶ πλεῖν, μὴ βουλομένους, ἢ ἐξαπατήσας ἄγοιμι; Ποιῶ δ' ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατηθέντας καὶ καταγοητευθέντας ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἦκειν εἰς Φᾶσιν· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀποβαίνομεν εἰς τὴν χώραν· γνῶσεσθε δήπου, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐστί· καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν ἔσομαι ὁ ἐξηπατηκῶς εἰς [ὑμᾶς], ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ ἐξηπατμένοι ἐγγὺς μυρίων, ἔχοντες ὅπλα. Πῶς ἂν οὖν εἰς ἀνὴρ μᾶλλον δοίῃ δίκην, ἢ οὕτω περὶ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ ὑμῶν βουλεσόμενος; Ἀλλ' οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ λόγοι ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἡλιθίων,

καὶ ἐμοὶ φθονούντων, ὅτι ἐγὼ ὑφ' ὑμῶν τιμῶμαι. Καίτοι οὐδὲν δικαίως γ' ἂν μοι φθονοῖεν. Τίνα γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐγὼ κωλύω ἢ λέγειν, εἴ τις τι θύναται ἀγαθὸν ἐν ὑμῖν, ἢ μάχεσθαι, εἴ τις ἐθέλει, ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἑαυτοῦ, ἢ ἐξηγηγοῦναι περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀσφαλείας ἐπιμελόμενον; Τί γάρ; ἄρχοντας αἰρουμένων ὑμῶν, ἐγὼ τίνα ἐμποδῶν εἰμι; Παρήνιμι, ἀρχέτω· μόνον ἀγαθὸν τι ποιῶν ὑμᾶς φαινέσθω. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀρκεῖ περὶ τούτων τὰ εἰρημένα· εἰ δὲ τις ὑμῶν ἢ αὐτὸς ἐξαπατηθῆναι ἂν οἴεται ταῦτα, ἢ ἄλλον ἐξαπατήσας 10 ταῦτα, λέγων διδασκέτω. Ὅταν δὲ τούτων ἕλις ἔχητε, μὴ ἀπέλθῃτε, πρὶν ἂν ἀκούσῃτε, οἷον ὁρῶ ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀρχόμενον πρῶγμα· ὃ εἰ ἔπεισι, καὶ ἔσται, οἷον ὑποδείκνυσιν, ὥρα ἡμῖν βουλευέσθαι περὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, μὴ κάκιστοί τε καὶ αἰσχιστοὶ ἄνδρες φανῶμεν καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων 15 καὶ φίλων καὶ πολεμίων, καὶ καταφρονηθῶμεν." Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ στρατιῶται, ἐθαύμασάν τε, ὃ τι εἶη, καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευον. Ἐκ τούτου ἄρχεται πάλιν· "Ἐπίστασθί που, ὅτι χωρία ἦν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς βαρβαρικοῖς φίλια τοῖς Κερασσυντικοῖς, ὅθεν κατιόντες τινὲς καὶ ἱερεῖα ἐπώλουν 20 ἡμῖν, καὶ ἄλλα, ὧν εἶχον. Λοκοῦσι δὲ μοι καὶ ὑμῶν τινες, εἰς τὸ ἐγγυτάτω χωρίον τούτων ἐλθόντες, ἀγοράσαντες τι, πάλιν ἐλθεῖν. Τούτο καταμαθὼν Κλεάρετος ὁ λοχαγὸς ὅτι καὶ μικρὸν εἶη καὶ ἀφύλακτον, διὰ τὸ φίλιον νομίζειν εἶναι, ἔρχεται ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς τῆς χυκτός, ὡς πορθήσων, οὐδενὶ 25 ἡμῶν εἰπών. Διενεγέητο δέ, εἰ λάβοι τότε τὸ χωρίον, εἰς μὲν τὸ στράτευμα μηκέτι ἐλθεῖν, ἐμβαῖς δ' εἰς τὸ πλοῖον, ἐν ᾧ ἐτύγχανον οἱ σύσκηνοι αὐτοῦ παραπλέοντες, καὶ ἐνθήμενος, εἴ τι λάβοι, ἀποπλέων οἴχεσθαι ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου. Καὶ ταῦτα συνωμολόγησαν αὐτῷ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου σύσκηνοι, ὡς 30 ἐγὼ νῦν αἰσθάνομαι. Παρακαλέσας οὖν, ὁπόσους ἐπειθεν, ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὸ χωρίον. Πορευόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν φθάνει ἡμέρα γενομένη, καὶ συστάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἀπὸ ἰσχυρῶν τόπων βάλλοντες καὶ παίοντες, τόν τε Κλεάρτην ἀποκτε-

ρουσι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συγχροῦς· οἱ δὲ τινες καὶ εἰς Κερα-  
 σοῦντα αὐτῶν ἀποχωροῦσι. Ταῦτα δ' ἦν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἥ  
 ἡμῖς δεῦρο ἐξωρμώμεν περὶ. Τῶν δὲ παραπλεόντων ἔτι  
 τινὲς ἦσαν ἐν Κερασούντι, οὐπω ἀνηγμένοι. Μετὰ τοῦτο,  
 ὥς οἱ Κερασοῦντιοὶ λέγουσιν, ἀφικνοῦνται τῶν ἐκ τοῦ χω-  
 ρίου τρεῖς ἄνδρες τῶν χειριτέρων, πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τὸ ἡμέτε-  
 ρον χρίζοντες ἐλθόντες. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμᾶς οὐ κατέλαβον, πρὸς τοὺς  
 Κερασουντίους ἔλεγον, ὅτι θαυμάζοιεν, τί ἡμῖν δοῦναι ἐλ-  
 θεῖν ἐπὶ αὐτούς. Ἐπεὶ μέντοι σφεῖς λέγειν, ἔφασαν,  
 ὅτι οὐκ ἀπὸ κοινοῦ γένοιτο τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἥδεσθαι τε αὐ- 10  
 τοὺς καὶ μέλλειν πλεῖν δεῦρο, ὥς ἡμῖν λέξαι τὰ γενόμενα,  
 καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς κτελεῖν αὐτοὺς θάπτειν λαβόντας τοὺς  
 τούτου θεομένους. Τῶν δ' ἀποφυγόντων τινὲς Ἕλληνες  
 ἔτυχον ἔτι ὄντες ἐν Κερασούντι· αἰσθόμενοι δὲ τοὺς βαρ-  
 βάρους, ὅποι ἴοιεν, αὐτοὶ τε ἐτόλμησαν βάλλειν τοῖς λίθοις, 15  
 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρεκκελεύοντο. Καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ἀποθνή-  
 σκουσι, τρεῖς ὄντες οἱ πρέσβεις, καταλευσθέντες. Ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 τοῦτο ἐγένετο, ἔρχονται πρὸς ἡμᾶς οἱ Κερασούντιοι, καὶ  
 λέγουσι τὸ πρᾶγμα· καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀκούσαντες  
 ἠχθόμενά τε τοῖς γεγενημένοις, καὶ ἐβουλευόμεθα σὺν 20  
 τοῖς Κερασουντίοις, πῶς ἂν ταφείησαν οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
 νεκροί. Συγκληθήμενοι δ' ἐξωθεν τῶν ὀπλων, ἐξαίφνης  
 ἀκούομεν θορύβου πολλοῦ, 'Ἡαῖτε, παῖτε, βάλλε, βάλλε.'  
 Καὶ τάχα δὴ ὀρώμεν πολλοὺς πρὸςθέοντας, λίθους [δ'] ἔχον-  
 τας ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀναιρουμένους. Καὶ οἱ μὲν 25  
 Κερασούντιοι, ὥς ἂν καὶ ἐωρακότες τὸ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς πρᾶγ-  
 μα, δέσαντες ἀποχωροῦσι πρὸς τὰ πλοῖα. Ἦσαν δὲ, νῆ  
 Δία, οἱ καὶ ἡμῶν ἔδρισαν. Ἐγὼ γε μὴν ἦλθον πρὸς αὐ-  
 τοὺς, καὶ ἡρώτων, ὅ τι ἐστὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα. Τῶν δὲ ἦσαν μὲν,  
 οἱ οὐδὲν ᾔδεισαν, ὅμως δὲ λίθους εἶχον ἐν ταῖς χερσίν. 30  
 Ἐπεὶ δὲ [καὶ] εἰδοῖτι τιτὶ ἐνέτυχον, λέγει μοι, ὅτι οἱ ἀγορα-  
 νόμοι δεινότατα ποιοῦσι τὸ σιγώτευμα. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τις  
 ἑρᾷ τὸν ἀγορανόμον Ζήλαρχον πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν ἀποχω-

ροῦντα καὶ ἀνέκραγεν· οἱ δ', ὡς ἤκουσαν, ὥσπερ ἡ συνὸς  
 ἀγρίου ἢ ἐλάφου φανέντος, ἵενται ἐπ' αὐτόν. Οἱ δ' αὖ  
 Κερασούντιοι, ὡς εἶδον ὀρμῶντας καθ' ἑαυτούς, νομίσαντες  
 ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἔσθαι, φεύγουσι δρόμῳ, καὶ ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς τὴν  
 5 θάλατταν. Συννείεπεσον δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν τινες, καὶ  
 ἐπνίγετο, ὅστις μὴ ἐτύγγανεν ἐπιστάμενος νεῖν. Καὶ τούτους  
 τί δοκεῖτε; ἡδίκουν μὲν οὐδέν, ἔδεισαν δέ, μὴ λύσσα τις  
 ὥσπερ κυρὴν ἡμῖν ἐμπεπτώκοι. Εἰ οὖν ταῦτα τοιαῦτα  
 ἔσται, θεάσασθε, οἷα ἡ κατάστασις ἡμῖν ἔσται τῆς στρα-  
 10 τιᾶς. Ὑμεῖς μὲν οἱ πάντες οὐκ ἔσεσθε κύριοι οὔτ' ἀνελέ-  
 σθαι πόλεμον, ᾧ ἂν βούλησθε, οὔτε καταλύσαι· ἰδίᾳ δὲ ὁ  
 βουλόμενος ἄξει στρατεύμα, ἐφ' ὃ τι ἂν ἐθέλῃ. Καὶν τινες  
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἴωσι πρέσβεις, ἡ εἰρήνης δεόμενοι ἢ ἄλλου τινός,  
 κατακτείναντες τούτους οἱ βουλόμενοι, ποιήσουσιν ὑμᾶς τῶν  
 15 λόγων μὴ ἀκοῦσαι τῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἰόντων. Ἐπειτα δέ, οὓς  
 μὲν ἂν ὑμεῖς ἅπαντες ἔλησθε ἄρχοντας, ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ χώρᾳ  
 ἔσονται· ὅστις δ' ἂν ἑαυτὸν ἔληται στρατηγόν, καὶ ἐθέλῃ  
 λέγειν, 'Βάλλε, βάλλε,' οὗτος ἔσται ἱκανὸς καὶ ἄρχοντα κα-  
 τακανεῖν καὶ ἰδιώτην, ὃν ἂν ὑμῶν ἐθέλῃ, ἄκριτον, ἣν ὥσιν  
 20 οἱ πεισόμενοι αὐτῷ, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν ἐγένετο. Οἷα δ' ὑμῖν  
 καὶ διαπεπράχασιν οἱ αὐθαίρετοι οὗτοι στρατηγοί, σκέψα-  
 σθε. Ζήλαρχος μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἄβρογανόμος, εἰ μὲν ἀδικεῖ ὑμᾶς,  
 οἴχεται ἀποπλέων, οὐ δοὺς ὑμῖν δίκην· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀδικεῖ,  
 φεύγει ἐκ τοῦ στρατεύματος, δεισας, μὴ ἀδίκως ἄκριτος  
 25 ἀποθάνῃ. Οἱ δὲ καταλεύσαντες τοὺς πρέσβεις διεπράξαν-  
 το, ὑμῖν μόνοις μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς Κερασούντα μὴ ἀσφα-  
 λές εἶναι, ἐὰν μὴ σὺν ἰσχυρί, ἀφικνεῖσθαι· τοὺς δὲ νεκρούς,  
 οὓς πρόσθεν αὐτοὶ οἱ κατακάνοντες ἐκέλευον θάπτειν,  
 τούτους διεπράξαντο μηδὲ σὺν κηρυκίῳ ἔτι ἀσφαλές εἶναι  
 30 ἀνελέσθαι. Τίς γὰρ ἐθέλῃσει κήρυξ εἶναι, κήρυκας ἀπε-  
 κτονῶς; Ἄλλ' ἡμεῖς Κερασουντίων θάψαι αὐτούς ἐδεήθη-  
 μεν. Εἰ μὲν οὖν καλῶς ἔχει ταῦτα, δοξάτω ὑμῖν· ἵνα, ὡς τοι-  
 οῦτων ἐσομένων, καὶ φυλακὴν ἰδίᾳ ποιήσῃ τις, καὶ τὰ ἐρυμνὰ

ὑπερδίδισα πειράται ἔχων σκηνοῦν. Ἐὰ μέντοι δοκεῖ ὑμῖν  
 θηρίων, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀνθρώπων, εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔργα, σκο-  
 πεῖτε παῦλάν τιν' αὐτῶν· εἰ δὲ μή, πρὸς Διός, πῶς ἡ θεοῖς  
 θύσομεν ἡδέως, ποιοῦντες ἔργα ἀσεβῆ, ἣ τοῖς πολέμοις  
 πῶς μαχοῦμεθα, ἣν ἀλλήλους κατακαίνωμεν; Πόλις δὲ  
 φίλις τίς ἡμᾶς δεῖται, ἥτις ἂν ὄρῃ τοσαντήν ἀνομίαν ἐν  
 ἡμῖν; Ἄγοράν δὲ τίς ἄξει θαρβύων, ἣν περὶ τὰ μέγιστα  
 τοιαῦτα ἐξαμαρτάνοντες φαινόμεθα; Οὐ δὲ δὴ πάντων  
 οἰόμεθα τεύξεσθαι ἐπαῖνον, τίς ἂν ἡμᾶς τοιοῦτους ὄντας  
 ἐπαινέσειεν; ἡμεῖς μὲν γάρ οἶδ' ὅτι πονηροὺς ἂν φαίμεν 10  
 εἶναι τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιοῦντας.'

Ἐκ τούτου ἀνιστάμενοι πάντες ἔλεγον, τοὺς μὲν τούτων  
 ἄρξαντας δοῦναι δίκην, τοῦ δὲ λοιποῦ μηκέτι ἐξεῖναι ἀνομίας  
 ἄρξαι· ἐὰν δὲ τις ἄρξῃ, ἄγεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ· τοὺς  
 δὲ στρατηγοὺς εἰς δίκας πάντας καταστήσαι· εἶναι δὲ δίκας, 15  
 καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο τις ἡδέικητο, ἐξ οὗ Κῦρος ἀπέθανε· δικα-  
 στάς δὲ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς ἐποίησαντο. Παραινοῦντος δὲ Ξε-  
 νοφῶντος, καὶ τῶν μάντεων συμβουλευόντων, ἔδοξε καὶ κα-  
 θῆραι τὸ στράτευμα. Καὶ ἐγένετο καθαρόν.

### Κεφάλαιον η΄.

Ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς δίκην ὑποσχεῖν τοῦ πα- 20  
 ρειηλυθότος χρόνου. Καὶ διδόντες, Φιλήσιος μὲν ὧφλε  
 καὶ Ξανθικλῆς τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν γαυλικῶν χρημάτων τὸ  
 μείωμα, εἴκοσι μνᾶς. Σοφαίνετος δέ, ὅτι ἄρχων αἰρεθείς  
 κατημέλει, δέκα μνᾶς. Ξενοφῶντος δὲ κατηγόρησάν τινες,  
 φράσκοντες παῖεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὡς ὑβρίζοντος τὴν κα- 25  
 τηγορίαν ἐποιοῦντο. Καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἀναστὰς ἐκέλευσεν  
 εἰπεῖν τὸν πρῶτον, πρῶτον λέξαντα, ποῦ καὶ ἐπλήγη. Ὁ δὲ  
 ἀποκρίνεται· “Ὅπου καὶ τῷ ῥίγῃ ἀπωλλύμεθα, καὶ

χιῶν πλείστη ἦν." Ὁ δ' εἶπεν· "Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ χειμῶνός  
 γε ὄντος, οἴου λέγεις, σίτου δὲ ἐπιλειοπότης, οἴνου δὲ μηδ'  
 ὑσφραίνεσθαι παρόντος, ὑπὸ δὲ πόνων πολλῶν ἀπαγορευόν-  
 των, πολεμίων δὲ ἐπομένων, εἰ ἐν τοιούτῳ καιρῷ ὕβριζον,  
 5 ὁμολογῶ καὶ τῶν ὄνων ὑβριστότερος εἶναι· οἷς φασὶν ὑπὸ  
 τῆς ἱβρείας κόπον οὐκ ἐγγίγνεσθαι. Ὅμως δὲ καὶ λέξον,"  
 ἔφη, "ἐκ τίνος ἐπλήγης. Πότερον ἤτουν τί σε, καὶ ἐπεὶ  
 οὐκ εἰδὼς, ἔπαιον; ἀλλ' ἀπῆτουν; ἀλλὰ περὶ παιδικῶν  
 μαχόμενος, ἀλλὰ μεθύων ἐπαφῆνῃσα;" Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοιούτων  
 10 οὐδὲν ἔφησεν, ἐπήρετο αὐτόν, εἰ ὀπιτενοί· Οὐκ ἔφη·  
 πᾶλιν, εἰ πελταῖοι· Οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἔφη· "ἀλλ' ἡμίονον ἡλαυ-  
 ρον, ταχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν συσκήνων, ἐλεύθερος ὢν." Ἐνταῦθα  
 δὴ ἀναγινώσκει τε αὐτόν, καὶ ἤρετο· "Ἡ σὺ εἰ ὁ τὸν  
 κάμνοντα ἀπάγων;" Ναὶ μὰ Δι', ἔφη· "σὺ γὰρ ἡνάγ-  
 15 καζεις· τὰ δὲ τῶν ἐμῶν συσκήνων σκεύη διεξέριψας."  
 "Ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν διάρριψις," ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, "τοιαύτη τις ἐγέ-  
 ρετο· Διέδωκα ἅλλοις ἄγειν, καὶ ἐκέλευσα πρὸς ἐμέ ἀπα-  
 γαγεῖν· καὶ ἀπολαβὼν ἅπαντα σῶα ἀπέδωκά σοι, ἐπεὶ καὶ  
 σὺ ἐμοὶ ἀπιδείξας τὸν ἄνδρα. Οἷον δὲ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐγένετο,  
 20 ἀκούσατε," ἔφη· "καὶ γὰρ ἄξιον·

"Ἀνὴρ κατελείπετο, διὰ τὸ μηκέτι δύνασθαι πορεύε-  
 σθαι· Καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα τοσοῦτον ἐγίνωσκον, ὅτι  
 εἰς ἡμῶν εἴη· ἡνάγκασα δὲ σε τοῦτον ἄγειν, ὥς μὴ ἀπό-  
 λοιτο· καὶ γὰρ, ὥς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, πολέμιοι ἡμῖν ἐφείποντο."  
 25 Συνέφη τοῦτο ὁ ἄνθρωπος· "Οὐκοῦν," ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν,  
 "ἐπεὶ προϋπεμψά σε, καταλαμβάνω αὐτίς, σὺν τοῖς ὀπισθο-  
 φύλαξι προσιών, βόθρον ὀρύσσοντα, ὥς κατορύσσοντα τὸν ἄν-  
 θρωπον· καὶ ἐπιστὰς ἐπῆρουν σε. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεστηκότων  
 ἡμῶν συνέκαμψε τὸ σκέλος ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἀνέκραγον οἱ παρόντες,  
 30 ὅτι ζῇ ὁ ἀνὴρ· σὺ δ' εἶπες· 'Ὅποσα γε βούλεται· ὥς  
 ἔγωγε αὐτόν οὐκ ἄζω.' Ἐνταῦθα ἔπαισά σε· ἀληθῆ λέ-  
 γεις· ἔδοξας γὰρ μοι εἰδοῖσι τοικίαι, ὅτι ζῇ." "Τί  
 οὖν;" ἔφη, "ἥτιόν τι ἀπέθανεν, ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ σοι ἀπιδείξα

αὐτόν ;” Καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς,” ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, “ πάντες ἀποθανούμεθα· τούτου οὖν ἕνεκα ζῶντας ἡμᾶς δεῖ κατορυχθῆναι ;” Τούτον μὲν ἀνέκραγον πάντες ὡς ὀλίγας παύσειεν· ἄλλους δὲ ἐκέλευε λίγειν, διὰ τί ἕκαστος ἐπλήγη. Ἐπεὶ δ’ οὐκ ἀνίσταντο, αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν·

“ Ἐγὼ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὁμολογῶ, παῖσαι δὴ ἄνδρας πολλοὺς ἕνεκεν ὑταξίας, ὅσοις σώζεσθαι μὲν ἤρκει δι’ ὑμᾶς, ἐν τάξει τε ἰόντων καὶ μαχομένων, ὅπου δέοι· αὐτοὶ δὲ λιπόντες τὰς τάξεις, προδίδοντες ἀρπάζειν ἤθελον, καὶ ὑμῶν πλεονεκτεῖν. Εἰ δὲ τοῦτο πάντες ἐποιούμεν, ἅπαντες ἂν ἀπωλόμεθα. 10 Ἴδθῃ δὲ καὶ μαλυκιζόμενόν τινα, καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντα ἀνίστασθαι, ἀλλὰ προΐεμενον ἑαυτὸν τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ ἔπαισα, καὶ ἐβιασάμην πορεύεσθαι. Ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἰσχυρῷ χειμῶνι καὶ αὐτὸς ποτε ἀναμένων τινὰς συσκευαζομένους, καθιζόμενος συχρὸν χρόνον, κατέμαθον ἀναστὰς μόγισ, καὶ τὰ σκέλη μό- 15 γισ ἐκτείνας. Ἐν ἑμαυτῷ οὖν πείραν λιβύν, ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἄλλον, ὅποτε ἴδοιμι καθήμενον καὶ βλακεύοντα, ἤλαυνον· τὸ γὰρ κινεῖσθαι καὶ ἀνδριζεσθαι παρεῖχε θερμοσσίαν τινὰ καὶ ὑγρότητα· τὸ δὲ καθῆσθαι καὶ ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν ἐώρων ὑπουργὸν ὃν τῷ τε ἀποπήγνυσθαι τὸ αἷμα, καὶ τῷ ἀποσῆ- 20 πεσθαι τοὺς τῶν ποδῶν δακτύλους· ἅπερ πολλοὺς καὶ ὑμεῖς ἴστε παθόντας. Ἄλλον δὲ γε ἴσως ὑπολειπόμενόν που διὰ φημιστῶνην, καὶ κωλύοντα καὶ ὑμᾶς τοὺς πρόσθεν καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ὀπίσθεν πορεύεσθαι, ἔπαισα πύξ, ὅπως μὴ λόγχῃ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων παλαιοτο. Καὶ γὰρ οὖν νῦν ἔξεστιν αὐ- 25 τοῖς σωθεῖσιν, εἴ τι ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ ἔπαθον παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον, δίκην λαβεῖν. Εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγένοντο, τί μέγα ἂν οὕτως ἔπαθον, ὅτου δίκην ἂν ἤξιον λαμβάνειν ; Ἀποὺς μοι,” ἔφη, “ ὁ λόγος. Ἐγὼ γάρ, εἰ μὲν ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ ἐκόλασά τινα, ἀξιῶ ὑπέχειν δίκην, οἷαν καὶ γονεῖς υἱοῖς καὶ δι- 30 δάσκαλοι παισὶ. Καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἱατροὶ τέμνουσι καὶ καίουσιν ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ. Εἰ δὲ ὕβρει νομίζετέ με ταῦτα πράττειν, ἐνθυμήθητε, ὅτι νῦν ἐγὼ θαφθῶ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς μᾶλλον, ἢ

τότε, καὶ θρασύτερός εἰμι νῦν, ἢ τότε, καὶ οἶνον πλείω πί-  
νω· ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδένα παίω· ἐν εὐδία γὰρ ὀρώ ὑμᾶς.  
Ὅταν δὲ χειμῶν ᾖ, καὶ θάλαττα μεγάλη ἐπιφέρεται, οὐχ  
ὀρᾶτε, ὅτι καὶ νεύματος μόνου ἕνεκα χαλεπαίνει μὲν πρω-  
5 ρεύς τοῖς ἐν προύρῳ, χαλεπαίνει δὲ κυβερνήτης τοῖς ἐν πρύ-  
μνῃ; Ἰκανὰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ καὶ μικρὰ ἀμαρτηθέντα,  
πάντα συνεπιτρίψαι. Ὅτι δὲ δικαίως ἔπαιον αὐτοὺς, καὶ  
ὑμεῖς κατεδικάσατε τότε· ἔχοντες γὰρ οὐ ψήφους ἀλλ' ὅπλα  
παρεστήκετε, καὶ ἐξῆν ὑμῖν ἐπικουρεῖν αὐτοῖς, εἰ ἐβού-  
10 λευθε. Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δία οὔτε τούτοις ἐπεκουρεῖτε, οὔτε σὺν  
ἐμοὶ τὸν ἀτακτοῦντα ἐπαίετε. Τοιγαροῦν ἐξουσίαν ἐποιή-  
σατε τοῖς κακοῖς αὐτῶν, ὑβρίζειν ἐώντες αὐτούς. Οἶμαι  
γὰρ, εἰ θέλετε σκοπεῖν, τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐρήσεται καὶ τότε  
κακίστους, καὶ νῦν ὑβριστοτάτους. Βοῦσκος γοῦν ὁ πύκτης,  
15 ὁ Θετταλός, τότε μὲν διεμάχετο, ὡς κάμων, ἀσπίδα μὴ φέ-  
ρειν· νῦν δ', ὡς ἐγὼ ἀκούω, Κοτυωριτῶν πολλοὺς ἤδη ἀπο-  
δέδωκεν. Ἴν' οὖν σωφρονῇτε, τούτῳ τάναντία ποιήσετε, ἢ  
τοῖς κύνας ποιοῦσι· τὼς μὲν γὰρ κύνας τοὺς χαλεποὺς τὰς  
μὲν ἡμέρας διδάσκει, τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἀφιασι· τοῦτον δέ, ἂν  
20 σωφρονῇτε, τὴν νύκτα μὲν δῆσετε, τὴν δὲ ἡμέραν ἀφήσετε.  
Ἀλλὰ γάρ, ἔφη, “Θαυμάζω, ὅτι, εἰ μὲν τινι ὑμῶν ἀπη-  
χθόμην, μέμνησθε, καὶ οὐ σιωπᾶτε· εἰ δὲ τῷ ἢ χειμῶνα  
ἐπεκούρησα, ἢ πολέμιον ἀπήρυσα, ἢ ἀσθενοῦντι ἢ ἀποροῦν-  
τι συνεξεπόρισά τι, τούτων οὐδεὶς μέμνηται· οὐδ' εἴ τινα  
25 καλῶς τι ποιοῦντα ἐπύνησα, οὐδ' εἴ τινα ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν  
ὄντα ἐτίμησα, ὡς ἐδυνάμην, οὐδὲ τούτων μέμνησθε. Ἀλλὰ  
μὴν καλὸν γε καὶ δίκαιον, καὶ ὅσιον καὶ ἥδιον, τῶν ἀγαθῶν  
μᾶλλον, ἢ τῶν κακῶν μεμνησθαι.”

Ἐκ τούτου μὲν δὴ ἀνίσταντο καὶ ἀνεμύμνησκον· καὶ πε-  
30 ριεγένετο, ὥστε καλῶς ἔχειν.

# ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

## ΚΤΡΟΤ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΕΩΣ

### ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ἙΚΤΟΝ.

#### Κεφάλαιον α'.

Ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἐν τῇ διατριβῇ οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἔξω, οἱ δὲ καὶ ληϊζόμενοι ἐκ τῆς Παφλαγονίας. Ἐκλώ-  
πουν δὲ καὶ οἱ Παφλαγόνες εὖ μάλα τοὺς ἀποσκευασμένους, καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς δὲ τοὺς πρόσω σκηνοῦντας ἐπειρῶντο  
κακουργεῖν· καὶ πολεμικώτατα πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἶχον ἐκ τού-  
των. Ὁ δὲ Κορύλας, ὃς ἐτύγχανε τότε Παφλαγονίας ἄρ-  
χων, πέμπει παρὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας πρέσβεις, ἔχοντας ἵππους  
καὶ στολὰς καλὰς, λέγοντας, ὅτι Κορύλας ἔτοιμος εἶη, τοὺς  
Ἕλληνας μῆτε ἀδικεῖν, μῆτ' [αὐτοὺς] ἀδικεῖσθαι. Οἱ δὲ  
στρατηγοὶ ἀπεκρίναντο, ὅτι περὶ μὲν τούτων σὺν τῇ στρα-  
τιᾷ βουλευόμενοι, ἐπὶ ξενίᾳ δὲ ἐδέχοντο αὐτούς· παρεκά-  
λεσαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν, οὓς ἰδόκει δικαιοτάτον εἶ-  
ναι. Θύσαντες δὲ βοῦς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καὶ ἄλλα ἱερεῖα,  
εὐωχίαν μὲν ἀρκούσαν παρῆχον, κατακείμενοι δὲ ἐν στιβά-  
σιν ἐδείπνου, καὶ ἔπινον [ἐν] κερατίνοις ποτηρίοις, οἷς 15  
ἐνετύγχανον ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ σπονδαὶ τε ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐπαιώνισαν, ἀνέστη-  
σαν πρῶτον μὲν Θραῖκες, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄρχοῦντο σὺν τοῖς  
ὕπλοις, καὶ ἤλλοντο ὑψηλά τε καὶ κούφως, καὶ ταῖς μα-  
χαίραις ἐχρῶντο· τέλος δὲ ὁ ἕτερος τὸν ἕτερον παίζει, ὥς 20

πᾶσι δοκεῖν πεπληγένοι τὸν ἄνδρα, ὃ δ' ἔπεσε τεχνικῶς  
 πως. Καὶ ἀνέκραγον οἱ Παφλαγόνες. Καὶ ὁ μὲν σκυ-  
 λεύσας τὰ ὄπλα τοῦ ἐτέρου, ἐξῆει ἄδων τὸν Σιτάλκαν· ἄλ-  
 λοι δὲ τῶν Θρακῶν τὸν ἕτερον ἐξέφερον ὡς τεθνεῶτα· ἦν  
 5 δὲ οὐδὲν πεπονθώς. Μετὰ τοῦτο Λινιαῖνες καὶ Μάγνητες  
 ἀνίστησαν, οἱ ὠρχοῦντο τὴν καρπαίαν καλουμένην ἐν τοῖς  
 ὄπλοις. Ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς ὀρχήσεως ἦν ὅδε· ὁ μὲν παρα-  
 θέμενος τὰ ὄπλα σπείρει καὶ ζευγηλατεῖ, πυκνὰ μεταστρε-  
 φόμενος, ὡς φοβούμενος· ληστής δὲ προσέρχεται· ὁ δ', ἐπει-  
 10 δὴν προῦδηται, ἀπαντᾷ ἀρπάσας τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ μάχεται πρὸ  
 τοῦ ζεύγους· καὶ οὗτοι ταῦτ' ἐποιοῦν ἐν ῥυθμῷ πρὸς τὸν  
 αὐλόν· καὶ τέλος ὁ ληστής δῆσας τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸ ζεύγος  
 ἀπάγει· ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ ὁ ζευγηλάτης τὸν ληστήν· εἴτα παρὰ  
 τοὺς βοῦς ζεύξας, ὀπίσω τῷ χεῖρι δεδεμένον ἐλαύνει.

15 Μετὰ τοῦτο Μυσὸς εἰσῆλθεν, ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ τῇ χειρὶ ἔχων  
 πέλιτην· καὶ τότε μὲν ὡς δύο ἀντιταττομένων μιμούμενος  
 ὠρχεῖτο, τότε δὲ ὡς πρὸς ἓνα ἐχρῆτο ταῖς πέλιταις, τότε δὲ  
 ἐδινεῖτο καὶ ἐξεκυβίστα, ἔχων τὰς πέλτας· ὥστε ὅψιν [ἔχων]  
 καλὴν φαίνεσθαι. Τέλος δὲ τὸ Περσικὸν ὠρχεῖτο, κροτῶν

20 τὰς πέλτας· καὶ ὠκλαζε, καὶ ἐξανίστατο· καὶ ταῦτα πάντα  
 ἐν ῥυθμῷ πρὸς τὸν αὐλὸν ἐποίει. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ ἐπιόντες  
 οἱ Μαντινεῖς, καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἀναστάντες,  
 ἐξοπλισάμενοι ὡς ἐδύναντο κάλλιστα, ἤισάν τε ἐν ῥυθμῷ,  
 πρὸς τὸν ἐνόπλιον ῥυθμὸν αὐλούμενοι, καὶ ἐπαιώνισαν, καὶ

25 ὠρχήσαντο, ὥς περ ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς Θεοὺς προσόδοις.  
 Ὀρῶντες δὲ οἱ Παφλαγόνες, δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο, πάσας τὰς  
 ὀρχήσεις ἐν ὄπλοις εἶναι. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὀρῶν ὁ Μυσὸς ἐκ-  
 πεπληγμένους αὐτούς, πείσας τῶν Ἀρκάδων τινά, πεπαμέ-  
 νον ὀρχηστρίδα, εἰσάγει, σκευάσας ὡς ἐδύνάτο κάλλιστα, καὶ

30 ἀσπίδα δοὺς κούφην αὐτῇ. Ἡ δὲ ὠρχήσατο Πυρόβληχην ἐλα-  
 φρῶς. Ἐνταῦθα κρότος ἦν πολὺς· καὶ οἱ Παφλαγόνες  
 ἡρώων, εἰ καὶ γυναικεῖς συνεμάχοντο αὐτοῖς. Οἱ δ' ἔλεγον,  
 ὅτι αὐταὶ καὶ αἱ τρεψάμεναι εἰεν βασιλέα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέ-  
 δου. Τῇ μὲν οὖν νυκτὶ ταύτῃ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο.

Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ προσῆγον αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ στρατεύμα· καὶ ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατιώταις, μήτε ἀδικεῖν Παφλαγόνους, μήτε ἀδικεῖσθαι. Μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις ὤχοντο· οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες, ἐπειδὴ πλοῖα ἱκανὰ ἐδόκει παρῆναι, ἀναβάντες ἔπλειον ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα πνείματι καλῷ, ἐν ἀριστιερῇ ἔχον- 5  
τες τὴν Παφλαγονίαν. Τῇ δ' ἄλλῃ ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς Σινώ-  
πην, καὶ ὠρμίσατο εἰς Ἀρμήνην τῆς Σινώπης. Σινωπεῖς  
δὲ οἰκοῦσι μὲν ἐν τῇ Παφλαγονικῇ, Μιλησίων δὲ ἄποικοι  
εἰσίν. Οὗτοι ξένια πέμπουσιν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἀλφίτων μὲν  
μεδίμνους τριεχιλίους, οἴνου δὲ περὶ μίαν χίλια καὶ πεντα- 10  
κόσια. Καὶ Χειρίλυφος ἐνταῦθα ἦλθε τριήρεις ἔχων. Καὶ  
οἱ μὲν στρατιώταις προσεδόκων, ἄγοντά τι σφίσιν ἦκεν· ὁ  
δὲ ἦγε μὲν οὐδέν, ἀπήγγελλε δέ, ὅτι ἐπαινοίη αὐτοὺς καὶ  
Ἀναξίβιος ὁ ναύαρχος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, καὶ ὅτι ὑπισχνέτο  
Ἀναξίβιος, εἰ ἀφικνοῖντο ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου, μισθοφορὰν αὐ- 15  
τοῖς ἔσεσθαι.

Καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ Ἀρμένῃ ἔμειναν οἱ στρατιῶται ἡμέρας  
πέντε. Ὡς δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐδόκουν ἐγγὺς γ' γίνεσθαι, ἥδη  
μᾶλλον ἢ πρόσθεν εἰσῆει αὐτοὺς, ὅπως ἂν καὶ ἔχοντές τι  
οἴκαδε ἀφικνοῖντο. Ἠγήσαντο οὖν, εἰ ἕνα ἔλοιτο ἄρχοντα, 20  
μᾶλλον ἢ ἡ πολυαρχίας οὔσης δύνασθαι τὸν ἕνα χρῆσθαι  
τῷ στρατεύματι καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας· καὶ εἴ τι δέοι λαν-  
θάνειν, μᾶλλον ἢ [καὶ] κρύπτεσθαι· καὶ εἴ τι αὐτὸ δέοι  
φθάνειν, ἦττον ἢ ὑστερεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν λόγων δεῖν πρὸς  
ἀλλήλους, ἀλλὰ τὸ δόξαν τῷ ἐνὶ περαινέσθαι ἄν· τὸν δὲ 25  
ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ἐκ τῆς νικώσης ἐπραττον πάντα οἱ στρα-  
τηγοί. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα διεννοοῦντο, ἐτρέποντο ἐπὶ τὸν Ξενο-  
φῶντα· καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἔλεγον προσιόντες αὐτῷ, ὅτι ἡ στρα-  
τιὰ οὕτω γιγνώσκει· καὶ εὖνοιαν ἐνδεικνύμενος ἕκαστός τις  
ἐπειθεν αὐτὸν ὑποστῆναι τὴν ἀρχήν. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τῇ 30  
μὲν ἐβούλετο ταῦτα, νομίζων καὶ τὴν τιμὴν μεῖζω οὕτως  
ἐαυτῷ γίνεσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν  
τοῦνομα μεῖζον ἀφίξεσθαι αὐτοῦ· τυχὸν δὲ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τι-  
νος ἂν αἴτιος τῇ στρατιᾷ γενέσθαι.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα ἐνθυμήματα ἐπῆρεν αὐτόν, ἐπιθυμῆν  
 αὐτοκράτορα γενέσθαι ἄρχοντα. Ὅποτε δ' αὖ ἐνθυμοῖτο,  
 ὅτι ἄθλων μὲν παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ, ὅπη τὸ μέλλον ἔξει, διὰ  
 τοῦτο δὲ καὶ κίνδυνος εἴη καὶ τὴν προειργασμένην δόξαν  
 5 ἀποβαλεῖν, ἤπορεῖτο. Διαπορουμένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ διακρῖναι,  
 ἔδοξε κράτιστον εἶναι, τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνακοινῶσαι· καὶ παρα-  
 στησάμενος δύο ἱερεῖα, ἐθύετο τῷ Διὶ τῷ Βασιλεῖ, ὅςπερ  
 αὐτῷ μαντευτὸς ἦν ἐκ Δελφῶν· καὶ τὸ ὄναρ δὴ ἀπὸ τούτου  
 τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνόμιζεν ἰωρακέναι, ὃ εἶδεν, ὅτε ἤρχετο ἐπὶ τὸ συν-  
 10 ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς στρατιᾶς καθίστασθαι. Καὶ ὅτε ἔξ  
 Ἐφέσου δὲ ὤρματο, Κύρῳ συσταθισόμενος, αἰετὸν ἀνε-  
 μιμνήσκετο ἑαυτῷ δεξιὸν φθεγγόμενον, καθηήμενον μὲν-  
 τοι, ὅνπερ ὁ μάντις προτίμπων αὐτόν ἔλεγεν, ὅτι μέγας  
 μὲν οἰωνὸς εἴη καὶ οὐκ ἰδιωτικός, καὶ ἔνδοξος, ἐπίπονος  
 15 μέντοι· καὶ γὰρ τὰ ὄρνεα μάλιστα ἐπιτίθεσθαι τῷ αἰετῷ  
 καθημένῳ· οὐ μέντοι χρηματιστικὸν εἶναι τὸν οἰωνόν· τὸν  
 γὰρ αἰετὸν περιπετόμενον· μᾶλλον λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.  
 Οὕτω δὲ θυομένῳ αὐτῷ διαφανῶς ὁ θεὸς σημαίνει, μήτε  
 προσδεῖσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς, μήτε, εἰ αἰροῖντο, ἀποδέχεσθαι.  
 20 Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐγένετο. Ἡ δὲ στρατιὰ συνῆλθε, καὶ  
 πάντες ἔλεγον ἓνα αἰρεῖσθαι· καὶ ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἔδοξε, προσ-  
 βάλλοντο αὐτόν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔδοκει δῆλον εἶναι, ὅτι αἰρή-  
 σονται αὐτόν, εἴ τις ἐπιψηφίζοι, ἀνέστη, καὶ ἔλεξε τάδε·

“ Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἡδομαι μὲν ὑφ' ὑμῶν τιμώμενος, εἵπερ  
 25 ἄνθρωπός εἰμι, καὶ χάριν ἔχω, καὶ εὐχομαι, δοῦναί μοι  
 τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτιὸν τινος ὑμῖν ἀγαθοῦ γενέσθαι· τὸ μέντοι  
 ἐμὲ προκριθῆναι ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἄρχοντα, Λακεδαιμονίου ἀνδρὸς  
 παρόντος, οὐθ' ὑμῖν οὐτ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ συμφέρον εἶναι, ἀλλ'  
 ἥττον ἂν διὰ τοῦτο τυγχάνειν, εἴ τι δέοισθε, παρ' αὐτῶν·  
 30 ἐμοὶ τε αὖ οὐ πάνυ τι νομίζω τοῦτο ἀσφαλές εἶναι. Ὅρῳ  
 γάρ, ὅτι καὶ τῇ πατρίδι μου οὐ πρόσθεν ἐπάυσαντο πολε-  
 μούντες, πρὶν ἐποίησαν πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ὁμολογεῖν, Λακε-  
 δαιμονίους καὶ αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνας εἶναι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ὁμο-

λόγησαν, εὐθύς ἐπαύσαντο πολεμοῦντες, καὶ οὐκέτι πέρα ἐπολιόρκησαν τὴν πόλιν. Εἰ οὖν, ταῦτα ὁρῶν ἐγώ, δοκοῖ-  
 ην, ὅπου δυναίμην, ἐνταῦθ' ἄκυρον ποιεῖν τὸ ἐκείνων ἀξίω-  
 μα, ἐκεῖνο ἐννοῶ, μὴ λίαν ἂν ταχὺ σωφρονισθῇην. "Ὁ  
 δ' ὑμεῖς ἐννοεῖτε, ὅτι ἦτιον ἂν στάσις εἴη ἐνὸς ἄρχοντος, ἢ  
 πολλῶν, εὖ ἴστε, ὅτι ἄλλον μὲν ἐλόμενοι οὐχ εὐρήσετε ἐμὲ  
 στασιάζοντα· νομίζω γάρ, ὅστις ἐν πολέμῳ ὢν στασιάζει  
 πρὸς ἄρχοντα, τοῦτον πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίαν στασιάζ-  
 ει· ἂν δ' ἐμὲ ἔλθῃτε, οὐκ ἂν θαναμάσαιμι, εἴ τινα εὐροιτε  
 καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμοὶ ἀχθόμενον."

10

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἔλεγε, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐξανίσταντο, λέγοντες,  
 ὥς δέοι αὐτὸν ἄρχειν. Ἀγασίας δὲ ὁ Στυμφάλιος εἶπεν,  
 "ὅτι γελοῖον εἴη, εἰ οὕτως ἔχοι, ὥς ὀργιοῦνται Λακεδαιμόνιοι,  
 καὶ ἂν σύνδειπνοι συναλθόντες μὴ Λακεδαιμόνιον συμπο-  
 σίαρχον αἰρῶνται· ἐπεὶ εἰ οὕτω γε τοῦτ' ἔχει," ἔφη, "οὐδὲ  
 15 λοχαγεῖν ἡμῖν ἔστιν, ὥς ἔοικεν, ὅτι Ἀρκάδες ἐσμέν." Ἐν-  
 ταῦθα δὴ, ὥς· εἰ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀγασίου, ἀνεθορύβησαν.

Καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἐπειδὴ ἑώρα πλείονος ἐνδέον, παρελθὼν  
 εἶπεν· "Ἄλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες," ἔφη, "ὥς πάνυ εἰδῆτε, ὁμνύω  
 ὑμῖν Θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας, ἢ μὴν ἐγώ, ἐπεὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν  
 20 γνῶμην ᾗσθανόμην, ἐθνóμην, εἰ βέλτιον εἴη ὑμῖν τε, ἐμοὶ  
 ἐπιτρέψαι ταύτην τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ ἐμοὶ, ὑποστῆναι· καὶ μοι  
 οἱ Θεοὶ οὕτως ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐσήμνησαν, ὥς τε καὶ ἰδιώτην ἂν  
 γνῶναι, ὅτι [ταύτης] τῆς μοναρχίας ἀπέχεσθαι με δεῖ."  
 Οὕτω δὴ Χειρίσοφον αἰροῦνται. Χειρίσοφος δ' ἐπεὶ ᾗρέθη,  
 25 παρελθὼν εἶπεν· "Ἀλλά," ἔφη, "ὦ ἄνδρες, τοῦτο μὲν ἴστε,  
 ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν ἔγωγε ἱστασάμην, εἰ ἄλλον εἴλεσθε. Ξενοφῶντα  
 μέντοι," ἔφη, "ὠνήσατε, οὐχὶ ἐλόμενοι· ὥς καὶ νῦν Δέξιπ-  
 πος ἤδη διέβαλεν αὐτὸν πρὸς Ἀναξίβιον, ὃ τι ἐδύνατο, καὶ  
 μάλα ἐμοῦ αὐτὸν σιγάζοντος." Ὁ δὲ ἔφη νομίζειν, αὐτὸν  
 30 Τιμασίῳ μᾶλλον συνάρχειν ἐθελῆσαι, Δαρδανεῖ ὄντι, τοῦ  
 Κλεάρχου στρατεύματος, ἢ ἑαυτῷ, Λάκωνι ὄντι. "Ἐπεὶ μέν-  
 τοι ἐμὲ εἴλεσθε," ἔφη, "καὶ ἐγὼ πειράσομαι, ὃ τι ἂν δύνω-

μαι, ὑμᾶς ἀγαθὸν ποιεῖν. Καὶ ὑμεῖς οὕτω παρὰσκευάζεσθε, ὥς αὐρίον, ἔαν πλοῦς ἢ, ἀναξόμενοι· ὁ δὲ πλοῦς ἔσται εἰς Ἡράκλειαν· ἅπαντας οὖν δεῖ ἐκεῖσε πειρᾶσθαι κατασχῆναι τὰ δὲ ἄλλα, ἐπειδὴν ἐκεῖσε ἔλθωμεν, βουλευόμεθα.”

### Κεφάλαιον β'.

- 8 Ἐντεῦθεν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀναγόμενοι πνεύματι καλῷ ἔπλειον ἡμέρας δύο παρὰ τὴν γῆν. Καὶ παραπλέοντες ἐθιῶρουν τὴν Ἰασονίαν ἀκτὴν, ἐνθα ἡ Ἀργὼ λέγεται ὀρμύσασθαι, καὶ τῶν ποταμῶν τὰ στόματα· πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ Θερμώδοντος, ἔπειτα δὲ τοῦ Ἰριος, ἔπειτα δὲ τοῦ Ἄλως, μετὰ δὲ τοῦ  
10 τον τοῦ Παρθενίου· τοῦτον δὲ παραπλεύσαντες, ἀφίκοντο εἰς Ἡράκλειαν, πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα, Μεγαρέων ἄποικον, οὐσαν δ' ἐν τῇ Μυριανδυνῶν χώρᾳ. Καὶ ὠρμύσαντο παρὰ τῇ Ἀχερουσιᾷ Χερσόνησσι· ἐνθα λέγεται Ἡρακλῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Κέρβερον κύνα καταβῆναι, οὗ νῦν τὰ σημεῖα δεικνύουσι  
15 τῆς καταβάσεως, τὸ βάθος πλέον ἢ ἐπὶ δύο στάδια. Ἐνταῦθα τοῖς Ἕλλησιν οὗ Ἡρακλεῶται ξένια πέμπουσιν, ἀλφίτων μεδίμνους τριςχιλίους, καὶ οἶνου κεράμια διςχίλια, καὶ βοῦς εἴκοσι, καὶ οἷς ἑκατόν. Ἐνταῦθα διὰ τοῦ πεδίου φεῖ ποταμός, Λύκος ὄνομα, εὖρος ὡς δύο πλέθρων.  
20 Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται συλλεγέστες ἐβουλεύοντο, τὴν λοιπὴν πορείαν πότερον κατὰ γῆν ἢ κατὰ θάλατταν χρὴ πορεύεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου. Ἀναστὰς δὲ Λύκων Ἀχαιὸς εἶπε· “Θαυμάζω μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τῶν στρατηγῶν, ὅτι οὐ πειρῶνται ἡμῶν ἐκπορίζειν σιτηρέσιον· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ξένια οὐ μὴ γένηται τῇ  
25 στρατιᾷ τριῶν ἡμερῶν σῖτα· ὁπόθεν δ' ἐπισιτισάμενοι πορευόμεθα, οὐκ ἔστιν,” ἔφη. “Ἐμοὶ οὖν δοκεῖ, αἰτεῖν τοὺς Ἡρακλεώτας μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ τριςχιλίους Κυζικηνούς.” Ἄλλος δὲ εἶπε, “[Μηνὸς μισθόν,] μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ μυρίους· καὶ ἱλομένους πρέσβεις αὐτίκα μάλα, ἡμῶν καθημένων, πέμπειν

πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ εἰδέναι, ὅ τι ἂν ἀπαγγέλλωσι, καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευέσθαι." Ἐντεῦθεν προὔβαλοντο πρέσβεις, πρῶτον μὲν Χειρίσοφον, ὅτι ἄρχων ἦρθητο· εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ Ξενοφῶντα· οἱ δ' ἰσχυρῶς ἀπεμάχοντο· ἀμφοῖν γὰρ ταῦτα ἐδόκει, μὴ ἀναγκάζειν πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα καὶ φιλίαν ὅ τι μὴ αὐτοὶ ἐθέλοντες διδοῦν. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν οὗτοι ἐδόκουν ἀπρόθυμοι εἶναι, πέμπονσι Λύκωνα Ἀχαιόν, καὶ Καλλίμαχον Παρῳάσιον, καὶ Ἀγασίαν Στυμφάλιον. Οὗτοι ἐλθόντες ἔλιγον τὰ δεδογμένα· τὸν δὲ Λύκωνα ἔφασαν καὶ ἐπαπειλεῖν, εἰ μὴ ποιήσαιεν ταῦτα [πάντα]. Ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ Ἡρακλεῶται, βουλευέσθαι ἔφασαν· καὶ εὐθὺς τὰ τε χρήματα ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συνηγον, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν εἴσω ἀνέσκειυσαν, καὶ αἱ πύλαι ἐκέκλειντο, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ὄπλα ἐφαίνετο.

Ἐκ τούτου οἱ ταραζάντες ταῦτα, τοὺς στρατηγούς ἡτιῶντο διαφθεῖρειν τὴν πρᾶξιν· καὶ συνλίσταντο οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ Ἀχαιοί· προειστήκει δὲ μάλιστα αὐτῶν Καλλίμαχος τε ὁ Παρῳάσιος καὶ Λύκων ὁ Ἀχαιός. Οἱ δὲ λόγοι ἦσαν αὐτοῖς, ὡς αἰσχρὸν εἶη ἄρχειν ἓνα Ἀθηναῖον Πελοποννησίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων, μηδεμίαν δύναμιν παρεχόμενον εἰς τὴν στρατίαν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν πόνους σφᾶς ἔχειν, τὰ δὲ κέρδη ἄλλους, καὶ ταῦτα τὴν σωτηρίαν σφῶν κατειργασμένων· εἶναι γὰρ τοὺς κατειργασμένους Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς· τὸ δ' ἄλλο στράτευμα οὐδὲν εἶναι· (καὶ ἦν δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ὑπὲρ ἡμῖν τοῦ ὅλου στρατεύματος Ἀρκάδεις καὶ Ἀχαιοί·) εἰ οὖν σωφρονοῖεν οὗτοι, συστάντες, καὶ στρατηγούς ἐλόμενοι ἑαυτῶν, καθ' ἑαυτούς [τε] ἂν τὴν πορείαν ποιοῖντο, καὶ πειρῶντο ἀγαθόν τι λαμβάνειν. Ταῦτα ἔδοξε καὶ ἀπολιπόντες Χειρίσοφον, εἰ τινες ἦσαν παρ' αὐτῷ Ἀρκάδες ἢ Ἀχαιοί, καὶ Ξενοφῶντα, συνέστησαν· καὶ στρατηγούς αἰροῦνται ἑαυτῶν δέκα· τούτους δὲ ἐψηφίσαντο ἐκ τῆς νικώσης, ὅ τι δοκoίη τοῦτο ποιεῖν. Ἡ μὲν οὖν τοῦ παντὸς ἀρχὴ Χειρισόφῳ ἐνταῦθα κατελύθη, ἡμέρᾳ ἕκτη ἢ ἐβδόμῃ, ἀφ' ἧς ἦρθε.

Ξενοφῶν μέντοι ἐβούλετο κοινῇ μετ' αὐτῶν τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι, νομίζων, οὕτως ἀσφαλέστερον εἶναι, ἢ ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστον στέλλεσθαι· ἀλλὰ Νέων ἐπειθεν αὐτὸν καθ' ἑαυτὸν πορεύεσθαι, ἀκούσας τοῦ Χειρισόφου, ὅτι Κλέανδρος ὁ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἀρμοστής φαίη, τριήρεις ἔχων ἦξιν εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα· ὅπως οὖν μηδεὶς μετάσχοι, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ αὐτῶν στρατιῶται ἐκπλεύσειαν ἐπὶ τῶν τριήρων, διὰ ταῦτα συνεβούλευε. Καὶ Χειρίσοφος, ἅμα μὲν ἀθυμῶν τοῖς γεγενημένοις, ἅμα δὲ μισῶν ἐκ τούτου τὸ στράτευμα, ἐπιτρέπει αὐτῷ ποιεῖν, ὃ τι βούλεται. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἔτι μὲν ἐπιχειρήσεν ἀπαλλαγῆς τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐκπλεῦσαι· θυομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ Ἡγεμόνι Ἡρακλεῖ, καὶ κοινουμένῳ, πότερα λῶν καὶ ἄμεινον εἴη στρατεύεσθαι, ἔχοντι τοὺς παραμέναντας τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἢ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, ἐσήμηγεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς, συνστρατεύεσθαι. Οὕτω γίγνεται τὸ στράτευμα τριχά· Ἀρκάδες μὲν καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ πλείους ἢ τετρακιςχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, ὀπλῖται πάντες· Χειρισόφῳ δὲ ὀπλῖται μὲν εἰς τετρακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, πελτασταὶ δὲ εἰς ἑπτακοσίους, οἱ Κλεάρχου Θοράκες· Ξενοφῶντι δὲ ὀπλῖται μὲν εἰς ἑπτακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, πελτασταὶ δὲ εἰς τριακοσίους· ἵππικόν δὲ μόνος οὗτος εἶχεν, ἀμφὶ τοὺς τετταράκοντα ἵππείας.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀρκάδες, διαπραζάμενοι πλοῖα παρὰ τῶν Ἡρακλεωτῶν, πρῶτοι πλείουσιν, ὅπως ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπυρόντες τοῖς Βιθυνοῖς, λάβοιεν ὅτι πλείστα· καὶ ἀποβαίνουσιν εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα, κατὰ μέσον πῶς τῆς Θοράκης. Χειρίσοφος δ' εὐθύς ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἡρακλεωτῶν ἀρξάμενος, πεζῇ ἐπορεύετο διὰ τῆς χώρας· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν Θοράκην ἐνέβαλλε, παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν ἐπορεύετο· καὶ γὰρ ἤδη ἡσθάνει· Ξενοφῶν δὲ, πλοῖα λαβὼν, ἀποβαίνει ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρια τῆς Θοράκης καὶ τῆς Ἡρακλεωτίδος, καὶ διὰ μεσογαίας ἐπορεύετο.

## Κεφάλαιον γ'.

[Ὅν μὲν οὖν τρόπον ἢ τε Χειρισόφου ἀρχὴ τοῦ παντὸς κατελύθη, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ στράτευμα ἐσχίσθη, ἐν τοῖς ἐπάνω εἴρηται.] Ἐπραξαν δ' αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι τάδε· Οἱ μὲν Ἀρκάδες, ὥς ἀπέβησαν νυκτὸς εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα, πορευόμενοι εἰς τὰς πρώτας κώμας, στάδια ἀπὸ θαλάττης ὡς 6 τριάκοντα. Ἐπεὶ δὲ φῶς ἐγένετο, ἦγεν ἕκαστος στρατηγὸς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ λόχος ἐπὶ κώμην· ὅποια δὲ μείζων [κώμη] ἐδόκει εἶναι, σύνδυο λόχους ἦγον οἱ στρατηγοί. Συνεβάλλοντο δὲ καὶ λόφον, εἰς ὃν δέοι πάντας ἀλίσσασθαι· καὶ, ἅτε ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπεσόντες, ἀνδράποδά τε πολλὰ ἔλαβον, καὶ πρό- 10 βατα πολλὰ περιεβάλλοντο.

Οἱ δὲ Θρᾷκες ἠθροίζοντο οἱ διαφυγόντες· πολλοὶ δὲ διέφυγον, πελτασταὶ ὄντες, ὀπλίτας, ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν χειρῶν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνελήθσαν, πρώτον μὲν τῷ Σμίκρητος λόχῳ, ἐνὸς τῶν Ἀρκάδων στρατηγῶν, ἀπιδόντι ἤδη εἰς τὸ συγκείμενον, 15 καὶ πολλὰ χρίματα ἄγοντι, ἐπιτίθενται. Καὶ τείως μὲν ἐμάχοντο ἅμα πορευόμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες· ἐπὶ δὲ διαβάσει χαράδρας τρέπονται αὐτούς· καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν τὸν Σμίκρητα ἀποκτινύουσι, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας· ἄλλου δὲ λόχου τῶν δέκα στρατηγῶν, τοῦ Ἠγησιάνδρου, ὅκτω μόνους κατέλιπον, 20 καὶ αὐτὸς Ἠγίσανδρος ἐσώθη. Καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι μὲν λοχαγοὶ συνῆλθον, οἱ μὲν σὺν πράγμασιν, οἱ δ' ἄνευ πραγμάτων· οἱ δὲ Θρᾷκες, ἐπεὶ εὐτύχησαν τοῦτο τὸ εὐτύχημα, συνεβίων τε ἀλλήλους, καὶ συνελέγοντο ἐφύωμένως τῆς νυκτός. Καὶ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κύκλῳ περὶ τὸν λόφον, ἔνθα οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐστρα- 25 τοπεδεύοντο, ἐτάττοντο καὶ ἱππεῖς πολλοὶ καὶ πελτασταί, καὶ αἱ πλείονες συνέβρεον· καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἀσφαλῶς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἕλληνες οὔτε τοξότην εἶχον οὔτε ἀκοντιστήν οὔτε ἱππέα· οἱ δὲ, προσθέοντες καὶ προσε- λαύνοντες ἠκόντιζον· ὁπότε δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπίοισιν, φηδὶως ἀπέ- 30

φειγον· ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλη ἐπετίθεντο. Καὶ τῶν μὲν πολλοὶ ἐπιρώσκαντο, τῶν δὲ οὐδεὶς· ὥστε κινήθῃναι οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου, ἀλλὰ τελευτῶντες καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος εἰργον αὐτοὺς οἱ Θρᾷκες. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπορία πολλή ἦν, διελέγοντο περὶ σπονδῶν· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὁμολόγητο αὐτοῖς, ὁμήρους δ' οὐκ ἐδίδουσαν οἱ Θρᾷκες, αἰτούντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ἀλλ' ἐν τούτῳ ἴσχετο. Τὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἀρκάδων οὕτως εἶχε.

Χειρίστροφος δέ, ἀσφαλῶς πορευόμενος παρὰ θάλατταν, 10 ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Κάλπησ λιμένα. Ξενοφῶντι δέ, διὰ τῆς μεσογαίας πορευομένῳ, οἱ ἱππεῖς προκαταθέοντες ἐντυγχάνουσι πρεσβύταις πορευομένοις ποι. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἤχθησαν πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα, ἔρωτᾷ αὐτούς, εἴ που ἦσθηνται ἄλλου στρατεύματος ὄντος Ἑλληνικοῦ. Οἱ δ' ἔλεγον πάντα τὰ γεγενημένα, 15 καὶ νῦν ὅτι πολιορκοῦνται ἐπὶ λόφου, οἱ δὲ Θρᾷκες πάντες περικεκυκλωμένοι εἰεν αὐτούς. Ἐνταῦθα τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους τούτους ἐφύλαττεν ἰσχυρῶς, ὅπως ἡγεμόνες εἴεν, ὅπη δέοι· σκοποὺς δὲ καταστήσας [δέκα], συνέλεξε τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ ἔλεξεν·

20 “Ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, τῶν Ἀρκάδων οἱ μὲν τεθνῶσιν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς πολιορκοῦνται. Νομίζω δ' ἔγωγε, εἰ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἀπολοῦνται, οὐδ' ἡμῖν εἶναι οὐδεμίαν σωτηρίαν, οὕτω μὲν πολλῶν ὄντων πολεμίων, οὕτω δὲ τεθαφνῆκότων. Κράτιστον οὖν ἡμῖν, ὥς τάχιστα βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, 25 ὅπως, εἰ ἔτι εἰσὶ σῶοι, σὺν ἐκείνοις μαχώμεθα, καὶ μὴ μόνοι λειφθέντες μόνοι καὶ κινδυνεύσωμεν. Νῦν μὲν οὖν στρατοπεδευόμεθα, προελθόντες, ὅσον ἂν δοκῇ καιρὸς εἶναι εἰς τὸ δεῖπνοποιεῖσθαι· ἕως δ' ἂν πορευώμεθα, Τιμασίῳ, ἔχων τοὺς ἱππέας, προελαυνέτω, ἐφορῶν ἡμᾶς, καὶ σκοπεῖτω 30 τὰ ἔμπροσθεν, ὥς μηδὲν ἡμᾶς λάθῃ.” Παρέπεμψε δὲ καὶ τῶν γυμνήτων ἀνθρώπους εὐζώνους εἰς τὰ πλάγια καὶ εἰς τὰ ἄκρα, ὅπως, εἰ πού τι ποθὲν καθορῶεν, σημαίνοιεν· ἐκέλευε δὲ καλεῖν ἅπαντα, ὅτε ἐντυγχάνοιεν κανσίμῳ. “Ἡμοῖς

μὲν γὰρ ἀποδραίμεν ἂν οὐδαμοῦ ἐνθίνδει· πολλή μὲν γὰρ,"  
 ἔφη, "εἰς Ἡράκλειαν πάλιν ἀπιέναι, πολλή δὲ εἰς Χρυσόπολιν  
 διελθεῖν· οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι πλησίον· εἰς Κάλνης δὲ λιμένα,  
 ἐνθα Χειρίσοφον εἰκάζομεν εἶναι, εἰ σέσωσται, ἐλαχίστη ὁδός.  
 Ἀλλὰ δὴ ἐκεῖ μὲν οὔτε πλοῖά ἐστιν, οἷς ἀποπλευσούμεθα· 5  
 μένουσι δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἐστὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Τῶν  
 δὲ πολιορκουμένων ἀπολομένων, σὺν τοῖς Χειρίσοφον μό-  
 νοις κάκιόν ἐστι διακινδυνεύειν, ἢ τῶνδε σωθέντων πάντας  
 εἰς ταῦτόν ἐλθόντας κοινῇ τῆς σωτηρίας ἔχουσιν. Ἀλλὰ  
 χρὴ παρασκευασμένους τὴν γνώμην πορεύεσθαι, ὥς τῶν ἢ 10  
 εὐκλεῶς τελευτήσαι ἐστιν, ἢ κάλλιστον ἔργον ἐργάσασθαι,  
 Ἑλλήνας τοσούτους σώσαντας. Καὶ ὁ θεὸς ὥς ἄγει οὐ-  
 τως, ὅς τοὺς μεγαληγορήσαντας, ὥς πλέον φρονοῦντας, τα-  
 πεινώσαι βούλεται· ἡμᾶς δέ, τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἀρχομέ-  
 νους, ἐντιμοτέρους ἐκείνων καταστήσαι. Ἀλλ' ἔπεισθαι χρὴ 15  
 καὶ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, ὥς ἂν τὸ παραγγελλόμενον δύνῃσθε  
 ποιεῖν."

Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἤγειτο. Οἱ δ' ἱππεῖς, διασπειρόμενοι ἐφ'  
 ὅσον καλῶς εἶχεν, ἔκαιον, ἢ ἐβάδιζον. Καὶ οἱ πελτασταὶ  
 ἐπιπαριόντες κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα, ἔκαιον πάντα, ὅσα κανύσιμα 20  
 ἔωρων· καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ δέ, εἴ τιτι παραλειπομένῳ ἐντυχά-  
 νοιεν· ὥστε πᾶσα ἡ χώρα αἰθεσθαι ἐδόκει, καὶ τὸ στράτευ-  
 μα πολὺ εἶναι. Ἐπεὶ δ' ὦρα ἦν, κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐπὶ  
 λόφον ἐκβάντες, καὶ τὰ τε τῶν πολεμίων πυρὰ ἔωρων, ἀπει-  
 χον γὰρ ὥς τετταράκοντα στάδια, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὥς ἐδύναντο 25  
 πλεῖστα πυρὰ ἔκαιον. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδείπνησαν τάχιστα, παρηγ-  
 γέλθη τὰ πυρὰ κατασβεννύναι πάντα. Καὶ τὴν μὲν νύκτα  
 φυλακὰς ποιησάμενοι ἐκάθευδον· ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ προσευ-  
 ξάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ συνταξάμενοι ὥς εἰς μάχην, ἐπορεύ-  
 οντο ἢ ἐδύναντο τάχιστα. Τιμασίῳ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς, ἔχοντες 30  
 τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ προειλάνοντες, ἔλαθον αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ λόφῳ  
 γενόμενοι, ἐνθα ἐπολιορκοῦντο οἱ Ἕλληνες. Καὶ οὐχ ὁρῶ-  
 σιν οὔτε τὸ φίλιον στράτευμα, οὔτε τὸ πολέμιον· (καὶ ταῦ-

τα παραγγέλλουσι πρὸς τὸν Ξενοφῶντα καὶ τὸ στράτευμα·) γραῖδια δὲ καὶ γερόντια καὶ προβάτια ὀλίγα καὶ βοῦς καταλειμμένους. Καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον θαῦμα ἦν, τί εἴη τὸ γεγενημένον· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν καταλειμμένων ἐπυνθά-  
 5 νοντο, ὅτι οἱ μὲν Θρᾷκες εὐθύς ἀφ' ἐσπέρας ὥχοντο ἀπιόν-  
 τες· ἔωθεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔφασαν οἴχεσθαι· ὅπου δέ, οὐκ εἰδέναι.

Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἀμφὶ Ξενοφῶντα, ἐπεὶ ἡρίστησαν, συσκευασάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο, βουλόμενοι ὡς τάχιστα συμμῖ-  
 10 ξαι τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα. Καὶ πορευόμενοι ἑάρων τὸν στίβον τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Κάλπης ὁδόν. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὸ αὐτό, ἄσμενοι τε εἶδον ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἡσπάζοντο ὥσπερ ἀδελφούς. Καὶ ἐπυνθάνοντο οἱ Ἀρκάδες τῶν περὶ Ξενοφῶντα, τί τὰ πυρὰ κατασβέπειαν·  
 15 “ἡμεῖς μὲν γάρ,” ἔφασαν, “ώόμεθα, ὑμᾶς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ἐπειδὴ τὰ πυρὰ οὐχ ἑωρῶμεν, τῆς νυκτὸς ἦξιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι δέ, ὡς γ' ἡμῖν ἐδόκουν, τοῦτο δει-  
 σαντες ἀπῆλθον· σχεδὸν γὰρ ἀμφὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἀπῆ-  
 20 εσαν. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἀφίκευθε, ὁ δὲ χρόνος ἐξῆκεν, ώόμεθ', ὑμᾶς, πυθομένους τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν, φοβηθέντας οἴχεσθαι ἀποδράντας ἐπὶ θάλατταν· καὶ ἐδόκει ἡμῖν, μὴ ἀπολι-  
 πέσθαι ὑμῶν. Οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς δεῦρο ἐπορεύθη-  
 μεν.”

### Κεφάλαιον δ'.

Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ ἠυλίζοντο ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 25 αἰγιαλοῦ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι. Τὸ δὲ χωρίον τοῦτο, ὃ καλεῖται Κάλπης λιμὴν, ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῇ Θρᾷκῃ τῇ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ· ἀρξα-  
 μένη δὲ ἡ Θρᾷκη αὕτη ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ Πόντου μέχρις Ἡρακλείας, ἐπὶ δεξιὰ εἰς τὸν Πόντον εἰσπλέοντι. Καὶ  
 30 τριήρει μὲν ἐστὶν εἰς Ἡράκλειαν ἐκ Βυζαντίου κώπαις ἡμέρας  
 μάλα μακρᾶς πλοῦς· ἐν δὲ τῷ μέσῳ ἄλλη μὲν πόλις οὐδεμία,

οὔτε φίλια, οὔτε Ἑλληνίς, ἀλλὰ Θρηῆκες Βιθυνοί· καὶ οὓς ἂν  
 λάβωσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων [ἧ] ἐκπίπτοντας ἢ ἄλλως πως, δεῖνὰ ὑβρί-  
 ζειν λέγονται τοὺς Ἑλληνας. Ὁ δὲ Κάλπης λιμὴν ἐν μέσῳ μὲν  
 κεῖται ἐκατέρωθεν πλεόντων ἐξ Ἡρακλείας καὶ Βυζαντίου·  
 ἔστι δ' ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ προκείμενον χωρίον, τὸ μὲν εἰς τὴν θ  
 θαλάτταν καθήκον αὐτοῦ, πέτρα ἀπορύωξ, ὕψος, ὅπη ἐλά-  
 χιστον, οὐ μείον εἴκοσιν ὀργυιῶν· ὁ δὲ αὐχὴν, ὁ εἰς τὴν  
 γῆν ἀνήκων τοῦ χωρίου, μάλιστα τετάρων πλείθρων τὸ εὐ-  
 ρος· τὸ δ' ἐντὸς τοῦ αὐχενος χωρίον, ἱκανὸν μυρίοις ἀν-  
 θρώποις οἰκῆσαι. Λιμὴν δ' ὑπ' αὐτῇ τῇ πέτρᾳ, τὸ πρὸς 10  
 ἐσπέραν αἰγιαλὸν ἔχων. Κρήνη δὲ ἡδέος ὕδατος καὶ ἄ-  
 φθονος ῥέουσα ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ θαλάττῃ, ὑπὸ τῇ ἐπικρατείᾳ τοῦ  
 χωρίου. Ξύλα δὲ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, πάντῃ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ  
 καλὰ ναυπηγήσιμα ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ θαλάττῃ. Τὸ δὲ ὄρος τὸ ἐν  
 τῷ λιμένι εἰς μεσούγαιαν μὲν ἀνήκει, ὅσον ἐπὶ εἴκοσι σταδί- 15  
 ουσ. καὶ τοῦτο γεῶδες καὶ ἄλιθον· τὸ δὲ παρὰ θαλάτταν,  
 πλέον ἢ ἐπὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους, δασὺ πολλοῖς καὶ παντοδαποῖς  
 καὶ μεγάλοις ξύλοις. ἼΙ δ' ἄλλη χώρα καλὴ καὶ πολλή·  
 καὶ κῶμαι ἐν αὐτῇ εἰσι πολλαὶ καὶ εὖ οἰκούμεναι· φέρει  
 γὰρ ἡ γῆ καὶ κριθάς καὶ πυροὺς καὶ ὕσπρια πάντα καὶ με- 20  
 λίνας καὶ σήσαμον καὶ σῦκα ἀρκούντα καὶ ἀμπέλους πολλὰς  
 καὶ ἡδυοίνους, καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα, πλην ἐλαιῶν. Ἡ μὲν χώρα  
 ἦν τοιαύτη.

Ἐσκήνουν δὲ ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ· εἰς δὲ τὸ  
 πόλισμα ἂν γενόμενον οὐκ ἐβούλοντο στρατοπεδεύεσθαι· 25  
 ἀλλὰ ἐδόκει καὶ τὸ ἐλθεῖν ἐνταῦθα ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς εἶναι, βου-  
 λομένων τινῶν κατοικίσαι πόλιν. Τῶν γὰρ στρατιωτῶν οἱ  
 πλείστοι ἦσαν οὐ σπάνει βίου ἐκπεπλευκότες ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν  
 μισθοφοράν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Κύρου ἀρετὴν ἀκούοντες, οἱ μὲν καὶ  
 ἄνδρας ἄγοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ προσαγγελωκότες χρήματα, καὶ 30  
 τούτων ἕτεροι ἀποδεδρακότες πατέρας καὶ μητέρας, οἱ δὲ  
 καὶ τέκνα καταλιπόντες, ὡς χρήματα αὐτοῖς κτησάμενοι  
 ἤζοντες πάλιν, ἀκούοντες καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς παρὰ Κύρῳ

πολλά καὶ ἀγαθὰ πράττειν. Τοιοῦτοι οὖν ὄντες, ἐπόθουν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα σῶζεσθαι.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑστεραία ἡμέρα ἐγένετο τῆς εἰς ταὐτὸ συνό-  
δου, ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ ἐθύετο Ξενοφῶν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἦν, ἐπὶ τὰ  
ἐπιτήδεια ἐξαγεῖν· ἐπενόει δὲ καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι.  
Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἱερά ἐγένετο, εἶποντο καὶ οἱ Ἀρκάδες, καὶ τοὺς  
νεκροὺς, τοὺς μὲν πλείστους ἔνθαπερ ἔπεσον, ἑκάστους ἔθα-  
ψαν· (ἦδη γὰρ ἦσαν πεμπταῖοι, καὶ οὐχ οἷόν τε ἀναιρεῖν  
ἔτι ἦν)· ἐνίοις δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ὁδῶν συνενεγκόντες, ἔθαψαν  
10 ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὡς ἐδύναντο κάλλιστα· οὓς δὲ μὴ εὖρι-  
σκον, κενοτάφιον αὐτοῖς ἐποίησαν μέγα, [καὶ πυρὰν μεγά-  
λην,] καὶ στεφάνους ἐπέθευαν. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀνε-  
χώρησαν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. Καὶ τότε μὲν δειπνήσαντες  
ἐκοιμήθησαν· τῇ δ' ὑστεραία συνῆλθον οἱ στρατιῶται πάν-  
15 τες· συνῆγον δὲ αὐτοὺς μάλιστα Ἀγασίας Στιμφάλιος, ὁ λο-  
χαγός, καὶ Ἰερώνυμος Ἡλεῖος, λοχαγός, καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ πρε-  
σβύτατοι τῶν Ἀρκάδων· καὶ δόγμα ἐποίησαντο, ἐάν τις τοῦ  
λοιποῦ μνησθῇ δίχα τὸ στράτευμα ποιεῖν, θανάτῳ αὐτὸν  
ζημιοῦσθαι· καὶ κατὰ χώραν ἀπιέναι, ἥπερ πρόσθεν εἶχε τὸ  
20 στράτευμα, καὶ ἄρχειν τοὺς πρόσθεν στρατηγούς. Καὶ  
Χειρίλοφος μὲν ἤδη τετελευτήκει, φάρμακον πιών, πυρέτ-  
των· τὰ δ' ἰκκίνου Νέων ὁ Ἀσιναῖος παρέλαβε.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐξαναστὰς εἶπε Ξενοφῶν· “Ὡ ἄνδρες  
στρατιῶται, τὴν μὲν πορείαν, ὡς ἔοικε, δῆλον ὅτι περὶ ποιη-  
25 τέον· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι πλοῖα· ἀνάγκη δὲ πορεύεσθαι ἤδη· οὐ  
γὰρ ἔστι μένουσι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν,” ἔφη,  
“θυσομένα· ὑμᾶς δὲ δεῖ παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς μαχουμέ-  
νους, εἴ ποτε καὶ ἄλλοτε· οἱ γὰρ πολέμιοι ἀναισθητῶς ἔσονται.”  
Ἐκ τοῦτου ἐθύοντο οἱ στρατηγοί, μάντις δὲ παρῆν  
30 Ἀρηξίων Ἀρκάς· ὁ δὲ Σιλανός ὁ Ἀμβρακιώτης ἤδη ἀποδε-  
δράκει, πλοῖον μισθωσάμενος, ἐξ Ἡρακλείας. Θυομένοις  
δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀφόδῳ οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερά. Ταύτην μὲν οὖν  
τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπαύσαντο. Καὶ τινες ἐτόλμων λέγειν, ὡς ὁ

Ξενοφῶν, βουλόμενος τὸ χωρίον οἰκίσαι, πέπεικε τὸν μάντιν λέγειν, ὡς τὰ ἱερὰ οὐ γίγνεται ἐπὶ ἀφόδῳ. Ἐντεῦθεν κηρύξας Ξενοφῶν, τῇ αὐρίον παρῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν τὸν βουλόμενον, καὶ μάντις εἴ τις εἴη, παραγγείλας παρῆναι, ὡς συνθρασόμενον τὰ ἱερὰ, ἔθνε· καὶ ἐνταῦθα παρήσαν πολ- 5  
λοι. Θυομένων δὲ πάλιν εἰς τρίς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀφόδῳ, οὐκ ἐγί-  
γνετο τὰ ἱερὰ. Ἐκ τούτου χαλεπῶς εἶχον οἱ στρατιῶται·  
καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπέλιπεν, ἃ ἔχοντες ἦλθον, καὶ ἀγορὰ  
οὐδεμία παρήν.

Ἐκ τούτου συναλθόντων, εἶπε πάλιν Ξενοφῶν· “Ὡ 10  
ἄνδρες, ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ πορείᾳ, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, τὰ ἱερὰ οὐπω γίγνε-  
ται· τῶν δ’ ἐπιτηδείων ὁρῶ ὑμᾶς δεομένους· ἀνάγκη οὖν  
μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, θύεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου.” Ἀναστάς δὲ  
τις εἶπε· “Καὶ εἰκότως ἄρα ἡμῖν οὐ γίγνεται τὰ ἱερὰ·  
ὡς γὰρ ἐγώ, ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου χθὲς ἤκοντος πλοίου, ἤκου- 15  
σά τιнос, ὅτι Κλεάνδρος [ὁ] ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἀρμωστής μέλλει  
ῆξειν, πλοῖα ἔχων καὶ τριήρεις.” Ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἀναμένειν  
μὲν πᾶσιν ἐδόκει· ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ἐξι-  
ναί· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πάλιν ἐθύετο εἰς τρίς, καὶ οὐκ ἐγίγνετο  
τὰ ἱερὰ· καὶ ἤδη καὶ ἐπὶ σκηνὴν ἰόντες τὴν Ξενοφῶντος, 20  
ἔλεγον, ὅτι οὐκ ἔχοιεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Ὁ δ’ οὐκ ἂν ἔφη ἔξα-  
γαγεῖν, μὴ γιγνομένων τῶν ἱερῶν.

Καὶ πάλιν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐθύετο, καὶ σχεδόν τι πᾶσα ἡ  
στρατιά, διὰ τὸ μέλειν πᾶσιν, ἐκκυλοῦτο περὶ τὰ ἱερὰ· τὰ  
δὲ θύματα ἐπελελοίπει. Οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ ἐξῆγον μὲν οὐ, 25  
συνεκάλεσαν δέ. Εἶπεν οὖν ὁ Ξενοφῶν· “Ἵσως οἱ πολέ-  
μιοι συνειλεγμένοι εἰσὶ, καὶ ἀνάγκη μάχεσθαι· εἰ οὖν, κα-  
ταλιπόντες τὰ σκεύη ἐν τῷ ἐρυμνῷ, ὡς εἰς μάχην παρεσκευ-  
ασμένοι ὦμεν, Ἵσως ἂν τὰ ἱερὰ μᾶλλον προχωροίη ἡμῖν.”  
Ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται ἀνέκραγον, ὡς οὐδὲν δεόν εἰς 30  
τὸ χωρίον ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ θύεσθαι ὡς τάχιστα. Καὶ πρόβατα  
μὲν οὐκέτι ἦν, βοῦν δὲ ὑφ’ ἀμάξης πριάμενοι ἐθύοντο· καὶ  
Ξενοφῶν Κλεάνορος ἐδεήθη τοῦ Ἀρκάδος προθυμῆσθαι, εἴ  
τι ἐν τούτῳ εἴη. Ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ὡς ἐγένετο τὰ ἱερὰ.

Νέων δὲ ἦν μὲν στρατηγὸς κατὰ τὸ Χειρισόφου μέρος·  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδρα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὡς εἶχον δεινῶς τῇ ἐνδείᾳ,  
 βουλόμενος αὐτοῖς χάρισσασθαι, εὐρών τινα ἀνθρῶπον Ἡρα-  
 κλεώτην, ὃς ἔφη κώμας ἐγγὺς εἰδέναι, ὅθεν εἴη λαβεῖν τὰ  
 5 ἐπιτήδεια, ἐκήρυξε, τὸν βουλόμενον ἵνα ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια,  
 ὡς ἡγεμόνος ἔσομένου. Ἐξέρχονται δὴ σὺν δορατίοις, καὶ  
 ἄσκοις, καὶ θυλάκοις, καὶ ἄλλοις ἀγγείοις, εἰς διεχιλλοὺς  
 ἀνθρώπους. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς κώμαις, καὶ διεσπεί-  
 ροντο ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ λαμβάνειν, ἐπιπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ Φαρνα-  
 10 βάζου ἱππεῖς πρῶτοι· βεβοηθηκότες γὰρ ἦσαν τοῖς Βιθυ-  
 νοῖς, βουλόμενοι σὺν τοῖς Βιθυνοῖς, εἰ δύναιντο, ἀποκωλύ-  
 σαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, μὴ ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν Φρυγίαν. Οὗτοι οἱ  
 ἱππεῖς ἀποκτείνουσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐ μείον [ῆ] πεντακοσί-  
 ον· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος ἀνέφυγον.  
 15 Ἐκ τούτου ἀπαγγέλλει τις ταῦτα τῶν ἀποπεφευγόντων εἰς  
 τὸ στρατόπεδον. Καὶ Ξενοφῶν, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐγγίγνητο τὰ  
 ἱερὰ ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, λαβὼν βοῦν ὑπὸ ἀμάξης, οὐ γὰρ ἦν  
 ἄλλα ἱερεῖα, σφαγιασάμενος ἐβοήθει, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ μέχρι  
 πεντήκοντα εἰὼν πάντες. Καὶ ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς λοιποὺς  
 20 ἄνδρας, εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφικνοῦνται. Καὶ ἤδη μὲν ἀμ-  
 φι ἡλίου δυσμὰς ἦν, καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες μάλα ἀθύμως ἔχοντες  
 ἐδειπνοποιοῦντο. Καὶ ἐξαπίνης διὰ τῶν λασίων τῶν Βιθυνῶν  
 τινες ἐπιγενόμενοι τοῖς προφύλαξι τοὺς μὲν κατέκανον, τοὺς  
 δὲ ἐδίωξαν μέχρις εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. Καὶ κραυγῆς γενομέ-  
 25 νης, εἰς τὰ ὕπλα πάντες συνέδραμον οἱ Ἕλληνες· καὶ διώ-  
 κειν μὲν καὶ κινεῖν τὸ στρατόπεδον νυκτὸς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐδό-  
 κει εἶναι· δασέα γὰρ ἦν τὰ χωρία· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐνυ-  
 πτέρειον, φυλαττόμενοι ἱκανοὶς φύλαξι.

## Κεφάλαιον ε'.

Τὴν μὲν νύκτα οὕτω διήγαγον· ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὸ ἐρυμνὸν χωρίον ἤγουντο· οἱ δὲ εἰποντο, ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὰ σκεύη. Πρὶν δὲ ὑρίστου ὥραν εἶναι, ἀπειτάφρευσαν, ἥ ἢ εἰσοδος ἦν εἰς τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ἀπεισταύρωσαν ἅπαν, καταλιπόντες τρεῖς πύλας. Καὶ 6 πλοῖον ἐξ Ἡρακλείας ἦκεν, ἄλφιτα ἄγον καὶ ἱερεῖα καὶ οἶνον. Πρωτὶ δ' ἀνασταῖς Ξενοφῶν ἐθύετο ἐπεξόδια, καὶ γίγνεται τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου ἱεροῦ. Καὶ ἤδη τέλος ἐχόντων τῶν ἱερῶν, ὅρᾳ αἰετὸν αἴσιον ὁ μάντις Ἀρηξίων Παρθένσιος, καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι κελεύει τὸν Ξενοφῶντα. Καὶ διαβίντες τὴν τά- 10 φρον, τὰ ὄπλα τίθενται, καὶ ἐκήρυξαν ἀριστήσαντις ἐξίεναι τοὺς στρατιώτας σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις, τὸν δὲ ὄχλον καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν. Οἱ μὲν δὲ ἄλλοι πάντες ἐξήμεσαν, Νέων δὲ οὐ· ἰδόκει γὰρ κάλλιστον εἶναι, τοῦτον φύ- 15 λακα καταλιπεῖν τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ 16 λοχαγοὶ καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἀπέλιπον αὐτόν, αἰσχυρόμενοι μὴ ἐφίπτεσθαι, τῶν ἄλλων ἐξιόντων, κατέλιπον αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὑπὲρ πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα ἔτη. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἔμενον· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἐπορεύοντο. Πρὶν δὲ πέντε καὶ δέκα στάδια διεληλυθέναι, ἐνέτυχον ἤδη νεκροῖς· καὶ τὴν οὐρὰν τοῦ κέ- 20 ρατος ποιησήμενοι κατὰ τοὺς πρώτους φανέντας νεκρούς, ἔθαπτον πάντας, ὅποσους ἐπελάμβανε τὸ κέρας. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοὺς πρώτους ἔθαψαν, προαγαγόντες, καὶ τὴν οὐρὰν αὐ- 25 θις ποιησάμενοι κατὰ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν ἀτάφων, ἔθαπτον τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὅποσους ἐπελάμβανε ἡ στρατιά. Ἐπεὶ 26 δὲ εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ἦκον τὴν ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν, ἔνθα ἔκειντο ἀθρόοι, συνενεγκόντες αὐτοὺς ἔθαψαν.

Ἦδη δὲ πέρα μεσοῦσης τῆς ἡμέρας προαγαγόντες τὸ στρατεύμα ἔξω τῶν κωμῶν, ἐλάμβανον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὃ τι 30 τὶς ὁρώῃ ἐντὸς τῆς φάλαγγος. Καὶ ἐξαίφνης ὁρῶσι τοὺς 30

πολεμίους ὑπερβάλλοντας κατὰ λόφους τινὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντί-  
 ου, τεταγμένους ἐπὶ φάλαγγος, ἱππείας τε πολλοὺς καὶ πε-  
 ζοὺς· καὶ γὰρ Σπιθριδάτης καὶ Ῥαθίνης ἦγον παρὰ Φαρ-  
 ναβάζου ἔχοντες τὴν δύναμιν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατείδον τοὺς Ἑλ-  
 5 λήνας οἱ πολέμιοι, ἔστησαν ἀπέχοντες αὐτῶν ὅσον πεντεκαί-  
 δεκα σταδίου. Ἐκ τούτου εὐθὺς Ἀρηξίων, ὁ μάντις τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων, σφαγιάζεται, καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου καλὰ τὰ  
 σφάγια. Ἐνταῦθα ὁ Ξενοφῶν λέγει· “Δοκεῖ μοι, ὃ ἄν-  
 10 δρες στρατηγοί, ἐπιτάσσασθαι τῇ φάλαγγι λόχους φύλακας,  
 ἵνα, ἣν πού δέη, ὥσιν οἱ ἐπιβοηθήσοντες τῇ φάλαγγι, καὶ  
 οἱ πολέμιοι τεταραγμένοι ἐμπίπτωσιν εἰς τεταγμένους καὶ  
 ἀπεραίους.” Συνεδόκει ταῦτα πᾶσιν. “Τρεῖς μὲν τοί-  
 15 γυν,” ἔφη, “προηγῆσθε τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, ὡς μὴ  
 ἐστίγωμεν, ἐπεὶ ὥφθημεν καὶ εἶδομεν τοὺς πολεμίους·  
 ἐγὼ δὲ ἦξω, τοὺς τελευταίους λόχους καταχωρίσας, ἥπερ ὑμῖν  
 δοκεῖ.”

Ἐξ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἦσυχοι προῆγον· ὁ δὲ, τρεῖς ἀφελὼν  
 τὰς τελευταίας τάξεις, ἀνὰ διακοσίους ἄνδρας, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ  
 τὸ δεξιὸν ἐπέτρεψεν ἐφέπεσθαι, ἀπολιπόντας ὡς πλεῖστον·  
 20 Σαμόλας Ἀχαιοὺς ταύτης ἤρχε τῆς τάξεως· τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τῷ μέ-  
 σῳ ἐχοίρισεν ἔπεισθαι· Πυρρόλας Ἀρκὰς ταύτης ἤρχε· τὴν  
 δὲ μίαν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκωνάνμῳ· Φρασίλας Ἀθηναῖος ταύτῃ ἐφει-  
 στήκει. Προΐοντες δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ ἡγούμενοι ἐπὶ νά-  
 πει μεγάλῃ καὶ δυσπόρῳ, ἔστησαν, ἀγνοοῦντες, εἰ διαβατέον  
 25 εἴη τὸ νάπος, καὶ παρεγγυῶσι στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγοὺς  
 παριέναι ἐπὶ τὸ ἡγούμενον. Καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν, θαυμάσας,  
 ὅ τι τὸ ἔχον εἴη τὴν πορείαν, καὶ τάχα ἀκούων τὴν παρεγ-  
 γυήν, ἐλαύνει ἢ ἐδύνατο τάχιστα. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, λέγει  
 Σοφαίνετος, πρεσβύτατος ὢν τῶν στρατηγῶν, ὅτι βουλῆς οὐκ  
 30 ἄξιον εἴη, εἰ διαβατέον ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον ὃν τὸ νάπος.

Καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν σπουδῇ ὑπολαβὼν ἔλεξεν· “Ἄλλ' ἴστα  
 μὲν με, ὃ ἄνδρες, οὐδένα πω κίνδυνον προξενήσαντα ὑμῖν  
 ἐθιλούσιον· οὐ γὰρ δόξης ὀρεῶ δεομένους ὑμᾶς εἰς ἀνδρεό-

τητα, ἀλλὰ σωτηρίας. Νῦν δὲ οὕτως ἔχει· ἀμαχεὶ μὲν ἐν-  
 θένδε οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπελθεῖν· ἤν γὰρ μὴ ἡμεῖς ἴωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 πολεμίους, οὗτοι ἡμῖν, ὅταν ἀπίωμεν, ἐφονται καὶ ἐπιπε-  
 δύνονται. Ὁρᾷτε δὴ, πότερον κρεῖττον ἵεναι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄν-  
 δρας, προβαλλομένους τὰ ὅπλα, ἢ μεταβαλλομένους, ὅπ-  
 σθεν ἡμῶν ἐπιόντας τοὺς πολεμίους θεάσασθαι. Ἰστε γε  
 μέντοι, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἀπιέναι ἀπὸ πολέμιων οὐδενὶ καλῶ ἔοικε·  
 τὸ δὲ ἐφέπεσθαι καὶ τοῖς κακίους θάρσος ἐμποιεῖ. Ἐγὼ  
 γε οὖν ἥδιον ἂν σὺν ἡμίσεισιν ἐποίμην, ἢ σὺν διπλασίοις ἀπο-  
 χωροίην. Καὶ τούτους οἶδ' ὅτι, ἐπιόντων μὲν ἡμῶν, οὐδ' ὑμεῖς 10  
 ἐλπίζετε δέξασθαι ἡμᾶς· ἀπιόντων δέ, πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα,  
 ὅτι τολμήσουσιν ἐφέπεσθαι. Τὸ δὲ διαβάντας ὕπισθεν νάπος  
 χαλεπὸν ποιήσασθαι, μέλλοντας μάχεσθαι, ἅρ' οὐχὶ καὶ ἀρ-  
 πάσαι ἄξιον; Τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πολέμοις ἔγωγε βουλοίμην ἂν  
 εὐπορα πάντα φαίνεσθαι, ὥστε ἀποχωρεῖν· ἡμᾶς δὲ καὶ 15  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ χωρίου δεῖ διδάσκεισθαι, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι μὴ νικῶσι  
 σωτηρία. Θαυμάζω δ' ἔγωγε καὶ τὸ νάπος τοῦτο εἶ τις  
 μᾶλλον φοβερὸν νομίζει εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων, ὢν διαπεπορεύ-  
 μεθα χωρίων. Πῶς μὲν γὰρ διαβατὸν τὸ πεδίον, εἰ μὴ  
 νικήσομεν τοὺς ἰλπίας; πῶς δὲ ἂ διελκλύθामен ὄρη, ἣν 20  
 πελτασταὶ τοσοῦδε ἐφέπωνται; Ἦν δὲ δὴ καὶ σωθῶμεν ἐπὶ  
 θάλατταν, πόσον τι νάπος ὁ Πόντος; ἔνθα οὔτε πλοῖα ἔστι  
 τὰ ἀπάξοντα, οὔτε σῖτος, ὧς θρεφόμεθα μένοντες· δεήσει  
 δέ, ἣν θᾶττον ἐκεῖ γινώμεθα, θᾶττον ἐξίεναι πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰ  
 ἐπιτήδεια. Οὐκοῦν νῦν κρεῖττον ἡριστηκότας μάχεσθαι, ἢ 25  
 αἵριον ἀναρίστους. Ἄνδρες, τά τε ἱερὰ ἡμῖν καλὰ, οἳ τε οἰ-  
 ωνοὶ αἵσιοι, τά τε σφάγια κάλλιστα. Ἰωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄν-  
 δρας. Οὐ δεῖ ἔτι τούτους, ἐπεὶ ἡμᾶς πάντας εἶδον, ἡδέως  
 δειπνῆσαι, οὐδ' ὅπου ἂν ἐθέλωσι σκητῆσαι."

Ἐντεῦθεν οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον, καὶ οὐδείς ἄν- 30  
 τέλεγε. Καὶ ὃς ἡγεῖτο, παραγγέλλας διαβαίνειν, ἢ ἑαυτοὺς  
 ἐτύγχανε τοῦ νάπου ὢν· θᾶττον γὰρ ἂν ἀθρόον εἶδοι  
 οὕτω πέραν γενέσθαι τὸ στράτευμα, ἢ εἰ κατὰ τὴν γέφυραν,

ἣ ἐπὶ τῷ νάπει ἦν, ἐξεμυρύνοντο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβησαν, παρι-  
 ὦν παρὰ τὴν φάλαγγα, ἔλεγεν· “Ἄνδρες, ἀναμιμνήσκεσθε,  
 ὅσας δὴ μάχας σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ὁμόσε ἰόντες νενικήκατε, καὶ  
 οἷα πάσχουσιν οἱ πολεμίους φεύγοντες· καὶ τοῦτ' ἐννοήσατε,  
 ὅτι ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐσμέν. Ἄλλ' ἔπεισθε Ἡγε-  
 μόνι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, καὶ ἀλλήλους παρακαλεῖτε ὀνομασί-  
 ῃ· Ἡδὺ τοι, ἀνδρεῖον καὶ καλὸν νῦν εἰπόντα καὶ ποιήσαντα,  
 μῆμην, ἐν οἷς ἐθέλει, παρέχειν ἑαυτοῦ.”

Ταῦτα παρελάνων ἔλεγε, καὶ ἅμα ὑψηγέτο ἐπὶ φάλαγ-  
 10 γος, καὶ τοὺς πελταστὰς ἐκατέρωθεν ποιησάμενοι ἐπορεύ-  
 οντο ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. Παρηγγέλλετο δὲ τὰ μὲν δόρατα  
 ἐπὶ τὸν δεξιὸν ὤμον ἔχειν, ἕως σημαῖνοι τῇ σάλπιγγι· ἔπει-  
 τα δὲ εἰς προβολὴν καθέντας ἔπεισθαι βύδην, καὶ μηδὲνα  
 δρόμῳ διώκειν. Ἐκ τούτου σύνθημα παρήει, ΖΕΤΣ ΣΩ-  
 15 ΤΗΡ, ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ ΗΓΕΜΩΝ. Οἱ δὲ πολέμοιοι ὑπέμε-  
 νον, νομίζοντες, καλὸν ἔχειν τὸ χωρίον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπλησία-  
 ζον, ἀλαλάξαντες οἱ Ἕλληνες πελτασταὶ ἔθειον ἐπὶ τοὺς πο-  
 λεμίους, πρὶν τινα κελεύειν· οἱ δὲ πολέμοιοι ἀντίοι ὤρησαν,  
 οἱ τε ἱππεῖς καὶ τὸ στίφος τῶν Βιθυνῶν· καὶ τρέπονται  
 20 τοὺς πελταστὰς. Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ ὑπηντίαζεν ἡ φάλαγξ τῶν ὀπλι-  
 τῶν ταχὺ πορευομένη, καὶ ἅμα ἡ σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγγετο, καὶ  
 ἐπαιάνιζον, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡλάλαζον, καὶ ἅμα τὰ δόρατα  
 καθέσαν, ἐνταῦθα οὐκέτι ἐδέξαντο οἱ πολέμοιοι, ἀλλ' ἔφευ-  
 γον. Καὶ Τιμασίῳ μὲν ἔχων τοὺς ἱππείας ἐφείπετο, καὶ  
 25 ἀπεκτίννυσαν, ὅσους περ ἐδύναντο, ὥς ὀλίγοι ὄντες. Τῶν  
 δὲ πολεμίων τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον εὐθὺς διεσπάρη, καθ' ὃ οἱ  
 Ἕλληνες ἱππεῖς ἦσαν· τὸ δὲ δεξιόν, αἶτε οὐ σφόδρα διωκό-  
 μενον, ἐπὶ λόφου συνέστη. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑπο-  
 μένοντας αὐτούς, ἰδόκει ῥᾶστόν τε καὶ ἀκινδυνότατον εἶναι,  
 30 εἶναι ἤδη ἐπ' αὐτούς. Παιανίσαντες οὖν, εὐθὺς ἐπέκειντο·  
 οἱ δὲ οὐχ ὑπέμειναν. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα οἱ πελτασταὶ ἐδίωκον,  
 μέχρι τὸ δεξιὸν αὐτὸν διεσπάρη· ἀπέθανον δ' ὀλίγοι· τὸ γὰρ  
 ἱππικὸν φόβον παρῆχε, τὸ τῶν πολεμίων, πολὺ ὄν. Ἐπει

δὲ εἶδον οἱ Ἕλληνες τὸ τε Φαρναβάζου ἱππικὸν ἔτι συνεστη-  
 κός, καὶ τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς ἱππίας πρὸς τούτους συναθροίζο-  
 μένους, καὶ ἀπὸ λόφου τινοῦ καταθειμένους τὰ γιγνόμενα,  
 ἀπειρήκεσαν μὲν, ὅμως δ' ἐδόκει καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους ἱεῖον εἶναι  
 οὕτως, ὅπως δύναιντο, ὥς μὴ τεθαρσύνεσθαι ἀναπαύσαιντο. 5  
 Συνταξάμενοι δὲ πορεύονται. Ἐντεῦθεν οἱ πολέμιοι ἱππεῖς  
 φεύγουσι κατὰ τοῦ πρανοῦς, ὁμοίως ὥσπερ ὑπὸ ἱππέων διω-  
 κόμενοι· νῆπιος γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὑπεδέχετο, ὃ οὐκ ᾔδεσαν οἱ  
 Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ προαπειράποντο διώκοντες· ὁψὲ γὰρ ἦν.  
 Ἐπανελθόντες δέ, ἔνθα [δὴ] ἡ πρώτη συμβολὴ ἐγένετο, 10  
 στησάμενοι τρόπιον, ἀπῆσαν ἐπὶ θάλατταν περὶ ἡλίου  
 δυσμᾶς· στάδιοι γὰρ ἦσαν ὥς ἐξήκοντα ἐπὶ τὸ στρατό-  
 πεδον.

### Κεφάλαιον 5'.

Ἐντεῦθεν οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι εἶχον ἀμφὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν, καὶ  
 ἀπῆγοντο καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ τὰ χρήματα, ὅποι ἐδύναντο 15  
 προσωτάτω· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες προσέμενον μὲν Κλείανδρον, καὶ  
 τὰς τριήρεις, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα, ὥς ἤξοντα· ἐξιόντες δὲ ἐκάστης  
 ἡμέρας σὺν τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις καὶ τοῖς ἀνδραπόδοις, ἐφέροντο  
 ἀδεῶς ἤδη πυρρὸς, κριθάς, οἶνον, ὄσπρια, μελίνας, σῦκα·  
 ἅπαντα γὰρ [ἀγαθὰ] εἶχεν ἡ χώρα, πλὴν ἐλαίου. Καὶ 20  
 ὁπότε μὲν καταμένοι τὸ στρατεύμα ἀναπαυόμενον, ἐξῆν ἐπὶ  
 λείαν εἶναι· καὶ ἐλάμβανον οἱ ἐξιόντες· ὁπότε δ' ἐξίει πᾶν  
 τὸ στρατεύμα, εἴ τις χωρὶς ἀπελθὼν λάβοι τι, δημόσιον ἔδο-  
 ξεν εἶναι. Ἦδη δὲ ἦν [πολλὴ] πάντων ἀφθονία· καὶ γὰρ  
 ἀγοραὶ πάντοθεν ἀφικνούντο ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, καὶ 25  
 οἱ παραπλέοντες ἄσμεοι κατήγον, ἀκούοντες, ὥς οἰκίζετο  
 πόλις, καὶ λιμὴν εἶη. Ἐπεμπον δὲ καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι [ἤδη],  
 οἱ πλησίον ὦκουν, πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα, ἀκούοντες, ὅτι οὗτος  
 κολλᾷ τὸ χωρίον, ἐρωτῶντες, ὃ τι δίοι ποιοῦντας φίλους

εἶναι. Ὁ δ' ἐπεδείκνυνεν αὐτοὺς τοῖς στρατιώταις. Κἀν  
 τούτῳ Κλέανδρος ἀφικνεῖται, δύο τριήρεις ἔχων, πλοῖον  
 δ' οὐδέν. Ἐτύγχανε δὲ τὸ στράτευμα ἔξω ὣν, ὅτε ἀφίκετο,  
 καὶ ἐπὶ λείαν τινὲς οἰχόμενοι, ἄλλοι εἰς τὸ ὄρος· καὶ εἰλή-  
 5 φεσαν πρόβυτα πολλά· ὀκνοῦντες δέ, μὴ ἀφαιρεθεῖεν, τῷ  
 Δεξιππῳ λέγουσιν (ὅς ἀπέδρα τὴν πεντηκόντορον ἔχων ἐκ  
 Τραπεζοῦντος), καὶ κελεύουσι διασώσαντα τὰ πρόβυτα, τὰ  
 μὲν αὐτὸν λιβεῖν, τὰ δὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἀποδοῦναι.

Εὐθύς δ' ἐκείνος ἀπελαύνει τοὺς περιεστώτας τῶν στρα-  
 10 τιωτῶν, καὶ λέγοντας, ὅτι δημόσια ταῦτ' εἴη, καὶ τῷ Κλεάν-  
 δρῳ [εὐθύς] ἐλθὼν λέγει, ὅτι ἀρπάζειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν. Ὁ δὲ  
 κελεύει τὸν ἀρπάζοντα ἄγειν πρὸς αὐτόν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν λαβὼν  
 ἄγει τινά· περιτυχὼν δ' Ἀγασίας ἀφαιρεῖται· καὶ γὰρ ἦν  
 αὐτῷ ὁ ἀγόμενος λοχίτης. Οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι οἱ παρόντες τῶν  
 15 στρατιωτῶν ἐπιχειροῦσι βάλλειν τὸν Δεξιππον, ἀνακαλοῦντες  
 τὸν προδότην. Ἔδρισαν δὲ καὶ τῶν τριηριτῶν πολλοί, καὶ  
 ἔφευγον εἰς τὴν θάλατταν· καὶ Κλεάνδρος δ' ἔφευγε.  
 Ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ κατεκώλυνόν τε, καὶ τῷ  
 Κλεάνδρῳ ἔλεγον, ὅτι οὐδὲν εἴη πρᾶγμα, ἀλλὰ τὸ δόγμα εἴη  
 20 αἷτιον, τὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος, ταῦτα γενέσθαι. Ὁ δὲ Κλέ-  
 ανδρος, ὑπὸ τοῦ Δεξιππου τε ἀνερθετιζόμενος, καὶ αὐτὸς  
 ἄχθεσθεὶς, ὅτι ἐφοβήθη, ἀποπλευσεῖσθαι ἔρη καὶ κηρύξειν,  
 μηδεμίαν πόλιν δέχεσθαι αὐτούς, ὥς πολεμίους. Ἦρχον δὲ  
 τότε πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι.

25 Ἐνταῦθα πονηρὸν ἐδόκει τὸ πρᾶγμα [ἐκεῖνο] εἶναι τοῖς  
 Ἕλλησι, καὶ ἐδέοντο μὴ ποιεῖν ταῦτα. Ὁ δ' οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως  
 ἔφη γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ τις ἐκδώσει τὸν ἄρξαντα βάλλειν καὶ  
 τὸν ἀφελόμενον. Ἦν δέ, ὃν ἐζήτει, Ἀγασίας, διὰ τέλους  
 φίλος τῷ Ξενοφῶντι· ἐξ οὗ καὶ διέβαλεν αὐτὸν ὁ Δεξιππος.  
 30 Καὶ ἐντεῦθεν, ἐπειδὴ ἀπορία ἦν, συνήγαγον τὸ στράτευμα  
 οἱ ἄρχοντες· καὶ ἔνιοι μὲν αὐτῶν παρ' ὀλίγον ἐπαιοῦντο  
 τὸν Κλεάνδρον· τῷ δὲ Ξενοφῶντι οὐκ ἐδόκει φαῦλον εἶναι  
 τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ἀναστὰς ἔλεξεν·

“Ὡς ἄνδρες στρατιώται, ἐμοὶ δ' οὐ φαῦλον δοκεῖ εἶναι τὸ πρῶγμα, εἰ ἡμῖν οὕτως ἔχων τὴν γνώμην Κλέανδρος ἄπεισιν, ὥς περ λέγει. Εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ ἤδη ἐγγὺς αἱ Ἑλληνίδες πόλεις· τῆς δ' Ἑλλάδος Λακεδαιμόνιοι προεστῆκασιν· ἱκανοὶ δὲ εἰσι καὶ εἰς ἕκαστος Λακεδαιμονίων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ὅ τι βούλονται, διαπράττεσθαι. Εἰ οὖν οὗτος πρῶτον μὲν ἡμᾶς Βυζαντίου ἀποκλείσει, ἔπειτα δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄρμους ταῖς παραγγελεῖ, εἰς τὰς πόλεις μὴ δέχεσθαι, ὥς ἀπостоῦντας Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ ἀνόμους ὄντας, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς Ἀναξίβιον τὸν ναύαρχον ἑνὸς ὁ λόγος περὶ ἡμῶν ἦξει· χαλεπόν ἔσται καὶ μένειν καὶ ἀποπλεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ γῇ ἄρχουσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ τὸν νῦν χρόνον. Οὐκ οὖν δεῖ οὔτε ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἕνεκα οὔτε δυοῖν ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἄλλους τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπέχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πειστέον, ὅ τι ἂν κελεύωσι· καὶ γὰρ αἱ πόλεις ἡμῶν, ὅθεν ἐσμέν, πείθονται τοῖς αὐτοῖς. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν (καὶ γὰρ ἀκούω, Δεξιππον λέγειν πρὸς Κλέανδρον, ὥς οὐκ ἂν ἐποίησεν Ἀγασίας ταῦτα, εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσα), ἐγὼ οὖν ἀπολύω καὶ ὑμᾶς τῆς αἰτίας, καὶ Ἀγασίαν, ἃν αὐτὸς Ἀγασίας φήσῃ, ἐμὲ τινος τούτων αἴτιον εἶναι, καὶ καταδικάζω ἑμαυτοῦ, εἰ ἐγὼ πετροβολίας ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς βιαίου ἐξάρχω, τῆς ἐσχάτης δίκης ἄξιος εἶναι, καὶ ὑφέξω τὴν δίκην. Φημὶ δέ, καὶ εἴ τινα ἄλλον αἰτιᾶται, ἑαυτὸν χρῆναι παρασχεῖν Κλέανδρῳ κρῖναι· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ὑμεῖς ἀπολειψόμενοι τῆς αἰτίας εἴητε. Ὡς δὲ νῦν ἔχει, χαλεπόν, εἰ, οἰόμενοι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ ἐπαίνου καὶ τιμῆς τεύξεσθαι, ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων μὴδ' ὅμοιοι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐσόμεθα, ἀλλ' εἰρξόμεθα ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων.”

Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστὰς Ἀγασίας εἶπεν· “Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὁμνυμι θεοὺς καὶ θεάς, ἣ μὴν μήτε ἐμὲ Ξενοφῶντα κελεύσαι ἀφελίσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα, μήτε ὑμῶν ἄλλον μὴδένα· ἰδόντι δὲ μοι ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ἀγόμενον τῶν ἐμῶν λοχιτῶν ὑπὸ Δεξιππου, ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε ὑμᾶς προδόντα, δεινὸν ἔδοξεν εἶναι· καὶ ἀφειλόμην, ὁμολογῶ. Καὶ ὑμεῖς μὲν μὴ ἐκδωτέ

με· ἐγὼ δ' ἐμαυτόν, ὥσπερ Ξενοφῶν λέγει, παρασχίσω κρί-  
ναντι Κλεάνδρῳ, ὃ τι ἂν βούληται ποιῆσαι· τούτου ἕνεκα  
μήτε πολεμεῖτε Λακεδαιμονίοις, σώζοισθέ τε ἀσφαλῶς, ὅπη  
θέλει ἕκαστος. Συμπέμψατε μέντοι μοι ἱμῶν αὐτῶν ἐλό-  
6 μενοι πρὸς Κλεάνδρον, οἵτινες, ἂν τι ἐγὼ παραλείπω, καὶ  
λέξουσιν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ καὶ πράξουσιν.” Ἐκ τούτου ἔδωκεν ἡ  
στρατιὰ, οὕστινας βούλοιτο προελόμενον ἵεναι. Ὁ δὲ προ-  
εἴλετο τοὺς στρατηγούς. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπορεύοντο πρὸς  
Κλεάνδρον Ἀγασίας καὶ οἱ στρατηγοί, καὶ ὁ ἀφαιρεθεὶς  
10 ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἀγασίου· καὶ ἔλεγον οἱ στρατηγοί·

“Ἐπεμψεν ἡμᾶς ἡ στρατιὰ πρὸς σέ, ὦ Κλέανδρε· καὶ  
κελεύουσί σε, εἴτε πάντας αἰτιᾶ, κρίναντα σεαυτὸν χρῆσθαι,  
ὃ τι ἂν βούλῃ· εἴτε ἕνα τινά, ἢ δύο, ἢ καὶ πλείους αἰτιᾶ,  
τούτους ἀξιούσι παρασχεῖν σοι ἑαυτοὺς εἰς κρίσιν. Εἴτε οὖν  
15 ἡμῶν τινὰ αἰτιᾶ, πάρεσμέν σοι ἡμεῖς· εἴτε δὲ ἄλλον τινά  
[αἰτιᾶ], φράσον· οὐδεὶς γάρ [σοι] ἀπέυται, ὅστις ἂν ἡμῖν  
ἐθέλῃ πείθεσθαι.” Μετὰ ταῦτα παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀγασίας εἶ-  
πεν· “Ἐγὼ εἰμι, ὦ Κλέανδρε, ὁ ἀφειλόμενος Δεξιππου  
ἄγοντος τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ παῖειν κελύσας Δεξιππον.  
20 Τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ οἶδα ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ὄντα· Δεξιππον δὲ  
αἰρεθέντα οἶδα ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἄρχειν τῆς πενηκοντόρου,  
ἧς ἡγησάμεθα παρὰ Τραπεζουντίων, ἐφ' ᾧ τε πλοῦτα συλλέ-  
γειν, ὥς σωζόμεθα· καὶ ἀποδράντα Δεξιππον, καὶ προ-  
δόντα τοὺς στρατιώτας, μεθ' ὧν ἐσώθη. Καὶ τοὺς τε Τρα-  
25 πεζουντίους ἀπέστερήκαμεν τὴν πενηκόντορον, καὶ κακοὶ  
δοκοῦμεν εἶναι διὰ τοῦτον· αὐτοὶ τε, τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ἀπο-  
λώλαμεν [πάντες]. Ἦκουε γάρ, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς, ὥς ἄπορον  
εἶη, περὶ ἀπιόντας τοὺς ποταμούς τε διαβῆναι, καὶ σωθῆναι  
εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Τοῦτον οὖν τοιοῦτον ὄντα ἀφειλόμην.  
30 Εἰ δὲ σὺ ἦγες, ἢ ἄλλος τις τῶν παρὰ σοῦ, καὶ μὴ τῶν παρ'  
ἡμῶν ἀποδράντων, εὖ ἴσθι, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν τούτων ἐποίησα.  
Νόμιζε δέ, ἂν ἐμὲ νῦν ἀποκτείνης, δι' ἄνδρα δειλὸν τε καὶ  
πονηρὸν ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ἀποκτενῶν.”

Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κλέανδρος εἶπεν, “ὅτι Δέξιππος μὲν οὐκ ἐπαινοίη, εἰ ταῦτα πεποιηκώς εἴη· εὐ μέντοι ἔφη νομίζειν, οὐδ’ εἰ παμπίονηρος ἦν Δέξιππος, βίαν χρεῖναι πάσχειν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ κριθέντα ὥσπερ καὶ ὑμῖς νῦν ἀξιοῦτε, τῆς δίκης τυχεῖν. Νῦν μὲν οὖν ἄπιτε, καταλιπόντες τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρα· ὅταν δ’ ἐγὼ κελεύσω, πάρεστε πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν. Αἰτιῶμαι δὲ οὔτε τὴν στρατιάν, οὔτε ἄλλον οὐδένα· ἐπεὶ γε οὗτος αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖ ἀφελῆσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα.” Ὁ δ’ ἀφαιρεθὲς εἶπεν· “Ἐγώ, ὦ Κλέανδρε, εἰ καὶ οἶμαι με ἀδικούντά τι ἄγεσθαι, οὐτ’ ἐπαιον οὐδένα, οὐτ’ ἐβαλлон, ἀλλ’ εἶπον, ὅτι δημόσια εἴη τὰ πρόβατα· ἦν γὰρ τῶν στρατιωτῶν δόγμα, εἴ τις, ὅποτε ἡ στρατιὰ ἐξίλοι, ἰδίᾳ ληΐζοιτο, δημόσια εἶναι τὰ ληφθέντα. Ταῦτ’ εἶπον· καὶ ἐκ τούτου με λαβὼν οὗτος ἤγειν, ἵνα μὴ ῥηδέγγοιτο μηδεὶς, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς λαβὼν τὸ μέρος, διασώσκει τοῖς λησταῖς παρὰ τὴν ῥήτραν τὰ χρήματα.” 15

Πρὶς ταῦτα ὁ Κλέανδρος εἶπεν· “Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τειοῦτος εἶ, κατὰμενε, ἵνα καὶ περὶ σοῦ βουλευσόμεθα.”

Ἐκ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Κλέανδρον ἡρίστων· τὴν δὲ στρατιάν συνῆγε Ξενοφῶν, καὶ συνεβούλευε, πέμψαι ἄνδρας πρὸς Κλέανδρον, παραιτησομένους περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν. Ἐκ 20 τοῦτου ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, πέμψαντας στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς καὶ Δρακόντιον τὸν Σπαρτιάτην, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ ἐδόχον ἐπιτήδευσι εἶναι, δεῖσθαι Κλεάνδρου κατὰ πάντα τρόπον, ἀφείναι τὸν ἄνδρα. Ἐλθὼν οὖν Ξενοφῶν λέγει· “Ἐχεις μὲν, ὦ Κλέανδρε, τοὺς ἄνδρας· καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ σοι ὑφείτο, 25 ὃ τι ἐβούλου ποιῆσαι καὶ περὶ τούτων, καὶ περὶ ἑαυτῶν ἀπάντων. Νῦν δὲ σε αἰτοῦνται καὶ δεόνται δοῦναι σφίσι τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ μὴ κατακαίνειν· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνῳ περὶ τὴν στρατιάν ἐμοχθησάτην. Ταῦτα δὲ σου τυχόντες, ὑπισχνοῦνται σοι ἀντὶ τούτων, εἴαν βούλῃ ἡγεῖσθαι 30 αὐτῶν, καὶ εἴαν οἱ θεοὶ ἴλωι ὧσιν, ἐπιδείξιν σοι, καὶ ὡς κόσμοί εἰσι, καὶ ὡς ἱκανοί, τῷ ἄρχοντι πειθόμενοι, τοὺς παλεμίλους ἀνὰ τοῖς θεοῖς μὴ φοβεῖσθαι. Δέονται δὲ σου καὶ

τοῦτο, παραγεγόμενον καὶ ἄρξαντα ἑαυτῶν πείραν λαβεῖν καὶ Δεξιππου καὶ σφῶν [καὶ] τῶν ἄλλων, οἷος ἑκαστός ἐστι, καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν ἑκάστοις νείμαι." Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κλέανδρος, "Ἀλλὰ ναὶ [μὰ] τῷ Σιώ," ἔφη, "ταχύ τοι ὑμῖν ἀποκρινοῦμαι. Καὶ τῷ τε ἄνδρι ὑμῖν δίδωμι, καὶ αὐτὸς παρέσονται· καὶ ἂν οἱ θεοὶ παραδιδῶσι [τι], ἐξηγήσομαι εἰς τὴν ἰσχυρίαν." Καὶ πολὺ οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι ἀντίοι εἰσὶν ἢ οὓς ἐγὼ περὶ ὑμῶν ἐπίων ἤκουον, ὥς τὸ στρατεύμα ἀφίσταται ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων."

10 Ἐκ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἐπαινοῦντες ἀπῆλθον, ἔχοντες τὸ ἄνδρ· Κλέανδρος δὲ ἐθύετο ἐπὶ τῇ πορείᾳ, καὶ συνῆν Δενοφῶντι φιλικῶς, καὶ ξενίαν συνεβάλλοντο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ εἴρα αὐτοὺς τὸ παραγγελλόμενον εὐτάκτως ποιοῦντας, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι ἐπεθύμει ἡγεμὼν γενέσθαι αὐτῶν. Ἐπεὶ μέντοι θυο-  
15 μένῳ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερά, συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγούς εἶπεν· "Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ἐθίλει γενέσθαι τὰ ἱερά ἐξάγειν· ὑμεῖς μέντοι μὴ ἀθυμεῖτε τούτου ἕνεκα· ὑμῖν μὲν γάρ, ὥς ἔοικε, δέδοται ἐκκομίσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας· ἀλλὰ πορεύεσθε. Ἡμεῖς δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἐπειδὴν ἐκῆις  
20 ἤκητε, δεξόμεθα, ὥς ἂν δυνώμεθα κάλλιστα."

Ἐκ τούτου ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατιώταις, δοῦναι αὐτῷ τὰ δημόσια πρόβατα. Ὁ δὲ δεξάμενος, πάλιν αὐτοῖς ἀπέδωκε· καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπέπλει. Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται, διαθήμενοι τὸν σῆτον, ὃν ἦσαν συγκεκομισμένοι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, ἃ εἰλήφεσαν,  
25 ἐξεπορεύοντο διὰ τῶν Βιθυτῶν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐνέτυχον πορευόμενοι τὴν ὁρθὴν ὁδόν, ὥς ἔχοντις τι εἰς τὴν φιλίαν ἐλθεῖν, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, τοῦμπαλιν ὑποστρέψαντας ἐλθεῖν μίαν ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα. Τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες, ἔλαβον πολλὰ καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ πρόβατα· καὶ ἀφίκοντο ἐκταῖοι εἰς Χρυσόπολιν τῆς Χαλκηδονίας, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμειναν ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ λαφυροπωλοῦντες.

# ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

## ΚΥΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΕΩΣ

### ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ ἙΒΔΟΜΟΝ.

#### Κεφάλαιον α'.

ὍΣΑ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει τῇ μετὰ Κύρου ἔπραξαν οἱ Ἕλληνες μέχρι τῆς μάχης, καὶ ὅσα, ἐπεὶ Κῦρος ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ, μέχρις εἰς τὸν Πόντον ἀφίκοντο, καὶ ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου περὶ ἑξιόντες καὶ πλείοντες ἐποίουν, μέχρις ἔξω τοῦ στόματος ἐγένοντο ἐν Χρυσοπόλει τῆς Ἀσίας, [πάντα] ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται.

Ἐκ τούτου δὲ Φαρνάβαζος, φοβούμενος τὸ στράτευμα, μὴ ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀρχὴν στρατεύηται, πέμψας πρὸς Ἀναξίβιον τὸν ναύαρχον (ὃ δὲ ἔτυχεν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ὄν), ἐδεῖτο, διαβίβασαι τὸ στράτευμα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο, πάντα ποιήσιν αὐτῷ, ὅσα θέοι. Καὶ Ἀναξίβιος μετεπέμψατο τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἰς Βυζάντιον, καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο, εἰ διαβαῖεν, μισθοφορὰν ἔσυσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις. Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι ἔφασαν βουλευσάμενοι ἀπαγγεῖν· Ξενοφῶν δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, ὅτι ἀπαλλάξοιτο ἤδη ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ βούλοιτο ἀποπλεῖν. Ὁ δὲ Ἀναξίβιος ἐκίλευσεν αὐτὸν συνδιαβάντα, ἔπειτα οὕτως ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. Ἐφ' οὗν ταῦτα ποιήσιν.

Σεύθης δὲ ὁ Θορᾶς πέμπει Μηδοσάδην, καὶ κελεύει Ξενοφῶντα συμπροθυμεῖσθαι, ὅπως διαβῇ τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ 30

ἔφη αὐτῷ ταῦτα συμποροθυμηθέντι ὅτι οὐ μεταμελήσει.  
 "Ὁ δ' εἶπεν· "Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν στράτευμα διαβήσεται· τοῦ-  
 του ἔνεκα μηδὲν τελείτω μήτε ἐμοί, μήτε ἄλλῳ μηδενί· ἐπα-  
 δύν δὲ διαβῇ, ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπαλλάξομαι· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς διαμέ-  
 5 νοντας καὶ ἐπικαιροὺς ὄντας προσφερείσθω, ὡς ἂν αὐτῷ  
 δοκῇ ἀσφαλές."

Ἐκ τούτου διαβαίνουσι πάντες εἰς Βυζάντιον οἱ στρατιῶ-  
 ται· καὶ μισθὸν μὲν οὐκ ἐδίδου ὁ Ἀναξίβιος· ἐκήρυξε δὲ,  
 λαβόντας τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὰ σκεύη τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐξιέναι, ὡς  
 10 ἀποπέμψων τε ἅμα καὶ ἀριθμὸν ποιήσων. Ἐνταῦθα οἱ  
 στρατιῶται ἤχθοντο, ὅτι οὐκ εἶχον ἀργύριον ἐπισιτίζεσθαι  
 εἰς τὴν πορείαν, καὶ ὀκνηρῶς συνεσκευάζοντο.

Καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν, Κλεάνδρῳ τῷ ἄρμωστῇ ξένος γεγεννημέ-  
 νος, προσελθὼν ἱσπάζετο αὐτόν, ὡς ἀποκλειυσόμενος ἦδη.  
 15 "Ὁ δ' αὐτῷ λέγει· "Μὴ ποιήσῃς ταῦτα· εἰ δὲ μή," ἔφη,  
 "αἰτίαν ἔξεις· ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν τινὲς ἦδη σὲ αἰτιῶνται, ὅτι οὐ  
 ταχὺ ἐξέρπει τὸ στράτευμα." Ὁ δ' εἶπεν· "Ἀλλ' αἷτιος  
 μὲν ἔγωγε οὐκ εἰμὶ τούτου, οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται αὐτοὶ, ἐπισι-  
 τισμοῦ δεόμενοι, [καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες,] διὰ τοῦτο ἀθιμῶσι  
 20 πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον." "Ἀλλ' ὅμως," ἔφη, "ἐγὼ σοι συμβουλεύω,  
 ἐξελθεῖν μὲν ὡς πορευσόμενον· ἐπειδὴν δ' ἔξω γένηται τὸ  
 στράτευμα, τότε ἀπαλλάττεσθαι." "Ταῦτα τοῖνυν," ἔφη  
 ὁ Ξενοφῶν, "ἐλθόντες πρὸς Ἀναξίβιον διαπραξόμεθα."  
 Οὕτως ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον ταῦτα. Ὁ δ' ἐκέλευσεν οὕτω ποιεῖν,  
 25 καὶ τὴν ταχύτην ἐξιέναι συνεσκευασμένους, καὶ προσανει-  
 πεῖν, ὅς ἂν μὴ παρῇ εἰς τὴν ἐξέτασιν καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀριθμὸν,  
 ὅτι αὐτὸς αὐτὸν αἰτιάσεται. Ἐνταῦθεν ἐξήσαν οἱ τε στρα-  
 τηγοὶ πρῶτοι, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι. Καὶ ἄρδην πάντες πλην ὀλί-  
 γων ἔξω ἦσαν, καὶ Ἐτεόνικος εἰστήκει παρὰ τὰς πύλας, ὡς,  
 30 ὁπόταν ἔξω γίνωνται πάντες, ἀποκλείσων τὰς πύλας, καὶ τὸν  
 μοχλὸν ἐμβυλῶν.

Ὁ δὲ Ἀναξίβιος, συγκαλίσας τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς  
 λοχαγούς, ἔλεγε· "Τὴ μὲν ἐπιτήδεια," ἔφη, "λαμβάνετε ἐκ

τῶν Θρακίων κωμῶν· εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτόθι πολλαὶ κριθαὶ καὶ πυροί, καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· λαβόντες δὲ πορεύεσθε εἰς τὴν Χερσόνησον, ἐκεῖ δὲ Κυνίσκος ὑμῖν μισθοδοτήσει.” Ἐπακούσαντες δὲ τινες τῶν στρατιωτῶν ταῦτα, ἣ καὶ τῶν λοχαγῶν τις, διαγγέλλει εἰς τὸ στράτευμα. Καὶ οἱ μὲν στρατηγοὶ ἐπυνθάνοντο περὶ τοῦ Σεύθου, πότερα πολέμιος εἴη ἢ φίλος, καὶ πότερα διὰ τοῦ ἱερῶν ὄρους δίοι πορεύεσθαι, ἢ κύκλῳ διὰ μέσης τῆς Θράκης.

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι ταῦτα διελέγοντο, οἱ στρατιῶται ἀναρπάσαντες τὰ ὄπλα θέουσι δρόμῳ πρὸς τὰς πύλας, ὥς πάλιν εἰς τὸ τείχος εἰσιόντες. Ὁ δὲ Ἐτεόνικος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, ὥς εἶδον προσθέοντας τοὺς ὀπλίτας, συγκλείουσι τὰς πύλας, καὶ τὸν μοχλὸν ἐμβάλλουσιν. Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἔκοπτον τὰς πύλας, καὶ ἔλεγον, ὅτι ἀδικώτατα πάσχοιεν ἐκβαλλόμενοι εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ κατασχίσειν τὰς πύλας ἔφασαν, εἰ μὴ ἔκόντες ἀνοίξουσιν. Ἄλλοι δ' αὐτῶν ἔθεον παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ παρὰ τὴν χηλὴν τοῦ τείχους ὑπερβαίνουσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν· ἄλλοι δ', οἱ ἐτύγγανον ἔνδον ὄντες τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὥς ὀρῶσι τὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαις πράγματα, διακόψαντες ταῖς ἄξιναις τὰ κλεῖθρα, ἀναπεταννύουσι τὰς πύλας· οἱ δ' εἰσιπίπτουσιν.

Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν, ὥς εἶδε τὰ γιννόμενα, δεισας, μὴ ἐφ' ἀρπαγὴν τράποιτο τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ ἀνήκεστα κακὰ γένοιτο τῇ πόλει καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἔθει, καὶ συνεισιπίπτει εἰσω τῶν πυλῶν σὺν τῷ ὄχλῳ. Οἱ δὲ Βυζάντιοι, ὥς εἶδον τὸ στράτευμα βίᾳ εἰσιπτόν, φεύγουσιν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὰ πλοῖα, οἱ δὲ οἴκαδε· ὅσοι δ' ἔνδον ἐτύγγανον ὄντες, ἔξω· οἱ δὲ καθεῖλκον τὰς τριήρεις, ὥς ἐν ταῖς τριήρεσι σῶζοντο· πάντες δὲ ᾤοντο ἀπολωλέναι, ὥς ἐαλωκυίας τῆς πόλεως. Ὁ δὲ Ἐτεόνικος εἰς τὴν ἄκραν ἀποφεύγει. Ὁ δὲ Ἀναξίβιος, καταδραμὼν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν, ἀλευτικῶς πλοίῳ περιέπλει εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ εὐθὺς μεταπέμπεται ἐκ Χαλκηδόνος φρουρούς· οὗ γὰρ ἱκανοὶ ἐδόκουν εἶναι οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει σχεῖν τοὺς ἥνδηρας.

Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ὡς εἶδον τὸν Ξενοφῶντα, προσπίπτουσιν αὐτῷ πολλοί, καὶ λέγουσι· “Νῦν σοι ἔξεστιν, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ἀνδρὶ γενέσθαι. ἔχεις πόλιν, ἔχεις τριήρεις, ἔχεις χρήματα, ἔχεις ἄνδρας τοσούτους. Νῦν ἂν, εἰ βοῦ-  
 5 λαιο, σύ τε [καὶ] ἡμᾶς ὀνήσαιο, καὶ ἡμεῖς σὲ μέγαν ποιήσαιμεν.” Ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο· “Ἄλλ’ εὐ τε λέγετε, καὶ ποιήσω ταῦτα· εἰ δὲ τούτων ἐπιθυμεῖτε, θίεσθε τὰ ὄπλα ἐν τάξει ὡς τάχιστα.” βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς κατηρεμῆσαι· καὶ αὐτὸς τε παρηγγύα ταῦτα, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκέλευσε παρεγ-  
 10 γνᾶν, καὶ τίθεσθαι τὰ ὄπλα. Οἱ δέ, αὐτοὶ ὑφ’ ἑαυτῶν ταττόμενοι, οἳ τε ὀπλῆται ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ εἰς ὅκτῳ ἐγένοντο, καὶ οἱ πελτασταὶ ἐπὶ τὸ κέρας ἐκάτερον παραδεδραμῆκεσαν. Τὸ δὲ χωρίον οἷον κάλλιστον ἐκτάξασθαι ἔστι, τὸ Θράκιον καλούμενον, ἔρημον οἰκιῶν καὶ πεδινόν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔκειτο τὰ  
 15 ὄπλα, καὶ κατηρεμίσθησαν, συγκαλεῖ Ξενοφῶν τὴν στρατιάν, καὶ λέγει τάδε·

“Ὅτι μὲν ὀργίξεσθε, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, καὶ νομίζετε δεινὰ πάσχειν ἐξαπατῶμενοι, οὐ θαυμάζω. Ἐὰν δὲ τῷ θυμῷ χαριζώμεθα, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τε τοὺς παρόντας  
 20 τῆς ἐξαπάτης τιμωρησώμεθα, καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν οὐδὲν αἰτίαν διαρπάσωμεν, ἐνθυμήθητε, ἃ ἔσται ἐντεῦθεν. Πολέμιοι μὲν ἐσόμεθα ἀποδεδειγμένοι Λακεδαιμονίοις τε καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις· οἷος δ’ ὁ πόλεμος ἂν γένοιτο, εἰκάζειν δὴ πάρεστιν, ἑωρακότας καὶ ἀναμνησθέντας  
 25 τὰ νῦν δὴ γεγενημένα. Ἡμεῖς γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἰσήλθομεν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, ἔχοντες τριήρεις, τὰς μὲν ἐν θαλάττῃ, τὰς δ’ ἐν τοῖς νεωροῖς, οὐκ ἐλάττους τετρακοσίων, ὑπαρχόντων δὲ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ προσόδου οὐσης  
 30 καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνδήμων καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑπερορίας, οὐ μείον χιλίων ταλάντων· ἄρχοντές τε τῶν νήσων ἀπασῶν, καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις πολλὰς ἔχοντες, καὶ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἄλλας τε πολλὰς, καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ Βυζάντιον, ὅπου νῦν

ἰσμέν, ἔχοντες, κατεπολεμήθημεν οὕτως, ὥς πάντες ἡμεῖς  
ἐπίστασθαι. Νῦν δὲ δὴ τί ἂν οἰόμεθα παθεῖν, Λακεδαιμο-  
νίων μὲν καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν συμμάχων ὑπαρχόντων, Ἀθηναίων  
δὲ, καὶ ὅσοι ἐκείροις τότε ἦσαν σύμμαχοι, πάντων προσγε-  
νημένων, Τισσαφρόνους δὲ, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ ἄλλων  
βυρβύρων πάντων πολεμίων ἡμῖν ὄντων, πολεμιωτάτου δὲ  
αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἄνω βασιλέως, ὃν ἤλθομεν ὑφαιρησόμενοι τε τὴν  
ἀρχήν, καὶ ἀποκτενοῦντες, εἰ θιναίμεθα; Τούτων δὲ πάν-  
των ὁμοῦ ὄντων, ἔστι τις οὕτως ἄφρων, ὅστις οὔτετι ἂν ἡμᾶς  
περιγενέσθαι; Μή, πρὸς θεῶν, μαινώμεθα, μηδὲ αἰ-  
σχρῶς ἀπολοίμεθα, πολέμιοι ὄντες καὶ τοῖς πατρά-  
σι, καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις αὐτῶν φίλοις τε καὶ οἰκείοις. Ἐν  
γὰρ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐφ' ὅλους πάντες, ταῖς ἐφ' ἡμᾶς στρατευσομέ-  
ναις· καὶ δικαίως· εἰ βάρβαρον μὲν πόλιν οὐδεμίαν ἠθέλη-  
σαμεν κατασχεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα κρατοῦντες· Ἑλληνίδα δέ, εἰς 15  
ἣν πρῶτον ἤλθομεν πόλιν, ταύτην ἐξαλαπάξομεν. Ἐγὼ μὲν  
τοίνυν ἐύχομαι, πρὶν ταῦτα ἐπιθεῖν ὑφ' ἡμῶν γεγόμενα, μυ-  
φίας ἐμὲ γε κατὰ τῆς γῆς ὀργισθῆναι γενέσθαι. Καὶ ὑμῖν δὲ  
συμβουλεύω, Ἑλληνας ὄντας, τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων προεστη-  
κόσι πειθομένους πειρᾶσθαι τῶν δικαίων τευχάνειν. Ἐάν 20  
δὲ μὴ δύνῃσθε ταῦτα, ἡμᾶς δεῖ ἀδικουμένους τῆς γούν Ἑλ-  
λίδος μὴ στέφεισθαι. Καὶ νῦν μοι δοκεῖ, πέμπσαντας Ἀνα-  
ξίβιφ εἰπεῖν, 'ὅτι ἡμεῖς οὐδὲν βέλιον ποιήσαντες παρεληλύ-  
θαμεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἣν μὲν δυνοίμεθα παρ' ἡμῶν ἀγα-  
θόν τι εὐρέσκεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλὰ δηλώσομεντες ὑμῖν, ὅτι 25  
οὐκ ἐξαπατούμενοι, ἀλλὰ πειθόμενοι ἐξερχόμεθα.'

Ταῦτα ἔδοξε· καὶ πέμπουσιν Ἱερώνυμόν τε Ἰλλεῖον, ἐρῶν-  
τα ταῦτα, καὶ Εὐρύλοχον Ἀρκάδα, καὶ Φιλήσιον Ἀχαιόν.  
Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ᾤκοντο ἐρῶντες.

Ἐτι δὲ καθημένων τῶν στρατιωτῶν, προσέρχεται Κοιρα- 30  
τάδης Θηβαῖος, ὃς οὐ φεύγων τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιγίη, ἀλλὰ  
στρατηγιῶν, καὶ ἐπαγγελλόμενος, εἰ τις ἢ πόλις ἢ ἔθνος  
στρατηγοῦ δίοιτο· καὶ τότε προσελθὼν ἔλεγεν, ὅτι ἔτοιμος

εἴη ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ Δεῖλτα καλούμενον τῆς Θράκης, ἔνθα πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ λήφουσιν· ἔστε δ' ἂν μόλωσιν, εἰς ἀφθονίαν παρέξουσιν ἔφη καὶ σῖτα καὶ ποτά.

Ἀκούουσι ταῦτα οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ τὰ παρὰ Ἀναξίβιου  
 5 ἅμα ἀπαγγελλόμενα· ἀπεκρίνατο γάρ, ὅτι πειθομένοις αὐ-  
 τοῖς οὐ μεταμείλῃσει, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε οἴκοι τέλεισι ταῦτα ἀπαγ-  
 γελῇ, καὶ αὐτὸς βουλευέσσοιτο περὶ αὐτῶν, ὃ τι δύναιτο ἀγα-  
 θόν. Ἐκ τούτου οἱ στρατιῶται τὸν τε Κοιρατιάδην δέχον-  
 10 ται στρατηγόν, καὶ ἔξω τοῦ τείχους ἀπῆλθον. Ὁ δὲ Κοι-  
 ρατιάδης συντίθεται αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν παρέσεσθαι  
 ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα, ἔχων καὶ ἱερεῖα καὶ μάντιν, καὶ σῖτα καὶ  
 ποτὰ τῇ στρατιᾷ. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξῆλθον, ὁ Ἀναξίβιος ἐκλείσσε  
 τὰς πύλας, καὶ ἐκήρυξεν, ὅτι, ὅστις ἂν ἄλῃ ἔνδον ὧν τῶν  
 στρατιωτῶν, πεπράσεται. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ὁ Κοιρατιάδης  
 15 μὲν ἔχων τὰ ἱερεῖα καὶ τὸν μάντιν ἦκε, καὶ ἄλφριτα φέροντες  
 εἶποντο αὐτῷ εἴκοσιν ἄνδρες, καὶ ἄλλοι οἶνον εἴκοσιν ἄνδρες,  
 καὶ ἐλαιῶν τρεῖς, καὶ σκορόδων εἰς ἀνὴρ ὅσον ἐδύνατο μέ-  
 γιστον φορτίον, καὶ ἄλλος χρομύων. Ταῦτα δὲ καταθέμε-  
 νος ὡς ἐπὶ δάσμευσιν, ἐθύετο.

20 Ξενοφῶν δέ, μεταπεμψάμενος Κλέανδρον, ἐκέλευε οἱ δια-  
 πρᾶξαι, ὅπως εἰς τὸ τεῖχος τε εἰσελθοί, καὶ ἀποπλεύσαι ἐκ  
 Βυζαντίου. Ἐλθὼν δὲ Κλέανδρος, “Μάλα μόλις,” ἔφη,  
 “διαπραξάμενος ἦκα· λέγειν γὰρ Ἀναξίβιον, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιτή-  
 25 δειον εἶη, τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας πλησίον εἶναι τοῦ τείχους,  
 Ξενοφῶντα δὲ ἔνδον· τοὺς Βυζαντίους δὲ στασιάζειν καὶ πο-  
 νηροῦς εἶναι πρὸς ἀλλήλους· ὁμως δὲ εἰσιέναι,” ἔφη, “ἐκέ-  
 λευσεν, εἰ μέλλοι σὺν ἑαυτῷ ἐκπλεῖν.” Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ξενοφῶν,  
 ἀσπασάμενος τοὺς στρατιώτας, εἶσω τοῦ τείχους ἀπῆι σὺν  
 Κλεάνδρῳ. Ὁ δὲ Κοιρατιάδης τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ οὐκ  
 30 ἐκαλλιερεῖ, οὐδὲ διεμέτρησεν οὐδὲν τοῖς στρατιώταις· τῇ  
 δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τὰ μὲν ἱερεῖα εἰσθήκει παρὰ τὸν βωμόν, καὶ  
 Κοιρατιάδης ἐστεφανωμένος, ὡς θύσων· πρὸς εἰλῶν δὲ  
 Τιμασίῳ ὁ Λαρδανεύς καὶ Νέων ὁ Ἀσιναῖος καὶ Κλεάνθωρ

ὁ Ὀρχομένιος ἔλεγον Κοιρατιάδῃ, μὴ θάνειν, ὥς οὐχ ἡγησόμενον τῇ στρατιᾷ, εἰ μὴ δώσειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. Ὁ δὲ κελεύει διαμετρεῖσθαι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλῶν ἑνίδει αὐτῷ, ὥστε ἡμέρας εἶτον ἑκάστῃ γενέσθαι τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἀνυλαβὼν τὰ ἱερῆα ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀπειπῶν.

### Κεφάλαιον β΄.

Ἰνῶν δὲ ὁ Ἀσινάϊος καὶ Φρυνίσκος ὁ Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Φιλήσιος ὁ Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Ξανθικλῆς ὁ Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Τιμασίῳν ὁ Λαρδανεύς ἐπέμενον τῇ στρατιᾷ, καὶ εἰς κόμας τῶν Θρακῶν προελθόντες, τὰς κατὰ Βυζάντιον, ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο. Καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐστασίαζον, Κλεάνωρ μὲν καὶ Φρυνίσκος πρὸς 10 Σεύθην βουλόμενοι ἄγειν· ἔπειθε γὰρ αὐτούς, καὶ ἔδωκε τῷ μὲν ἵππον, τῷ δὲ γυναῖκα. Νέων δὲ εἰς Χερρόνησον, οἰόμενος, εἰ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις γένοιτο, παντὸς ἂν προσεσθάναι τοῦ στρατεύματος· Τιμασίῳν δὲ προὔθυμειτο πέραν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν πάλιν διαβῆναι, οἰόμενος ἂν οἴκαδε κα- 15 τελθεῖν. Καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ταῦτα ἐβούλοντο. Διατριβόμενον δὲ τοῦ χρόνου, πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οἱ μὲν τὰ ὄπλα ἀποδιδόμενοι κατὰ τοὺς χώρους, ἀπέπλεον ὥς ἐδύναντο· οἱ δὲ καὶ διδόντες [τὰ ὄπλα κατὰ τοὺς χώρους] εἰς τὰς πόλεις κατεμύγνυντο. Ἀναξίβιος δ' ἔχαιρεν ἀκούων δια- 20 φθειρόμενον τὸ στράτευμα· τούτων γὰρ γιγνομένων, ᾧτεο μάλιστα χαρῆσθαι Φαρναβάζῳ.

Ἀποπλέοντι δὲ Ἀναξίβειω ἐκ Βυζαντίου συναντᾷ Ἀρίσταρχος ἐν Κυζίκῳ, διάδοχος Κλεάνδρου, Βυζαντίου [δὲ] ἀρμοστής· ἐλέγχετο δὲ ὅτι καὶ ναύαρχος διάδοχος Πῶλος 25 ὅσον οὐ παρῆν ἤδη εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον. Καὶ ὁ Ἀναξίβιος τῷ μὲν Ἀριστάρχῳ ἐπιστέλλει, ὁπόσους ἂν εὗροι ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τῶν Κύρου στρατιωτῶν ὑπολελειμμένους, ἀποδόσθαι· ὁ δὲ Κλεάνδρος οὐδένα ἐπεπράκει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς κάμνοντας ἐθε-

ράπενεν, οἰκτεῖρων, καὶ ἀναγκάων οἰκία δέχεσθαι· Ἀρίσταρχος δ' ἐπεὶ ἦλθε τάχιστα, οὐκ ἐλάττους τετρακοσίων ἀπέδοτο. Ἀναξίβιος δέ, παραπλεύσας εἰς Πάριον, πέμπει παρὰ Φαρνάβασον κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα. Ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ ἤσθετο  
 5 Ἀρίσταρχόν τε ἤκοντα εἰς Βυζάντιον ἁρμοστήν, καὶ Ἀναξίβιον οὐκέτι ναυαρχοῦντα, Ἀναξίβιον μὲν ἡμέλησε, πρὸς Ἀρίσταρχον δὲ διεηγάτετο τὰ αὐτὰ περὶ τοῦ Κυρρίου στρατεύματος, ἅπερ καὶ πρὸς Ἀναξίβιον.

Ἐκ τούτου δὴ Ἀναξίβιος, καλέσας Ξενοφῶντα, κелеύει  
 10 πάση τέχνῃ καὶ μηχανῇ πλεῦσαι ἐπὶ τὸ στρατεύμα ὡς τάχιστα, καὶ συνέχειν γε αὐτὸ καὶ συναθροίζειν τῶν διεσπαρμένων ὡς ἂν πλείστον δύνηται, καὶ παραγαγόντα εἰς Πέρινθον, διαβιβάζειν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ὅτι τάχιστα· καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τριακόντορον καὶ ἐπιστολήν, καὶ ἄνδρα συμπίμπει,  
 15 κελεύσοντα τοὺς Περινθίους ὡς τάχιστα Ξενοφῶντα προπέμψαι τοῖς ἵπποις ἐπὶ τὸ στρατεύμα. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ξενοφῶν διαπλεύσας ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ τὸ στρατεύμα· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐδέξαντο ἡδέως, καὶ εὐθύς εἶποντο ἄσμενοι, ὡς διαβησόμενοι ἐκ τῆς Θράκης εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.

Ὁ δὲ Σεύθης, ἀκούσας ἤκοντα πάλιν Ξενοφῶντα, πέμψας  
 20 πρὸς αὐτὸν κατὰ θάλατταν Μηδισάδην, ἐδεῖτο τὴν στρατιάν ἄγειν πρὸς ἑαυτόν· ὑπισχνόμενος αὐτῷ, ὅ τι ᾔετο λέγων πείσειν. Ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ, ὅτι οὐδὲν οἶόν τε εἶη τούτων γενέσθαι. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἀκούσας ᾔχετο. Οἱ  
 25 δ' Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ ἀφίκοντο εἰς Πέρινθον, Νέων μὲν ἀποσπάσας, ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο χωρὶς, ἔχων ὡς ὀκτακοσίους ἀνθρώπους· τὸ δ' ἄλλο στρατεύμα πᾶν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος τὸ Π·οινθίων ἦν.

Μετὰ ταῦτα Ξενοφῶν μὲν ἔπραττε περὶ πλοίων, ὅπως ὅτι  
 30 τάχιστα διαβαῖεν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἀφικόμενος Ἀρίσταρχος, ὃ ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἁρμοστής, ἔχων δύο τριήρεις, πεπεισμένος ὑπὸ Φαρναβάσου, τοῖς τε ναυκλήροις ἀπέπεμψεν μὴ διάγειν, ἐλθὼν τε ἐπὶ τὸ στρατεύμα, εἶπε τοῖς στρατιώ-

ταις, μὴ περαιουῖσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἔλε-  
 γεν, “ὅτι Ἀναξίβιος ἐκέλευσε, καὶ ἐμὲ πρὸς τοῦτο ἐπεμψεν  
 ἐνθάδε.” Ἰάλιν δ’ Ἀριστάρχος ἐλεξεν· “Ἀναξίβιος μὲν  
 τοίνυν οὐκέτι ναύαρχος, ἐγὼ δὲ τῇδε ἄρμοστής· εἰ δέ τινα  
 ὑμῶν λήψομαι ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, καταδύσω.” Ταῦτα εἰπὼν  
 ἦρχετο εἰς τὸ τεῖχος. Τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ μεταπέμπεται τοὺς  
 στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς τοῦ στρατεύματος. Ἰδὼν δὲ ὄντων  
 πρὸς τῷ τείχει, ἐξαγγέλλει τις τῷ Ξενοφῶντι, ὅτι, εἰ εἰσεῖσι,  
 συλληφθήσεται, καὶ ἡ αὐτοῦ τι πείσεται, ἥ καὶ Φαρναβάζῳ  
 παραδοθήσεται. Ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα, τοὺς μὲν προπέμ- 10  
 πεται, αὐτὸς δ’ εἶπεν, ὅτι θύσαι τι βούλοιο. Καὶ ἀπελ-  
 θὼν ἐθύετο, εἰ προσῆεν αὐτῷ οἱ θεοὶ πειράσθαι πρὸς Σεύ-  
 θην ἄγειν τὸ στράτευμα· ἐώρα γὰρ οὔτε διαβαίνειν ἀσφα-  
 λές ὄν, τριήρεις ἔχοντος τοῦ κωλύσαντος· οὔτ’ εἰς Χερσόνη-  
 σον ἐλθὼν κατακλεισθῆναι ἐβούλετο, καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐν 15  
 πολλῇ σπάψει πάντων γενέσθαι· ἐνθα [δὲ] πεύθεισθαι μὲν  
 ἀνάγκη τῷ ἐκεῖ ἄρμοστῇ, τῶν δὲ ἐπιτηδείων οὐδὲν ἔμελλεν  
 εἶναι τὸ στράτευμα.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα εἶχεν· οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λο-  
 χαγοὶ ἦκοντες παρὰ τοῦ Ἀριστάρχου, ἀπήγγελλον, ὅτι νῦν 20  
 μὲν ἀπιέναι σφᾶς κελεύει, τῆς δαίτης δὲ ἦκειν· ἐνθα καὶ  
 δῆλῃ μᾶλλον ἐδόκει [εἶναι] ἢ ἐπιβουλῇ. Ὁ οὖν Ξενοφῶν,  
 ἐπεὶ ἐδόκει τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ εἶναι καὶ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῷ στρατεύμα-  
 τι, ἀσφαλῶς πρὸς Σεύθην ἵεναι, παραλαβὼν Πολυκράτη τε  
 Ἀθηναῖον, λοχαγόν, καὶ παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκάστου ἄν- 25  
 δρα, πλὴν παρὰ Νέωνος, ᾧ ἕκαστος ἐπίστευεν, ἦρχετο τῆς  
 νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ Σεύθου στράτευμα ἐξήκοντα στόδια. Ἐπεὶ  
 δ’ ἐγγὺς ἦσαν αὐτοῦ, ἐπιτυχάνει πυροῖς ἐρήμοις. Καὶ τὸ  
 μὲν πρῶτον ᾤετο μετακωρηκέναι ποι τὸν Σεύθην· ἐπεὶ  
 δὲ θορύβου τε ἦσθετο, καὶ, σημαινόντων ἀλλήλοις τῶν περὶ 30  
 Σεύθην, κατέμαθεν, ὅτι τούτου ἕνεκα τὰ πυρὰ προκεκαυ-  
 μένα εἴη τῷ Σεύθῃ πρὸ τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων, ὅπως οἱ μὲν  
 φύλακες μὴ ὀρῶντο, ἐν τῷ σκότει ὄντες, μήθ’ ὅπου εἶεν, οἱ

δὲ προσιώντες μὴ λανθάνοιεν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ φῶς καταφανεῖς εἶεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ῥύσθετο, προπέμπει τὸν ἑρμηνέα, ὃν ἐτίγχανεν ἔχων, καὶ εἰπεῖν κελεύει Σεύθῃ, ὅτι Ξενοφῶν παρείη, βουλόμενος συγγενέσθαι αὐτῷ. Οἱ δ' ἤροντο, εἰ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, 5 ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος. Ἐπειδὴ δ' ἔφη οὗτος εἶναι, ἀναπηδήσαντες ἐδίωκον· καὶ ὀλίγον ὑστερον παρήσαν πελισταὶ ὅσον διακόσιοι, καὶ παραλαβόντες Ξενοφῶντα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ, ἤγον πρὸς Σεύθην. Ὁ δ' ἦν ἐν τύρσει μάλα φυλαττόμενος, καὶ ἵπποι περὶ αὐτὴν κύκλῳ ἐγκεχαλινωμένοι· 10 διὰ γὰρ τὸν φόβον τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας ἐχλῖον τοὺς ἵππους, τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἐγκεχαλινωμένοις ἐφυλάττετο. Ἐλέγετο γὰρ καὶ πρόσθεν Τήρης, ὁ τούτου πρόγονος, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρῃ, πύλῳ ἔχων στράτευμα, ὑπὸ τοίτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν πολλοὺς ἀπολέσαι, καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα ἀφαιρεθῆναι· ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι 15 Θυνοί, πάντων λεγόμενοι εἶναι μάλιστα νυκτὸς πολεμικώτατοι.

Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, ἐκέλευσεν εἰσελθεῖν Ξενοφῶντα, ἔχοντα δύο, οὓς βούλοιο. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔνδον ἦσαν, ἡσπάζοντο μὲν πρῶτον ἀλλήλους, καὶ κατὰ τὸν Θράκιον νόμον κέ- 20 ρατα οἶνου προῦπινον· παρῆν δὲ καὶ Μηδοσάδης τῷ Σεύθῃ, ὅςπερ ἐπρέσβευεν αὐτῷ πάντοσε. Ἐπειτα δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἤρχετο λέγειν· “Ἐπεμψας πρὸς ἐμέ, ᾧ Σεύθῃ, εἰς Χαλκηδὸνα πρῶτον Μηδοσάδην τουτονί, δεόμενός μου συμπροθυμηθῆναι διαβῆναι τὸ στράτευμα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ ὑπι- 25 σχνούμενός μοι, εἰ ταῦτα πράξαιμι, εὖ ποιήσεις, ὡς ἔφη Μηδοσάδης οὗτός.” Ταῦτα εἰπὼν, ἐπήρето τὸν Μηδοσάδην, εἰ ἀληθῆ ταῦτ' εἶπεν. Ὁ δ' ἔφη. “Ἀνθις ἦλθε Μηδοσάδης οὗτος, ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ διέβην πάλιν τὸ στράτευμα ἐκ Παρίου, ὑπισχνούμενος, εἰ ἄγοιμι τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς σέ, ταῦ- 30 λα τέ γε φίλῳ μοι χρήσεσθαι καὶ ἀδελφῷ, καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ μοι χωρία, ὧν σὺ κρατεῖς, ἔσεσθαι παρὰ σοῦ.” Ἐπὶ τούτοις πάλιν ἐπήρето Μηδοσάδην, εἰ ἔλεγε ταῦτα. Ὁ δὲ συνέφη καὶ ταῦτα. “Ἰθὺ νῦν,” ἔφη, “ἀφήγησαι τούτῳ, τί

σοι ἀπεκρινάμην ἐν Χαλκηδόνι.” “Πρῶτον ἀπεκρίνω, ὅτι τὸ στράτευμα διαβήσοιτο εἰς Βυζάντιον, καὶ οὐδὲν τούτου ἔνεκα δέοι τελεῖν, οὔτε σοί, οὔτ’ ἄλλω· αὐτὸς ἐπεὶ διαβαίης, ἀπιέναι ἔφησθα· καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως, ὥς περ σὺ ἔλεγες.” “Τί γὰρ ἔλεγον,” ἔφη, “ὅτε κατὰ Σηλυβρίαν ἀφίκου;” 6 “Οὐκ ἔφησθα οἷόν τ’ εἶναι, ἀλλ’ εἰς Πέρινθον ἐλθόντας διαβαίνειν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.” “Νῦν τοίνυν,” ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, “πάρειμι καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ οὗτος Φρυνίσκος, εἰς τῶν στρατηγῶν, καὶ Πολυκράτης οὗτος, εἰς τῶν λοχαγῶν· καὶ ἔξω εἶσιν ἀπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ πιστότατος ἐκάστω, πλὴν Νίω- 10 νος τοῦ Λακωνικοῦ. Εἰ οὖν βούλει πιστοτέραν εἶναι τὴν πράξιν, καὶ ἐκείνους κάλεσον. Τὰ δὲ ὄπλα σὺ ἐλθὼν εἰπέ, ὃ Πολύκρατες, ὅτι ἐγὼ κελεύω καταλιπεῖν· καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖ καταλιπὼν τὴν μάχαιραν εἰσιθί.”

Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Σεύθης εἶπεν, ὅτι οὐδενὶ ἂν ἀπιστή- 15 σαιεν Ἀθηναίων· καὶ γὰρ ὅτι συγγενεῖς εἶεν εἰδέναι, καὶ φίλους εὖνους ἔφη νομίζειν. Μετὰ ταῦτα δ’ ἐπεὶ εἰσῆλθον, οὓς ἔδει, πρῶτον Ξενοφῶν ἐπήρετο Σεύθην, ὃ τι δέοιτο χρῆσθαι τῇ στρατιᾷ. Ὁ δ’ εἶπεν ὥδε· “Μαισάδης ἦν μοι πατήρ· ἐκείνου δ’ ἦν ἀρχὴ Μελανδίται, καὶ Θυνοί, καὶ 20 Τρανίφαι. Ἐκ ταύτης οὖν τῆς χώρας, ἐπεὶ τὰ Ὀδρυσῶν πράγματα ἐνόσησεν, ἐκπεσὼν ὁ πατήρ, αἰτὸς μὲν ἀποθνήσκει νόσῳ· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐξετράφην ὀρφανὸς παρὰ Μηδόκῳ, τῷ νῦν βασιλεῖ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ νεανίσκος ἐγενόμην, οὐκ ἐδυνάμην 25 ζῆν, εἰς ἀλλοτρίαν τράπεζαν ἀποβλέπων· καὶ ἐκαθεζόμενος ἐνδίφριος αὐτῷ ἱκέτης, δοῦναι μοι, ὅπόσους δυνατὸς εἴη, ἄνδρας, ὅπως καὶ τοὺς ἐκβαλόντας ἡμᾶς, εἴ τι δυναίμην, κακὸν ποιοίην, καὶ ζῶην, μὴ εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου τράπεζαν ἀπο- 30 βλέπων, ὥς περ κῶν. Ἐκ τούτου μοι δίδωσι τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τοὺς ἵππους, οὓς ὑμεῖς ὕψεσθε, ἐπειδὰν ἡμέρα γένηται. Καὶ νῦν ἐγὼ ζῶ τούτους ἔχων, ληϊζόμενος τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ πα- 35 τρώαν χώραν. Εἰ δέ μοι ὑμεῖς παραγένοισθε, οἴμαι ἂν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ῥαδίως ἀπολαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν. Ταῦτ’ ἐστίν, ἃ ἐγὼ ὑμῶν δέομαι.”

“Τί οὖν ἄν,” ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, “σὺ δύναιο, εἰ ἔλθοιμεν, τῇ τε στρατιᾷ διδόναι καὶ τοῖς λοχαγοῖς καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, λέξον, ἵνα οὗτοι ἀπαγγείλωσιν.” Ὁ δὲ ὑπέσχετο τῷ μὲν στρατιῶτῃ Κυζικηνόν, τῷ δὲ λοχαγῷ διμοιρίαν, τῷ δὲ στρατηγῷ τετραμοιρίαν· καὶ γῆν, ὅποσῃν ἂν βούλωνται, καὶ ζεύγη, καὶ χωρίον ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ τετειχισμένον. “Ἄν δ’,” ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, “ταῦτα περῶμενοι μὴ διαπραΰνωμεν, ἀλλὰ τις φόβος ἀπὸ Λυκεδαιμονίων ἤ, δεῖξῃ εἰς τὴν σαστοῦ, ἃν τις βούληται ἀπιέναι πρὸς σέ;” Ὁ δ’ εἶπε·

10 “Καὶ ἀδελφούς γε ποιήσομαι, καὶ ἐνδιφρόους, καὶ κοινωνοὺς ἀπάντων, ὧν ἂν δυνώμεθα κτήσασθαι. Σοὶ δ’, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, καὶ θυγατέρα δώσω, καὶ εἴ τις σοὶ ἐστι θυγάτηρ, ὧνήσομαι Θρακίῳ νόμῳ· καὶ Βισάνθην οἴκησιν δώσω, ὅπερ ἐμοὶ κάλλιστον χωρίον ἐστὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ.”

### Κεφάλαιον γ’.

15 Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα, καὶ δεξιὰς δόντες καὶ λαβόντες, ἀπήλυνον, καὶ πρὸ ἡμέρας ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν ἕκαστοι τοῖς πέμπασιν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, ὁ μὲν Ἀρίσταρχος πάλιν ἐκάλει τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγοὺς· τοῖς δ’ ἔδοξε τὴν μὲν πρὸς Ἀρίσταρχον ὁδὸν εἶσαι,

20 τὸ δὲ στράτευμα συγκαλέσαι. Καὶ συνῆλθον πάντες, πλὴν οἱ Νέωνος· οὗτοι δὲ ἀπεῖχον ὥς δέκα στάδια. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, ἀναστὰς Ξενοφῶν εἶπε τάδε· “Ἄνδρες, διαπλῆν μὲν, ἔνθα βουλόμεθα, Ἀρίσταρχος ὅδε, τριήρεις ἔχων, κωλύει· ὥστ’ εἰς πλοῖα οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐμβαίνειν· οὗτος δὲ ὁ

25 αὐτὸς εἰς Χερσόνησον κελεύει βίῃ διὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὄρους πορεύεσθαι· ἣν δὲ, κρατήσαντες τούτου, ἐκείσε ἔλθωμεν, οὔτε πωλήσειν ἔτι φησὶν ὑμᾶς, ὥσπερ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, οὔτε ἔξαπατήσεσθαι ἔτι ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ λήψεσθαι μισθὸν [μᾶλλον], οὔτε περιόψεσθαι ἔτι, ὥσπερ νυνί, ἐνδεομένους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων.

Οὗτος μὲν ταῦτα λέγει· Σεύθης δὲ φησιν, ἂν πρὸς ἐκείνον ἴητε, εὐ ποιήσιν ὑμᾶς. Νῦν οὖν σκέψασθε, πότερον ἐνθάδε μένοντες τοῦτο βουλευσέσθε, ἢ εἰς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπανελθόντες. Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν δοκεῖ, ἐπεὶ ἐνθάδε οὔτε ἀργύριον ἔχομεν, ὥστε ἀγοράζειν, οὔτε ἄνευ ἀργυρίου ἐῷσι λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἐπανελθόντας εἰς τὰς κώμας, ὅθεν οἱ ἥτιους ἐῷσι λαμβάνειν, ἐκεῖ ἔχοντας τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, [καὶ] ἀκούοντας, ὃ τι τις ὑμῶν δεῖται, αἰρῆσθαι, ὃ τι ἂν ὑμῖν δοκῇ κράτιστον εἶναι. Καὶ ὅτῃ," ἔφη, "ταῦτα δοκεῖ, ἀρά-τω τὴν χεῖρα." Ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες. "Ἀπιόντες τοίνυν," 10 ἔφη, "συσκευάζεσθε, καὶ ἐπειδὴν παραγγεῖλη τις, ἔπεσθε τῷ ἡγουμένῳ."

Μετὰ τοῦτο Ξενοφῶν μὲν ἡγήτο, οἱ δ' εἵποντο. Νέων δὲ καὶ παρὰ Ἀριστάρχου ἄλλοι ἔπειθον ἀποτρέπεσθαι· οἱ δὲ οὐχ ὑπήκουον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὅσον τριάκοντα σταδίους προελθόντες 15 λύθεισαν, ἀπαντᾷ Σεύθης. Καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἰδὼν αὐτόν, προσελάσαι ἐκέλευσεν, ὅπως ὅτι πλείωτων ἀκούοντων εἴποι αὐτῷ, ἃ ἰδόκει συμφέρειν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ προσῆλθεν, εἶπεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν· "Ἥμεῖς πορευόμεθα, ὅπου μέλλει τὸ στράτευμα ἔξειν τροφήν· ἐκεῖ δὲ ἀκούοντες καὶ σοὺ καὶ τῶν τοῦ Λακωνικοῦ, αἰρησόμεθα, ἃ ἂν κράτιστα δοκῇ εἶναι. Ἦν οὖν ἡμῖν ἡγήσῃ, ὅπου πλείστα ἐστὶν ἐπιτήδεια, ὑπὸ σοῦ νόμιον 20 ἐξενίσθαι." Καὶ ὁ Σεύθης εἶπεν· "Ἀλλὰ οἶδα κώμας πολλὰς ἀθρόας, καὶ πάντα ἐχούσας τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἀπεχούσας ἡμῶν ὅσον διελθόντες ἂν ἡδέως ἀμιστήητε." "Ἦγού τοι 25 νυν," ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο εἰς αὐτὰς τῆςδείλης, συνῆλθον οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ εἶπε Σεύθης τοιαύδε· "Ἐγώ, ὃ ἄνδρες, δέομαι ὑμῶν στρατεύεσθαι σὺν ἐμοί· καὶ ὑπισχνόμην ὑμῖν [τοῦ μηνός] δώσειν Κυζικηνόν, λοχαγοῖς δὲ καὶ στρατηγοῖς τὰ νομιζόμενα· ἔξω δὲ τούτων, τὸν 30 ἄξιον τιμῆσω· οὔτα δὲ καὶ ποτά, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν, ἐκ τῆς χώρας λαμβάνοντες ἔξετε ὅποσα δὲ ἂν ἀλλασκῇται, ἀξιώσω αὐτὸς ἔχειν, ἵνα ταῦτα διατιθέμενος ὑμῖν τὸν μισθὸν πο-

ρίζω. Καὶ τὰ μὲν φεύγοντα καὶ ἀποδιδράσκοντα ἡμεῖς  
 ἱκανοὶ ἐσομεθα διώκειν καὶ μαστεύειν· ἣν δὲ τις ἀνθίστη-  
 ται, σὺν ὑμῖν πειρασόμεθα χειροῦσθαι.” Ἐπήρετο Ξενο-  
 φῶν· “Πύσον δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἀξιώσεις συνέπεσθαι σοι  
 5 τὸ στράτευμα;” Ὁ δ’ ἀπεκρίνατο· “Οὐδαμῇ πλεῖον ἐπὶ τὰ  
 ἡμερῶν, μείον δὲ πολλαχῇ.”

Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδίδοτο λέγειν τῷ βουλομένῳ· καὶ ἔλεγον  
 πολλοὶ κατὰ ταῦτά, ὅτι παντὸς ἄξια λέγοι Σεύθης· χειμῶν  
 γὰρ εἴη, καὶ οὔτε οἴκαδε ἀποπλεῖν τῷ βουλομένῳ δυνατόν  
 10 εἴη, διαγενέσθαι τε ἐν φιλίᾳ οὐχ οἶόν τ’ εἶη, εἰ δόοι ὠνον-  
 μένους ζῆν· ἐν δὲ τῇ πολέμῳ διατρέβειν καὶ τρέφεσθαι  
 ἀσφαλέστερον μετὰ Σεύθου, ἢ μόνους, ὄντων ἀγαθῶν το-  
 σοῦτων· εἰ δὲ μισθὸν προσλήψοιντο, εὖρημα ἐδόκει εἶναι.  
 Ἐπὶ τούτοις εἶπε Ξενοφῶν· “Εἴ τις ἀντιλέγει, λεγέτω· εἰ  
 15 δὲ μή, ἐπιψηφίζετω ταῦτα.” Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδείς ἀντέλεγεν,  
 ἐπεψήφισε, καὶ ἔδοξε ταῦτα. Εὐθύς δὲ Σεύθῃ εἶπεν, ὅτι  
 συνστρατεύουσιντο αὐτῷ.

Μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι κατὰ τάξεις ἐσκήνησαν· στρα-  
 τηγούς δὲ καὶ λοχαγούς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον Σεύθης ἐκάλεσε, πλη-  
 20 οῖον κόμην ἔχων. Ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐπὶ θύραις ἦσαν, ὡς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον  
 παριόντες, ἦν τις Ἡρακλείδης Μαρωνεΐτης· οὗτος προσιών  
 ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ, οὕστινας ᾤετο ἔχειν τι δοῦναι Σεύθῃ, πρῶτον  
 μὲν πρὸς Παριανούς τινας (οἱ παρήσαν φιλίαν διαπραζόμε-  
 νοι πρὸς Μηδόκον, τὸν Ὀδρυσῶν βασιλεῖα, καὶ δῶρα ἄγουν-  
 25 τες αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῇ γυναικί,) ἔλεγεν, “ὅτι Μήδοκος μὲν ἄνω  
 εἴη δωδεκα ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ θαλάττης ὁδόν· Σεύθης δέ, ἐπει-  
 δὴ τὸ στράτευμα τοῦτο εἴληφεν, ἄρχων ἔσοιτο ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ.  
 Γέλων οὖν ὢν, ἱκανώτατος ἔσται ὑμᾶς καὶ εὐ καὶ κακῶς  
 ποιεῖν· ἣν οὖν σωφρονῆτε, τούτῳ δώσετε, ὃ τι ἄγετε· καὶ  
 30 ἄμεινον ὑμῖν διακείσεται, ἢ ἐὰν Μηδόκῳ τῷ πρόσω οἰκοῦντι  
 δῶτε.” Τούτους μὲν οὕτως ἔπειθεν. Αὐτὸς δὲ Τιμασίῳ  
 τῷ Λαρδανεῖ προσελθὼν, ἐπεὶ ἤκουεν αὐτῷ εἶναι καὶ ἐκπώ-  
 ματα καὶ τάπιδας βαρβαρικός, ἔλεγεν, “ὅτι νομίζοιτο, ὅποτε

ἐπὶ δεῖπνον καλίσαι Σεύθης, δωρεῖσθαι αὐτῷ τοὺς κληθέν-  
 τας· οὗτος δ' ἦν μέγας ἐνθάδε γένηται, ἱκανὸς ἔσται σε  
 καὶ οἰκαδὲ καταγαγεῖν, καὶ ἐνθάδε πλούσιον ποιῆσαι.”  
 Τοιαῦτα προὔμνατο, ἐκάστῳ προσιών. Προςελθὼν δὲ καὶ  
 Ξενοφῶντι, ἔλεγε· “Σὺ καὶ πόλεως μεγίστης εἶ, καὶ παρὰ  
 Σεύθῃ τὸ σὸν ὄνομα μέγιστόν ἐστι· καὶ ἐν τῇδε τῇ χώρᾳ  
 ἴσως ἀξιώσεις καὶ τείχη λαμβάνειν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν  
 ὑμετέρων ἔλαβον, καὶ χώραν· ἄξιον οὖν σοι καὶ μεγαλοπρε-  
 πύστατα τιμῆσαι Σεύθην. Εὐνους δὲ σοι ὦν παραινῶ· εὖ  
 οἶδα γάρ, ὅτι ὄσῳ ἂν μεῖζω τούτων δωρήσῃ, τοσούτῳ μεῖζω  
 ὑπὸ τούτου ἀγαθὰ πείσῃ.” Ἀκούων ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν,  
 ἡγόρευε· οὐ γὰρ διαβεβήκει ἔχων ἐκ Παρίου εἰ μὴ παῖδα καὶ  
 ὅσον ἐφόδιον.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰςῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον τῶν τε Θρακῶν οἱ κρά-  
 τιστοὶ τῶν [τότε] παρόντων, καὶ οἱ στρατηγοί, καὶ οἱ λοχα-  
 γοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ εἴ τις πρεσβεία παρῆν ὑπὸ πόλεως, τὸ  
 δεῖπνον μὲν ἦν καθημένοις κύκλῳ· ἔπειτα δὲ τρίποδες εἰση-  
 νέχθησαν πᾶσιν· οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν κρεῶν μεστοὶ νενεμημένων,  
 καὶ ἄρτοι ζυμῖται μεγάλοι προσπεπερονημένοι ἦσαν πρὸς  
 τοῖς κρέασι. Μάλιστα δὲ αἱ τράπεζαι κατὰ τοὺς ξένους ἀπὸ  
 ἐτίθεντο· νόμος γὰρ ἦν. Καὶ πρῶτος τοῦτο ἐποίει Σεύ-  
 θης· ἀνελόμενος τοὺς παρακειμένους αὐτῷ ἄρτους, διέκλα  
 κατὰ μικρόν, καὶ διεβρίπτει, οἷς αὐτῷ ἐδόκει· καὶ τὰ κρέα  
 ὡσαύτως, ὅσον μόνον γεύσασθαι ἑαυτῷ καταλιπὼν. Καὶ οἱ  
 ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν, καθ' οὓς αἱ τράπεζαι ἔκειντο.  
 Ἀρκὰς δὲ τις, Ἀρύστας ὄνομα, φαγεῖν δεινός, τὸ μὲν διαβ-  
 ριπτεῖν εἷα χαίρειν, λαβὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν χεῖρα ὅσον τριχοίνικον  
 ἄρτον, καὶ κρέα θέμενος ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα, ἐδείπνει. Κέρατα  
 δὲ οἶνου περιέφερον, καὶ πάντες ἐδέχοντο· ὁ δ' Ἀρύστας,  
 ἐπεὶ παρ' αὐτὸν φέρων τὸ κέρας ὁ οἰνοχόος ἦκεν, εἶπεν, ἰδὼν  
 τὸν Ξενοφῶντα οὐκέτι δειπνοῦντα, “Ἐκείνῳ,” ἔφη, “δός·  
 σχολάζει γὰρ ἡδῇ, ἐγὼ δ' οὐπω.” Ἀκούσας ὁ Σεύθης τὴν  
 φωνήν, ἡρώτα τὸν οἰνοχόον, τί λέγοι. Ὁ δὲ οἰνοχόος

εἶπεν· ἑλληνίζειν γὰρ ἡπίστατο. Ἐνταῦθα μὲν δὴ γέλως ἐγένετο.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ προὔχωρει ὁ πότος, εἰσῆλθεν ἀνὴρ Θοράξ, ἵππον ἔχων λευκόν· καὶ λαβὼν κέρας μεστόν, εἶπε· “ Προπίνω σοι, ὦ Σεύθῃ, καὶ τὸν ἵππον τοῦτον δωροῦμαι, ἐφ’ οὗ καὶ διώκων, ὃν ἂν ἐθέλῃς, αἰρήσεις, καὶ ἀποχωρῶν οὐ μὴ δεισῇς τὸν πολέμιον.” Ἄλλος, παῖδα εἰσάγαγών, οὕτως ἐδωρήσατο προπίνων, καὶ ἄλλος ἱμάτια τῇ γυναικί. Καὶ Τιμασίῳ προπίνων ἐδωρήσατο φιάλην τε ἀργυρεάν καὶ τάπητι ἀξίαν 10 δέκα μνῶν. Ἰνῆσιππος δὲ τις Ἀθηναῖος ἀναστὰς εἶπεν, “ ὅτι ἀρχαῖος εἴη νόμος κάλλιστος, τοὺς μὲν ἔχοντας διδόναι τῷ βασιλεῖ τιμῆς ἕνεκα· τοῖς δὲ μὴ ἔχουσι διδόναι τὸν βασιλέα· ἵνα καγὼ,” ἔφη, “ σοὶ ἔχῃ δωρεῖσθαι καὶ τιμᾶν.” Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἠπορεῖτο, ὃ τι ποιήσοι· καὶ γὰρ ἐτίγχανεν, 15 ὡς τιμώμενος, ἐν τῷ πλησιαιτάτῳ δίφρῳ Σεύθῃ καθήμενος. Ὁ δὲ Ἰφρακλείδης ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ τὸ κέρας ὀρέξαι τὸν οἶνοχόον. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν, ἤδη γὰρ ὑποπεπωκώς ἐτίγχανεν, ἀνίστη, θαρσύνεως δεξιόμενος τὸ κέρας, καὶ εἶπεν· “ Ἐγὼ δὲ σοι, ὦ Σεύθῃ, δίδωμι ἱμαντὸν καὶ τοὺς ἔμους τούτοις 20 ἑταίρους, φίλους εἶναι πιστούς· καὶ οὐδένα ἄκοντα, ἀλλὰ πάντας μᾶλλον ἔτι ἐμοῦ σοὶ βουλομένους φίλους εἶναι. Καὶ νῦν πάρεσιν οὐδέν σε προσαιτοῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ προῖεμένοι καὶ πονεῖν ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ προκινδυνεύειν ἐθέλοντες· μεθ’ ὧν, ἂν οἱ θεοὶ θέλωσι, πολλὴν χώραν τὴν μὲν ἀπολήψῃ, 25 πατρῴαν οὖσαν, τὴν δὲ κτήσῃ· πολλοὺς δὲ ἵππους, πολλοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας καλὰς κτήσῃ, οὓς οὐ ληΐζεσθαι δεήσει, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὶ φέροντες παρίσονται πρὸς σὲ δῶρα.” Καὶ ὁ Σεύθῃς ἀναστὰς συνεξέπτε καὶ συγκατεσκεδάσατο μετ’ αὐτοῦ τὸ κέρας. Μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσῆλθον κέρασι τε, οἷσις 30 σημαίνουσιν αὐλοῦντες, καὶ σάλπιγξιν ὠμοβοῖναις, ψυθμούς τε καὶ οἶον μαγάδι σαλπίζοντες. Καὶ αὐτὸς Σεύθῃς ἀναστὰς ἀνέκραγε τε πολεμικόν, καὶ ἐξήλατο, ὥσπερ βέλος φυλαττόμενος, μάλα ελαφρῶς. Εἰσῆσαν δὲ καὶ γελωτοποιοί.

Ὡς δ' ἦν ἥλιος ἐπὶ δυσμαῖς, ἀνέστησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ εἶπον, ὅτι ὥρα ἤδη νυκτοφύλακας καθιστάναι, καὶ σὺνθημα παραδιδόναι. Καὶ Σεύθην ἐκέλευον παρυγγίλαι, ὥπως εἰς τὰ Ἑλληνικά στρατόπεδα μηδεὶς τῶν Θρακῶν εἰσεσι νυκτός· “οἱ τε γὰρ πολέμιοι Θραῖκες ὑμῖν, καὶ ἡμῖν οἱ φίλοι.” 5

Ὡς δ' ἐξήσαν, συνανέστη ὁ Σεύθης, οὐδέν τι μεθύοντι ἐοικώς. Ἐξελθὼν δ' εἶπεν, αὐτοὺς τοὺς στρατηγούς ἀποκαλίσας· “ὦ ἄνδρες, οἱ πολέμιοι ἡμῶν οὐκ ἴσασι πῶς τὴν ὑμετέραν συμμαχίαν· ἦν οὖν ἔλθωμεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πρὶν φυλάξασθαι, ὥστε μὴ ληφθῆναι, ἢ παρασκευάσασθαι, ὥστε 10 ἀμύνασθαι, μάλιστα ἂν λάβοιμεν χρήματα καὶ ἀνθρώπους.” Συνεπῆρουν ταῦτα οἱ στρατηγοί, καὶ ἡγείσθαι ἐκέλευον.

Ὁ δ' εἶπε· “Παρασκευασάμενοι ἀναμενεῖτε· ἐγὼ δ', ὑπὸ-  
ταν καιρὸς ἦ, ἦξω παρ' ὑμᾶς· καὶ τοὺς πελταστὰς καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀνταλαβὼν, ἡγήσομαι σὺν τοῖς θείοις.” Καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν 15 εἶπε· “Σκέψαι τοίνυν, εἴπερ νυκτός πορευσόμεθα, εἰ ὁ Ἑλληνικὸς νόμος κάλλιον ἔχει· μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πορείαις ἡγείται τοῦ στρατεύματος, ὁποῖον ἀεὶ πρὸς τὴν χώραν συμφέρει, ἐάν τε ὀπλιτικόν, ἐάν τε πελταστικόν, ἐάν τε ἱππικόν· νύκτωρ δὲ νόμος τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐστὶν ἡγείσθαι 20 τὸ βραδύτατον· οὕτω γὰρ ἥκιστα διασπᾶται τὰ στρατεύματα, καὶ ἥκιστα λανθάνουσιν ἀποδιδράσκοντες ἀλλήλους· οἱ δὲ διασπασθέντες πολλάκις καὶ περιπίπτουσιν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἀγνοοῦντες κακῶς ποιοῦσι καὶ πάσχουσιν.” Εἶπεν οὖν Σεύθης· “Ὅρθως τε λέγετε, καὶ [ἐγὼ] τῷ νόμῳ τῷ ὑμέ- 25 τέρω πείσομαι. Καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν ἡγεμόνας δώσω, τῶν πρεσβυτάτων τοὺς ἐμπειροτάτους τῆς χώρας, αὐτοὺς δ' ἐφέσομαι τελευταῖος, τοὺς ἵππους ἔχων· ταχὺ γὰρ πρῶτος, ἂν δέη, παρέσομαι. Σύνθημα δὲ [ποιῶμαι],” εἶπεν, “Ἀθηναῖαν κατὰ τὴν συγγένειαν.” Ταῦτ' εἰπόντες ἀνεπαύοντο. 30

Ἦν δ' ἡ ἀμφὶ μίσας νύκτας, παρῇν Σεύθης, ἔχων τοὺς ἱππίας τεθωρακισμένους, καὶ τοὺς πελταστὰς σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις. Καὶ ἐπεὶ παρέδωκε τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, οἱ μὲν ὀπλῖται

ἡγοῦντο, οἱ δὲ πελτασταὶ εἶποντο, οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς ὠπισθοφυλάκουν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἦν, ὁ Σεύθης παρήλαυνεν εἰς τὸ πρὸσθεν, καὶ ἐπήνεσε τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν νόμον· πολλάκις γὰρ ἔφη νύκτωρ αὐτός, καὶ σὺν ὀλίγοις πορευόμενος, ἀπουσασθῆναι σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις ἀπὸ τῶν πεζῶν· νῦν δέ, ὡς περ δεῖ, ἀθρόοι πάντες ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ φαινόμεθα. Ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς μὲν περιμένετε αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀναπαύεσθε· ἐγὼ δὲ σκεψάμενός τι ἦξω." Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἤλαυνε δι' ὄρους ὁδὸν τινα λαβῶν. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκετο εἰς χιόνα πολλήν, ἐσκεψάτο ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, εἰ εἴη ἔχρη ἀνθρώπων ἢ πρόσω ἡγούμενα, ἢ ἐναντία. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀτριβῇ ἑώρα τὴν ὁδόν, ἦκε ταχὺ ἅλιν, καὶ ἔλεγε· "Καλῶς, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἔσται, ἐὰν θεὸς θέλῃ· τοὺς γὰρ ἀνθρώπους λήσομεν ἐπιπεσόντες. Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἡγήσομαι τοῖς ἵπποις, ὅπως, ἂν τινα ἴδωμεν, μὴ διαφυγὼν σῆμῃν τοῖς πολεμίοις· ὑμεῖς δ' ἔπεσθε· κἂν λειφθῇτε, τῷ στίβῳ τῶν ἵππων ἔπεσθε· ὑπερβάντες δὲ τὰ ὄρη ἡῶμεν εἰς [τάς] κώμας πολλὰς τε καὶ εὐδαίμονας."

Ἦνίκα δὲ ἦν μέσον ἡμέρας, ἤδη τε ἦν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄκροις, καὶ κατιδὼν τὰς κώμας, ἦκεν ἐλαύνων πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας, καὶ ἔλεγεν· "Ἀφήσω ἤδη καταθεῖν τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας εἰς τὸ πεδίον, τοὺς δὲ πελταστὰς ἐπὶ τὰς κώμας. Ἀλλ' ἔπεσθε ὡς ἂν δύνησθε τάχιστα, ὅπως, ἂν τις ὑφιστῇται, ἀλέξησθε." Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν, κατέβη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου. Καὶ ὅς ἤρετο· "Τί καταβαίνεις, ἐπεὶ σπευθεῖν δεῖ;" "Οἶδα," εἶπε, "ὅτι οὐκ ἐμοῦ μόνου δέη· οἱ δ' ὀπλίται θάπτον δραμοῦνται καὶ ἡδιον, ἂν καὶ ἐγὼ πεζὸς ἡγῶμαι."

Μετὰ ταῦτα ὤχετο, καὶ τιμασίων μετ' αὐτοῦ, ἔχων ἱππέας ὡς τετταράκοντα τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Ξενοφῶν δὲ παρηγύησε τοὺς εἰς τριάκοντα ἔτη παρῖναι ἀπὸ τῶν λόχων εὐζώνους. Καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐτρόχαιζε τούτους ἔχων· Κλεάνωρ δὲ ἡγεῖτο τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ἦσαν, Σεύθης, ἔχων ὅσον τριάκοντα ἱππέας, προσελάσας εἶπε· "Τάδε δὴ, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ἃ σὺ ἔλεγες· ἔχονται οἱ ἄν-

θρωποι· ἀλλὰ γὰρ οἱ ἱππῆες ἔφημοι οἴχονται μοι, ἄλλος ἄλλῃ διώκων· καὶ δίδοικα, μὴ συστάντες ἀθρόοι που κακόν τι ἐργάσωνται οἱ πολέμοι. Δεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς κώμας καταμένειν τινὰς ἡμῶν· μεσταὶ γὰρ εἰσιν ἀνθρώπων.” “Ἄλλ’ ἐγὼ μὲν,” ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, “σὺν οἷς ἔχω, τὰ ἄκρα καταλήφομαι· σὺ δὲ Κλειάνορα κίλευε διὰ τοῦ πεδίου παρατεῖναι τὴν φάλαγγα παρὰ τὰς κώμας.” Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν, συνηλίσθησαν ἀνδράποδα μὲν ὥς χίλια, βόιες δὲ διςχίλιοι, καὶ ἄλλα πρόβατα μύρια. Καὶ τότε μὲν αὐτοῦ ηὔλισθησαν. 10

### Κεφάλαιον δ’.

Τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ κατακαύσας ὁ Σεύθης τὰς κώμας παντελῶς, καὶ οὐδεμίαν οἰκίαν λιπᾶν, ὅπως φόβον ἐνθείη καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, οἷα πείσονται, ἂν μὴ πείθωνται, ἀπῆει πάλιν. Καὶ τὴν μὲν λείαν ἀπέπεμψε διατίθεσθαι Ἱηρακλείδῃ εἰς Πέρινθον, ὅπως μισθὸς γένοιτο τοῖς στρατιώταις· αὐτὸς δὲ 15 καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἑσπματοπεδεύοντο ἀνὰ τὸ Θυνῶν πεδῖον. Οἱ δ’ ἐκλιπόντες, ἔφευγον εἰς τὰ ὄρη.

Ἦν δὲ χιὼν πολλή, καὶ ψυχρὸς οὕτως, ὥστε τὸ ὕδωρ, ὃ ἐφέροντο ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, ἐπήγνυτο, καὶ ὁ οἶνος [ὃ] ἐν τοῖς ἀγχείοις, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολλῶν καὶ ῥῖνες ἀπεκαίοντο καὶ 20 ὤτα. Καὶ τότε δῆλον ἐγένετο, οὐ ἔνεκα οἱ Θρᾷκες τὰς ἀλωπεκίδας ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς φοροῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὤσι, καὶ χιτῶνας οὐ μόνον περὶ τοῖς στέρνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῖς μηροῖς· καὶ ζειφᾶς μέχρι τῶν ποδῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ’ οὐ χλαμύδας. Ἀφιεῖς δὲ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὁ Σεύθης εἰς 25 τὰ ὄρη, ἔλεγεν, ὅτι, εἰ μὴ καταβήσονται οἰκήσοντες καὶ πείσονται, ὅτι κατακαύσει καὶ τούτων τὰς κώμας καὶ τὸν σῖτον, καὶ ἀπολοῦνται τῷ λιμῷ. Ἐκ τούτου κατέβαινον καὶ γυναικῆς καὶ παῖδες καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι· οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι ἐν

ταῖς ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος κόμαις ἠύλιζοντο. Καὶ ὁ Σεύθης κατα-  
μαθὼν, ἐκέλευσε τὸν Ξενοφῶντα τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τοὺς νεωτά-  
τους λαβόντα συνεπισπένθαι. Καὶ ἀναστάντες τῆς νυκτὸς  
ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ παρῆσαν εἰς τὰς κόμας· καὶ οἱ μὲν πλείστοι  
ἐξέφυγον· πλησίον γὰρ ἦν τὸ ὄρος· ὅσους δὲ ἔλαβε, κατη-  
κόντισεν ἀφειδῶς Σεύθης.

Ἐπισθένης δὲ ἦν τις Ὀλύνθιος, παιδεραστής, ὃς ἰδὼν  
καλὸν παῖδα ἡβάνκοντα ἄρτι, πέλιτην ἔχοντα, μέλλοντα ἀπο-  
θνήσκειν, προςδραμὼν Ξενοφῶντα ἰκέτευε βοηθῆσαι παιδί  
10 καλῷ. Καὶ ὡς προσελθὼν τῷ Σεύθῃ δεῖται, μὴ ἀποκτείναι  
τὸν παῖδα· καὶ τοῦ Ἐπισθένους διηγεῖται τὸν τρόπον, καὶ  
ὅτι λόχον ποτὲ συνελίξατο, σκοπῶν οὐδὲν ἄλλο, ἢ εἰ τινες  
εἶεν καλοί· καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἦν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός. Ὁ δὲ Σεύ-  
θης ἤρετο· “Ἦ καὶ ἐθέλοις ἄν, ὦ Ἐπίσθενες, ὑπὲρ τού-  
15 του ἀποθανεῖν;” Ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, ἀνατείνας τὸν τράχηλον·  
“Παῖτε, εἰ κελεύει ὁ παῖς, καὶ μέλλει χάριν εἰδέναι.” Ἐπῆ-  
ρετο ὁ Σεύθης τὸν παῖδα, εἰ παύσειν αὐτὸν ἀντὶ ἐκείνου.  
Οὐκ εἶα ὁ παῖς, ἀλλ’ ἰκέτευε μηδὲ ἕτερον κατακαίνειν. Ἐν-  
ταῦθα δὴ ὁ Ἐπισθένης, περιλαβὼν τὸν παῖδα, εἶπεν·  
20 “Ἦρα σοι, ὦ Σεύθῃ, περὶ τούδε μοι διαμάχεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ  
μεθήσω τὸν παῖδα.” Ὁ δὲ Σεύθης γελῶν, ταῦτα μὲν εἶα·  
ἔδοξε δ’ αὐτῷ αὐτοῦ ἀνλισθῆναι, ἵνα μὴ ἐκ τούτων τῶν κω-  
μῶν οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους τρέφοντο. Καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν τῷ πε-  
δίῳ ὑποκαταβάς ἐσκήνου· Ξενοφῶν δέ, ἔχων τοὺς ἐπιλέ-  
25 κτους, ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος ἀνωτάτῳ κόμῃ· καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἑλλη-  
νες ἐν τοῖς ὀρεινοῖς καλουμένοις Θορᾶξι πλησίον κατεσκήνησαν.  
Ἐκ τούτου ἡμέραι οὐ πολλαὶ διετρίβοντο, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ  
ὄρους Θορᾶκες, καταβυλόντες πρὸς τὸν Σεύθην, περὶ ὁμή-  
ρων καὶ σπονδῶν διεπράττοντο. Καὶ Ξενοφῶν ἐλθὼν ἔλεγε  
30 τῷ Σεύθῃ, ὅτι, ἐν πονηροῖς τόποις σκηνοῦν, καὶ πλησίον  
εἶναι οἱ πολέμιοι· ἥδιον δ’ ἂν ἔξω ἀνλίσσασθαι ἔφη ἐν ἐχυροῖς  
[ἄν] χωρίοις μάλλον, ἢ ἐν τοῖς στεγνοῖς, ὥστε ἀπολέσθαι.  
Ὁ δὲ θαρσύνειν ἐκέλευε, καὶ ἔδειξεν ὁμήρους παρόντας αὐτῷ.

Ἐδίοργο δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος καταβαίνοντές τινες τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους, συμπράττειν σφίσι τὰς σπονδάς. Ὁ δ' ὠμολόγει, καὶ θαρσύνειν ἐκέλευε, καὶ ἡγγυᾶτο μηδὲν αὐτοὺς κακὸν πέσεισθαι πειθομένους Σεύθῃ. Οἱ δ' ἄρα ταῦτα ἔλεγον κατασκοπῆς ἕνεκα.

Ταῦτα μὲν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐγένετο· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν νύκτα ἐπιτίθενται ἑλθόντες ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους οἱ Θυνοί. Καὶ ἡγεμῶν μὲν ἦν ὁ δεσπότης ἐκάστης τῆς οἰκίας· χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἦν ἄλλως τὰς οἰκίας σκότους ὄντος ἀνευρίσκειν ἐν ταῖς κώμαις· καὶ γὰρ αἱ οἰκίαι κύκλῳ περισταύρωντο μεγάλοις σταυροῖς 10 τῶν προβάτων ἕνεκα. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὰς θύρας ἐκάστου τοῦ οἰκήματος, οἱ μὲν εἰσῃκόντιζον, οἱ δὲ τοῖς σκυτάλοις ἔβαλλον, ἃ ἔχειν ἔφασαν, ὥς ἀποκόψοντες τῶν δοράτων τὰς λόγχας· οἱ δὲ ἐνεπλίμπρασαν· καὶ Ξενοφῶντα ὀνομαστί καλοῦντες, ἐξιόντα ἐκέλευον ἀποθνήσκειν, ἢ αὐτοῦ 15 ἔφασαν κατακαυθῆσθαι αὐτόν.

Καὶ ἦδη τε διὰ τοῦ ὀρόφου ἐφαίνετο πῦρ, καὶ ἐντεθωρακισμένοι οἱ περὶ Ξενοφῶντα ἔνδον ἦσαν, ἀσπίδας καὶ μαχαίρας καὶ κράτη ἔχοντες· καὶ Σιλανὸς Μακίστιος, ἐτῶν [ἦδη ὡς] ὀκτωκαίδεκα ὢν, σημαίνει τῇ σάλπιγγι· καὶ εὐ- 20 θὺς ἐκπηδῶσιν ἐσπασμένοι τὰ ξίφη καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων σκηνωμάτων. Οἱ δὲ Θορᾶκες φεύγουσιν, ὥς περ δὴ τρόπος ἦν αὐτοῖς, ὅπισθεν περιβαλλόμενοι τὰς πέλτας· καὶ αὐτῶν ὑπερβαλλομένων τοὺς σταυροὺς ἐλήφθησάν τινες κρεμασθέντες, ἐνεχομένων τῶν πελτῶν τοῖς σταυροῖς· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπέ- 25 θανον, διαμαρτόντες τῶν ἐξόδων· οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ἐδίωκον ἕως τῆς κώμης. Τῶν τε Θυνῶν ὑποστραφέντες τινὲς ἐν τῷ σκότει, τοὺς παρατρέχοντας παρ' οἰκίαν καιομένην ἰκόντιζον εἰς τὸ φῶς ἐκ τοῦ σκότους· καὶ ἔτρωσαν ἱερώνυμόν τε Ἐυοδίαν τὸν λοχαγόν, καὶ Θεαγίην [δὲ] Λοκρόν τὸν λοχα- 30 γόν· ἀπέθανε δὲ οὐδεὶς· κατεκαύθη μέντοι καὶ ἐσθῆς τινων καὶ σκεύη. Σεύθης δὲ ἤκε βοηθήσων σὺν ἐπὶ ἱππεύσι τοῖς πρώτοις, καὶ τὸν σαλπικτήν ἔχων τὸν Θορήκιον·

καὶ ἐπεὶ περ ἦσθετο, ὅσον περ χρόνον ἐβοήθει, τοσούτον καὶ τὸ κέρως ἐφθέγγετο αὐτῷ· ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο φόβον συμπαρεῖχε τοῖς πολέμοις. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθεν, ἐδεξιούτο τε καὶ ἔλεγεν, ὅτι οἴοιτο τεθνεώτως πολλοὺς εὐρήσειν.

- 5 Ἐκ τούτου ὁ Ξενοφῶν δεῖται τοὺς ὁμήρους τε αὐτῷ παραδοῦναι, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, εἰ βούλεται, συστρατεῦσθαι· εἰ δὲ μή, αὐτὸν ἑᾶσαι. Τῇ οὖν ὑστεραίᾳ παραδίδωσιν ὁ Σεύθης τοὺς ὁμήρους, πρεσβυτέρους ἄνδρας, τοὺς κρατίστους, ὡς ἔφασαν, τῶν ὀρεινῶν· καὶ αὐτοὺς ἔρχεται σὺν τῇ δυνά-
- 10 μει. Ἦδη δ' εἶχε καὶ τριπλασίαν δύναμιν ὁ Σεύθης· ἐκ γὰρ τῶν Ὀδρυσῶν, ἀκούοντες, ἃ πράττει ὁ Σεύθης, πολλοὶ κατέβαινον συστρατευσόμενοι. Οἱ δὲ Θυνοὶ, ἐπεὶ εἶδον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους πολλοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας, πολλοὺς δὲ πελταστας, πολλοὺς δὲ ἱππεύς, καταβάντες ἰκέτευον σπείσασθαι· καὶ
- 15 πάντα ὁμολόγουν ποιήσειν, καὶ τὰ πιστὰ λαμβάνειν ἐκέλευον. Ὁ δὲ Σεύθης, καλίσας τὸν Ξενοφῶντα, ἐπιδείκνυνεν, ἃ λέγοιεν· καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔφη σπείσασθαι, εἰ Ξενοφῶν βούλοιτο τιμωρησάσθαι αἰῶνὺς τῆς ἐπιθέσεως. Ὁ δ' εἶπεν·
- 20 “Ἄλλ' ἔγωγε ἱκανὴν νομίζω καὶ νῦν δίκην ἔχειν, εἰ οἷτοι δοῦλοι ἔσονται ἀντ' ἐλευθέρων.” συμβουλευεῖν μέντοι ἔφη αὐτῷ, τὸ λοιπὸν ὁμήρους λαμβάνειν τοὺς δυνατωτάτους κακόν τι ποιεῖν, τοὺς δὲ γέροντας οἴκοι ἑᾶν. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ταύτη πάντες δὴ προσωμολόγουν.

### Κεφάλαιον ε'

- Ῥπερβάλλουσι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Βυζαντίου Θρακίας, εἰς
- 25 τὸ Δίλτα καλούμενον (αὕτη δ' ἦν οὐκέτι ἀρχὴ Μαισιάδου, ἀλλὰ Τήρους τοῦ Ὀδρυσῶν, ἀρχαίου τινός)· καὶ ὁ Ἰπρακλείδης ἐνταῦθα ἔχων τὴν τιμὴν τῆς λείας παρῆν, καὶ Σεύθης, ἔξαγαγὼν ζεύγη ἡμιονικὰ τρία, οὐ γὰρ ἦν πλείων, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα βοεικὰ, καλίσας Ξενοφῶντα ἐκέλευσε λαβεῖν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα δια-

νεῖμαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς. Ξενοφῶν δὲ τὰδ' εἶ-  
 πεν· “Ἐμοὶ μὲν τοῖσιν ἀρκεῖ καὶ αὐτοῖς λαβεῖν· τούτοις  
 δὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς Δωροῦ, οἳ σὺν ἐμοὶ ἠκολούθησαν, καὶ  
 λοχαγοῖς.” Καὶ τῶν ζευγῶν λαμβάνει ἐν μὲν Τιμασίῳ ὁ  
 Δαρδανεύς, ἐν δὲ Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχομένιος, ἐν δὲ Φρυγῆος  
 ὁ Ἀχαιοῦς· τὰ δὲ βοεῖα ζεύγη τοῖς λοχαγοῖς καταμερίσθη.  
 Τὸν δὲ μισθὸν ἀποδίδωσιν, ἐξηλυθότος ἤδη τοῦ μηνός,  
 εἴκοσι μόνον ἡμερῶν· ὁ γὰρ Ἡρακλείδης ἔλεγεν, ὅτι οὐ  
 πλεον ἐμπολήσαι. Ὁ οὖν Ξενοφῶν ἀχθισθεὶς εἶπεν ἐπο-  
 μύσας· “Δοκεῖς μοι, ὦ Ἡρακλείδη, οὐχ ὥς δεῖ κήδεσθαι 10  
 Σεύθου· εἰ γὰρ ἐκῆδου, ἥκεις ἂν πλήρη φέρων τὸν μισθόν,  
 καὶ προσδανεισάμενος, εἰ μὴ γ' ἄλλως ἐδύνω, καὶ ἀποδόμε-  
 νος τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἱμάτια.”

Ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Ἡρακλείδης ἠχθίσθη τε, καὶ ἔδεισε, μὴ ἐκ  
 τῆς Σεύθου φιλίας ἐκβληθεῖ· καὶ ὅ τι ἐδύνατο ἀπὸ ταύτης 15  
 τῆς ἡμέρας Ξενοφῶντα διέβαλλε πρὸς Σεύθην. Οἱ μὲν δὲ  
 στρατιῶται Ξενοφῶντι ἐνεκάλουν, ὅτι οὐκ εἶχον τὸν μισθόν·  
 Σεύθης δὲ ἤχθετο αὐτῷ, ὅτι ἐκτόνως τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀπῆ-  
 ρτει τὸν μισθόν. Καὶ ἐως μὲν αἰὲ ἐμμένητο, ὥς, ἐπειδὴν  
 ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἀπέλθῃ, παραδώσοι αὐτῷ Βισάνθην καὶ 20  
 Γάνον καὶ Νέον τεῖχος· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου οὐδε-  
 νὸς ἔτι τούτων ἐμμένητο. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἡρακλείδης καὶ τοῦτο  
 διαβεβλήκει, ὥς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς εἴη, τεῖχη παραδιδόναι ἀνδρὶ  
 δύναμιν ἔχοντι.

Ἐκ τούτου ὁ μὲν Ξενοφῶν ἐβουλεύετο, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν περὶ 25  
 τοῦ ἔτι ἄνω στρατεύεσθαι· ὁ δ' Ἡρακλείδης, εἰσαγαγὼν  
 τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγοὺς πρὸς Σεύθην, λέγειν τε ἐκέλευεν  
 αὐτούς, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν ἦτον σφεῖς ἀγάγοιεν τὴν στρατιάν, ἢ  
 Ξενοφῶν, τὸν τε μισθὸν ὑπιοχνεῖτο αὐτοῖς ἐντὸς ὀλίγων  
 ἡμερῶν ἐκπλεων παρέσεσθαι δυοῖν μηνῶν· συστρατεύε- 30  
 σθαι τε ἐκέλευε. Καὶ ὁ Τιμασίῳ εἶπεν· “Ἐγὼ μὲν τοί-  
 νυν, οὐδ' ἂν πέντε μηνῶν μισθὸς μέλλῃ εἶναι, συστρατεύαι-

μην ἂν ἄνευ Ξενοφῶντος." Καὶ ὁ Φρυγίσκος καὶ Κλειάνωρ συναμολόγουν Τιμασίῳ.

Ἐντεῦθεν Σεύθης ἐλοιδορεῖ τὸν Ἡρακλείδην, ὅτι οὐ παρ-  
 ρεκάλει καὶ Ξενοφῶντα. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου παρακαλοῦσιν αὐ-  
 5 τὸν μόνον. Ὁ δὲ γνούς τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου τὴν πανουργίαν,  
 ὅτι βούλοιο αὐτὸν διαβάλλειν πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους στρατη-  
 γούς, παρέρχεται λαβὼν τοὺς τε στρατηγούς πάντας καὶ  
 τοὺς λοχαγούς. Καὶ ἐπεὶ πάντες ἐπέσθησαν, συνεστρα-  
 τεύοντο, καὶ ἀφικνουῦνται, ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν Πόντον, διὰ  
 10 τῶν Μελινοφάγων κυλουμένων Θρακῶν, εἰς τὸν Σαλμυδησ-  
 σόν. Ἐνθα τῶν εἰς τὸν Πόντων πλεουσῶν νηῶν πολλὰ  
 ὀκέλλουσι καὶ ἐκπίπτουσι· τέναγος γάρ ἐστιν ἐπὶ πάμπολυ  
 τῆς θαλάττης. Καὶ οἱ Θραῖκες οἱ κατὰ ταῦτα οἰκοῦντες,  
 στήλας ὀρισάμενοι, τὰ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἕκαστοι ἐκπίπτοντα λή-  
 15 ζονται· τίως δ' ἐλέγοντο, πρὶν ὀρίσασθαι, ἀρπάζοντες πολ-  
 λοι ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀποθνήσκειν. Ἐνταῦθα εὐρίσκοντο πολ-  
 λαὶ μὲν κλῖναι, πολλὰ δὲ κιβώτια, πολλὰ δὲ βίβλοι, καὶ  
 τᾶλλα πολλά, ὅσα ἐν ξυλίνοις τεύχεσι ναύκληροι ἄγουσιν.  
 Ἐντεῦθεν ταῦτα καταστρεψάμενοι, ἀπήρσαν πάλιν. Ἐνθα  
 20 δὴ Σεύθης εἶχε στρατεύμα ἡδὴ πλέον τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ· ἔκ τε  
 γὰρ Ὀδρυσῶν πολὺ ἔτι πλείους καταβεβήκεισαν, καὶ οἱ ἀεὶ  
 πειθόμενοι συνεστρατεύοντο. Κατηυλίσθησαν δὲ ἐν τῷ πε-  
 δίῳ ὑπὲρ Σηλυβρίας, ὅσον πεντήκοντα σταδίους ἀπέχοντες  
 τῆς θαλάττης. Καὶ μισθὸς μὲν οὐδεὶς πω ἐφαίνετο· πρὸς  
 25 δὲ τὸν Ξενοφῶντα οἱ τε στρατιῶται παγχαλεπῶς εἶχον, ὃ  
 τε Σεύθης οὐκέτι οἰκείως δέκετο, ἀλλ' ὅποτε συγγενέσθαι  
 αὐτῷ βουλόμενος ἔλθοι, πολλὰ ἤδη ἀσχολία ἐφαίνοντο.

## [Κεφάλαιον 5'.]

Ἐν [δὲ] τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, σχεδὸν ἤδη δύο μηνῶν ὄντων, ἀφικνοῦνται Χαρμίς τε ὁ Λάκων καὶ Πολύνεικος παρὰ Θίμβρωνος· καὶ λίσσονται, ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις δοκεῖ στρατεύεσθαι [ὥς] ἐπὶ Τισσαφέρνην, καὶ Θίμβρων ἐκπέπλευκεν ὡς πολεμήσων· καὶ δεῖται ταύτης τῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ λέγει, ὅτι θαρρεῖν ἐκαστῷ ἔσται μισθὸς τοῦ μηνός, καὶ τοῖς λοχαγοῖς διμοιρία, καὶ τοῖς σιγατηγοῖς τετραμοιρία. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εὐθύς ὁ Ἰρακλείδης, πυθόμενος, ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἤκουσι, λέγει τῷ Σεύθῃ, ὅτι κάλλιστον γιγνέσθαι· “Οἱ μὲν γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέονται 10 τοῦ στρατεύματος, σὺ δὲ οὐκέτι δέη· ἀποδιδοὺς δὲ τὸ στράτευμα αὐτοῖς χαρεῖ, σὲ δὲ οὐκέτι ἀπαιτήσονται τὸν μισθόν, ἀλλ' ἀπαλλάσσονται ἐκ τῆς χώρας.”

Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Σεύθης, κτελεῖ παράγειν· καὶ ἐπεὶ εἶπεν, ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἤκουσι, λέγει, ὅτι τὸ στράτευμα 15 ἀποδίδωσι, φίλος τε καὶ σύμμαχος βούλεται εἶναι· καλεῖ τε αὐτούς ἐπὶ ξενίᾳ. Καὶ ἐξίνιζε μεγαλοπρεπῶς. Ξεροφῶντα δὲ οὐ καλεῖ, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν οὐδένα. Ἐρωτῶντων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, τίς ἀνὴρ εἴη Ξεροφῶν, ἀπεκρίνατο, “ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα εἴη οὐ κακός, φιλοστρατιώτης δὲ· καὶ 20 διὰ τοῦτο χειρόν ἐστιν αὐτῷ.” Καὶ οὐ εἶπον· “Ἄλλ' ἢ δημαγωγὴ ὁ ἀνὴρ τοὺς ἄνδρας;” Καὶ ὁ Ἰρακλείδης, “Ἰάνυ μὲν οὖν,” ἔφη. “Ἄρ' οὖν,” ἔφασαν, “μὴ καὶ ἡμῖν ἐναντιώσεται περὶ τῆς ἀπαγωγῆς;” “Ἄλλ' ἢν ὑμεῖς,” ἔφη ὁ Ἰρακλείδης, “συλλέξαντες αὐτοὺς ὑπόσχησθε τὸν 25 μισθόν, ὀλίγον ἐκείνῳ προσχόντες ἀποδραμοῦνται σὺν ὑμῖν.” “Πῶς ἂν οὖν,” ἔφασαν, “ἡμῖν συλλεγεῖν;” “Ἀύριον ὑμᾶς,” ἔφη ὁ Ἰρακλείδης, “πρωτὶ ἄξομεν πρὸς αὐτούς· καὶ οἶδα,” ἔφη, “ὅτι, ἐπειδὴν ὑμᾶς ἴδωσιν, ἄσμενοι συνδραμοῦνται.” Αὕτη μὲν [οὖν] ἡ ἡμέρα οὕτως ἐληξε. 30

Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἄγουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα τοὺς Λάκωνας  
 Σεύθης τε καὶ Ἡρακλείδης, καὶ συλλέγεται ἡ στρατιά· τῷ  
 δὲ Λάκωνι ἐλεγέτην, “ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις δοκεῖ πολιεῖν  
 Τισσαφέρνει, τῷ ὑμᾶς ἀδικήσαντι· ἦν οὖν ἔητε σὺν ἡμῖν,  
 δ τὸν τε ἐχθρὸν τιμωρήσεσθε, καὶ δαρεικὸν ἕκαστος οἴσει τοῦ  
 μηνὸς ὑμῶν· λοχαγὸς δὲ τὸ διπλοῦν· στρατηγὸς δὲ τὸ τε-  
 τραπλοῦν.” Καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἄσμενοί τε ἤκουσαν, καὶ  
 εὐθύς ἀνίσταται τις τῶν Ἀρκάδων, τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος κατη-  
 γορήσων. Παρῆν δὲ καὶ Σεύθης, βουλόμενος εἰδέναι, τί  
 1<sup>α</sup> πρᾶχθῆσεται· καὶ ἐν ἐπηκόῳ εἰστήκει, ἔχων [τὸν] ἑρμηνέα·  
 οὐνίει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἑλληνιστὶ τὰ πλεῖστα. Ἐνθα-δὴ λέ-  
 γει ὁ Ἀρκάς· “Ἄλλ' ἡμεῖς μὲν, ὧ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ πά-  
 λαι ἂν ἤμεν παρ' ὑμῖν, εἰ μὴ Ξενοφῶν δεῦρο ἡμᾶς πείσας  
 ἀπήγαγεν· ἐνθα δὲ ἡμεῖς μὲν τὸν δεινὸν χειμῶνα στρατευσά-  
 15 μενοι καὶ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν οὐδὲν πεπάμεθα· ὁ δὲ τοὺς  
 ἡμετέρους πόνους ἔχει· καὶ Σεύθης ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἐκείνον πε-  
 πλούτικεν, ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀποστερεῖ τὸν μισθόν· ὥστε,” ὃ γε πρῶ-  
 τος λέγων, “ἐγὼ μὲν,” [ἔφη,] “εἰ τοῦτον ἴδοιμι καταλευ-  
 σθέντα, καὶ δόντα δίκην, ὃν ἡμᾶς περιεῖλε, καὶ τὸν μισθὸν  
 20 ἂν μοι δοκῶ ἔχειν, καὶ οὐδὲν [ἂν] ἔτι τοῖς πεπονημένοις  
 ἄχθεσθαι.” Μετὰ τοῦτον ἄλλος ἀνέστη ὁμοίως, καὶ ἄλλος.  
 Ἐκ δὲ τούτων Ξενοφῶν ἔλεξεν ὥδε·

“Ἀλλὰ πάντα μὲν ἄρα ἀνθρώπων ὄντα προςδοκᾶν δεῖ,  
 ὅποτε γε καὶ ἐγὼ νῦν [μὲν] ὑφ' ὑμῶν αἰτίας ἔχω, ἐν ᾧ πλεί-  
 25 στην προθυμίᾳ ἐμαυτῷ γε δοκῶ συνειδέναι περὶ ὑμᾶς πα-  
 ρεσχημένους. Ἀπειραπόμην μὲν γε ἤδη οἴκαδε ὠρημένος,  
 οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία, οὐ τοι πυνθανόμενος ὑμᾶς εὖ πράττειν,  
 ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀκούων ἐν ἀπόροις εἶναι, ὡς ὠφελήσω, εἴ τι  
 δυκαίμην. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἤλθον, Σεύθου τουτουῖ πολλοὺς ἀγγέ-  
 30 λους πρὸς ἐμὲ πέμποντος, καὶ πολλὰ ὑπισχνομένου μοι, εἰ  
 πείσαιμι ὑμᾶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔλθεῖν, τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐπιχείρησα  
 ποιεῖν, ὡς αὐτοὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε, ἦγον δ' ὅθεν ὤμην τά-  
 χιστ' ἂν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβῆναι. Ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ

βέλτιστα ἐνόμιζον ὑμῖν εἶναι, καὶ ὑμᾶς ᾗδειν βορλομένους. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀριστάρχος, ἐλθὼν σὺν τριήρεσιν, ἐκώλυσε διαπλεῖν ἡμᾶς, ἐκ τούτου, ὅπερ εἰκὸς δῆπου ἦν, συνέλεξα ὑμᾶς, ὅπως βολευσάμεθα, ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν. Οὐκοῦν ὑμεῖς ἀκούοντες μὲν Ἀριστάρχου ἐπιταπτοντος ὑμῖν εἰς Χερσόνησον πορεύ- 5 εσθαι, ἀκούοντες δὲ Σεύθου πείθοντος ἑαυτῷ συστρατεύεσθαι, πάντες μὲν ἐλέγετε σὺν Σεύθῃ εἶναι, πάντες δ' ἐψηφίσασθε ταῦτα. Τί οὖν ἐγὼ ἐνταῦθα ἡδίκησα, ἀγαγὼν ὑμᾶς, ἐνθα πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἐδόκει; Ἐπεὶ γε μὴν ψεύδεσθαι ἤρξατο Σεύθης περὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ, εἰ μὲν ἐπαινώ αὐτόν, δικαί- 10 ως ἂν με καὶ αἰτιῶσθε καὶ μισοῖτε· εἰ δὲ πρόσθεν αὐτῷ πάντων μάλιστα φίλος ὢν, νῦν πάντων διαφορωτάτος εἰμι, πῶς ἂν ἔτι δικαίως, αἰρούμενος ὑμᾶς ἀντὶ Σεύθου, ὑφ' ὑμῶν αἰτίαν ἔχοιμι περὶ ὧν πρὸς τούτον διαφέρομαι; Ἄλλ' εἶποιτε ἂν, ὅτι ἔξεστι καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα ἔχοντα παρὰ Σεύθου τεχνάζειν. 15 Οὐκοῦν δῆλον τοῦτό γε, ὅτι, εἴπερ ἐμοὶ ἐτέλει τι Σεύθης, οὐχ οὕτως ἐτέλει δῆπου, ὥς ὢν τε ἐμοὶ δοίη στεροῦτο, καὶ ἄλλα ὑμῖν ἀποτίσειεν; Ἄλλ' οἶμαι, εἰ ἐδίδου, ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἂν ἐδίδου, ὅπως ἐμοὶ δοὺς μείον, μὴ ἀποδοίῃ ὑμῖν τὸ πλεῖον. Εἰ τοίνυν οὕτως ἔχειν οἴεσθε, ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν αὐτίκα μάλα μα- 20 ταίαν ταύτην τὴν πράξιν ἀμφοτέροις ἡμῖν ποιῆσαι, ἐὰν πράττητε αὐτόν τὰ χρήματα. Δῆλον γάρ, ὅτι Σεύθης, εἰ ἔχω τι παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἀπαιτήσῃ με, καὶ ἀπαιτήσῃ μέντοι δικαίως, ἐὰν μὴ βεβαιῶ τὴν πράξιν αὐτῷ, ἐφ' ἣ ἐθωροδόκουν. Ἀλλὰ πολλοῦ μοι δοκῶ δεῖν τὰ ὑμέτερα ἔχειν· ὁμνύω γὰρ ὑμῖν 25 θεοὺς ἅπαντας καὶ πάσας, μηδὲ ἂ ἐμοὶ ἰδίᾳ ὑπέσχετο Σεύθης ἔχειν· πάρεστι δὲ αὐτός, καὶ ἀκούων σύννοιδέ μοι, εἰ ἐπιορκῶ. Ἴνα δὲ μᾶλλον θαναμάσῃτε, συνεπόμνυμι, μηδὲ ἂ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ἔλαβον εἰληφέναι, μὴ τοίνυν μηδ' ὅσα τῶν λοχαγῶν ἔνιοι. Καὶ τί δὴ ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν; Ὡμην, ὧ 30 ἄνδρες, ὅσα μᾶλλον συμφέροισι τούτῳ τὴν τότε πενίαν, τοσοῦτ' μᾶλλον αὐτόν φίλον ποιήσεσθαι, ὅποτε δυνασθῇ. Ἐγὼ δὲ ἅμα τε αὐτόν ὀρώ εὖ πράττοντα, καὶ γιγνώσκω δὴ

αὐτοῦ τὴν γνώμην. Εἶποι δὴ τις ἄν· 'Οὐκουν αἰσχύνῃ  
οὕτω μωρῶς ἔξαπατῶμενος;' Ναὶ μὰ Δία ῥοχυνόμεν μὲν-  
τοι, εἰ ὑπὸ πολέμιον γε ὄντιος ἐξηπατήθην· φίλῃ δ' ὄντι  
ἔξαπατῶν αἰσχίον μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἢ ἔξαπαταῖσθαι. Ἐπεὶ, εἴ  
6 γε πρὸς φίλους ἐστὶ φυλακὴ, πᾶσαν οἶδα ὑμᾶς φυλαξαμέ-  
νους, ὥς μὴ παρῆσθαι τούτῳ πρόφασιν δικαίαν, μὴ ἀποδι-  
δόναι ὑμῖν, ἃ ὑπέσχετο· οὔτε γὰρ ἡδικήσαμεν τοῦτον οὐ-  
δέν, οὔτε κατεβλακεύσαμεν τὰ τούτου, οὐδὲ μὴ κατεδειλιά-  
σαμεν οὐδέν, ἐφ' ὅ τι ἡμᾶς οὗτος παρεκάλεισεν. 'Ἄλλῃ,  
10 φαίητε ἄν, 'ἔδει τὰ ἐνέχυρα τότε λαβεῖν, ὥς μηδὲ, εἰ ἐβού-  
λετο, ἐδύνατο ἂν ταῦτα ἔξαπατῶν.' Πρὸς ταῦτα δὲ ἀκού-  
σατε, ἃ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἂν ποτε εἶπον τούτου ἐναντίον, εἰ μὴ μοι  
παντάπασιν ἀγνώμονες ἐδόκεῖτε εἶναι, ἢ λίαν εἰς ἐμὲ ἀχά-  
ριστοι. Ἀναμνήσθητε γὰρ, ἐν ποίοις τισὶν ὄντες πράγμα-  
15 σιν ἐτυγχάνετε, ἐξ ὧν ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ ἀνήγαγον πρὸς Σειθύην.  
Οὐκ εἰς μὲν Πέρινθον, εἰ προσήτε τῇ πόλει, Ἀρίσταρχος  
ὑμᾶς ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος οὐκ εἴα εἰσιέναι, ἀποκλείσας τὰς πύ-  
λας· ὑπαίθριοι δὲ ἔξω ἐστρατοπεδεύετε· μέσος δὲ χειμῶν  
ἦν· ἀγορᾷ δὲ ἐχρῆσθε, σπάνια μὲν ὀρῶντες τὰ εἴνια, σπάνια  
20 δὲ ἔχοντες, ὅτων ὠνήσεσθε. Ἀνάγκη δὲ ἦν μένειν ἐπὶ Θρά-  
κης (τριήρεις γὰρ ἐφορμοῦσαι ἐκώλυνον διαπλεῖν)· εἰ δὲ μέ-  
νοι τις, ἐν πολέμῳ χώρᾳ εἶναι, ἔνθα πολλοὶ μὲν ἱππεῖς  
ἐναντίοι ἦσαν, πολλοὶ δὲ πελτασταί. Ἰμῖν δὲ ὀπλιτικὸν  
μὲν ἦν, ὧ, ἀθρόοι μὲν ἰόντες ἐπὶ τὰς κώμας, ὥσως ἂν ἐδυ-  
25 νάμεθα σῖτον λαμβάνειν οὐδέν τι ἄφθονον· ὅτω δὲ διώ-  
κοντες ἂν ἢ ἀνδράποδα ἢ πρόβατα κατελαμβάνομεν, οὐκ ἦν  
ἡμῖν· οὔτε γὰρ ἱππικὸν οὔτε πελταστικὸν ἔτι ἐγὼ συνεστη-  
κὸς κατέλαβον παρ' ὑμῖν. Εἰ οὖν, ἐν τοιαύτῃ ἀνάγκῃ ὄν-  
των ὑμῶν, μηδ' ὄντιναοῦν μισθὸν προσαιτήσας, Σείθην  
30 σύμμαχον ὑμῖν προσέλαβον, ἔχοντα [καὶ] ἱππέας καὶ πελ-  
ταστιάς, ὧν ὑμεῖς προσεδεῖσθε, [ἢ] κακῶς ἂν ἐδόκουν ὑμῖν  
βεβουλευῆσθαι πρὸ ὑμῶν; Τούτων γὰρ δῆπου κοινωνή-  
σαντες, καὶ σῖτον ἀφθονώτερον ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ἐθρίσκετε,

διὰ τὸ ἀναγκάζεσθαι τοὺς Θοῤῃκας κατὰ σπουδὴν μᾶλλον  
 φεύγειν· καὶ προβάτων καὶ ἀνδραπόδων μᾶλλον μετέσχετε.  
 Καὶ πολέμιον οὐκ ἐστὶ οὐδέν· ἐμὼ μὲν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἱππικὸν  
 ἡμῖν προσεγένετο· τέως δὲ θαρσαλέως ἡμῖν ἐφείποντο οἱ  
 πολέμιοι καὶ ἱππικῷ καὶ πελταστικῷ, κωλύοντες μηδαμῇ  
 καὶ ὀλίγους ἀποσκεδαννυμένους τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀφθονώτερα  
 ἡμᾶς πορίζεσθαι. Εἰ δὲ δὴ ὁ συμπαράχων ὑμῖν ταύτην τὴν  
 ἀσφάλειαν, μὴ πάνυ πολὺν μισθὸν προστελεῖ τῆς ἀσφαλείας,  
 τοῦτο δὴ τὸ πάθημα τὸ σخίλων; καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδ' αὖ  
 οἴεσθε χρῆναι ζῶντα ἐμὲ ἂν εἶναι; Νῦν δὲ δὴ πῶς ἀπέρ- 10  
 χεσθε; Οὐ διαχειμάσαντες μὲν ἐν ἀφθόνοις τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις,  
 περιττὸν δ' ἔχοντες τοῦτο, εἴ τι ἐλάβετε παρὰ Σεύθου; τὰ  
 γὰρ τῶν πολεμίων ἰδοπανᾶτε· καὶ ταῦτα πράττοντες, οὔτε  
 ἀνδρας ἐκείδετε ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντας, οὔτε ζῶντας ἀπε-  
 βάλετε. Εἰ δὲ τι καλὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ βαρβάρους 15  
 ἐπέπρακτο ὑμῖν, οὐ καὶ ἐκεῖνο σὼν ἔχετε, καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνοις  
 νῦν ἄλλην εὐκλειαν προσειλήφατε, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ  
 Θοῤῃκας, ἐφ' οὓς ἐστρατεύεσθε, κρατήσαντες; Ἐγὼ μὲν  
 ὑμᾶς φημὶ δικαίως ἂν, ὧν ἐμοὶ χαλεπαίνετε, τούτων τοῖς  
 θεοῖς χάριν εἰδέναι, ὥς ἀγαθῶν. Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ ὑμέτερα 20  
 τοιαῦτα. Ἄγετε δὲ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ σκέψασθε  
 ὡς ἔχει. Ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ, ὅτε πρότερον ἀπῆρα οἴκαδε, ἔχων  
 μὲν ἔπαινον πολὺν πρὸς ὑμῶν ἀπεπορευόμεν, ἔχων δὲ δι'  
 ὑμᾶς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων εὐκλειαν· ἐπιστενύμεν  
 δὲ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων· οὐ γὰρ ἂν με ἔπεμπον πάλιν πρὸς 25  
 ὑμᾶς. Νῦν δ' ἀπέρχομαι, πρὸς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους ὑφ'  
 ὑμῶν διαβεβλημένος, Σεύθῃ δὲ ἀπηχθημένος ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν,  
 ὃν ἡλπίζον, εὐ ποιήσας μεθ' ὑμῶν, ἀποστροφὴν καὶ ἐμοὶ  
 καλὴν καὶ παισίν, εἰ γένοιτο, καταδίησεσθαι. Τμείς  
 δ', ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐγὼ ἀπηχθημαί τε πλείστα, καὶ ταῦτα πολὺ 30  
 κρείττοσιν ἐμαυτοῦ, πραγματευόμενός τε οὐδὲ νῦν πᾶσι πέ-  
 παυμαι ὅ τι δύναμαι ἀγαθὸν ὑμῖν, τοιαύτην γνώμην ἔχετε  
 περὶ ἐμοῦ. Ἄλλ' ἔχετε μὲν με, οὔτε φεύγοντα λαβόντες,

οὔτε ἀποδιδράσκοντα· ἦν δὲ ποιήσητε, ἃ λέγετε, ἴστε, ὅτι  
 ἄνδρα κατακεκονότες ἔσεσθε, πολλὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸ ὑμῶν  
 ἀγρυπνήσαντα, πολλὰ δὲ σὺν ὑμῖν πονήσαντα καὶ κινδυνεύ-  
 5 σάντα, καὶ ἐν τῷ μέρει καὶ παρὰ τὸ μέρος· θεῶν δὲ ἵλεων  
 ὄντων καὶ τροπαία βαρβάρων πολλὰ δὴ σὺν ὑμῖν στησάμε-  
 ρον· ὅπως δὲ γε τῶν Ἑλλήνων μηδενὶ πολέμιοι γένοισθε,  
 πᾶν ὅσον ἐγὼ ἐδυνάμην, πρὸς ὑμᾶς διατεινόμενον. Καὶ  
 γὰρ οὖν νῦν ὑμῖν ἔξεστιν ἀνεπιλήπτως πορεύεσθαι, ὅποι ἂν  
 ἔλθῃτε, καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. Ὅτις δέ, ὅτι  
 10 πολλὴ ὑμῖν εὐπορία φαίνεται, καὶ πλεῖτε, ἔνθα δὴ ἐπιθῶ-  
 μεῖτε πάλαι, δέονται δὲ ὑμῶν οἱ [τὸ] μέγιστον δυνάμενοι,  
 μισθὸς δὲ φαίνεται, ἡγεμόνες δὲ ἤκουσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οἱ  
 κρᾶτιστοι νομιζόμενοι εἶναι, νῦν δὴ καιρὸς δοκεῖ ὑμῖν εἶναι,  
 ὡς τάχιστα ἐμὲ κατακαεῖν; Οὐ μὲν, ὅτι γε ἐν τοῖς ἀπό-  
 15 ροῖς ἤμεν, ὃ πάντων μνημονικώτατοι· ἀλλὰ καὶ πατέρα  
 ἐμὲ ἐκαλεῖτε, καὶ αἰεὶ ὡς εὐεργέτου μεμνησθαι ὑπισχνεῖσθε.  
 Οὐ μέντοι ἀγνώμονες οὐδ' οὗτοι εἰσιν, οἱ νῦν ἡκοντες ἐφ'  
 ὑμᾶς· ὥστε, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, οὐδὲ τούτοις δοκεῖτε βελτίονες  
 εἶναι, τοιοῦτοι ὄντες περὶ ἐμέ." Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο.

20 Χαρμῖνος δέ, ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, ἀναστὰς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς·  
 "Ἄλλ' ἐμοὶ μέντοι, ὃ ἄνδρες, οὐ δικαίως γε δοκεῖτε τῷ ἄν-  
 δρὶ τούτῳ χαλεπαίνειν· ἔχω γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτῷ μαρτυρη-  
 σαι· Σεύθης γάρ, ἐρωτῶντος ἐμοῦ καὶ Πολυνείκου περὶ  
 Ξενοφῶντος, τίς ἀνὴρ εἴη, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν εἶχε μέμψασθαι,  
 25 ἄγαν δὲ φιλοστρατιώτην ἔφη αὐτὸν εἶναι· διὸ καὶ χεῖρον  
 αὐτῷ εἶναι πρὸς ἡμῶν τε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ πρὸς αὐ-  
 τοῦ." Ἀναστὰς ἐπὶ τούτῳ Εὐρύλοχος [ὁ] Λουσιάτης Ἀρ-  
 κὰς εἶπε· "Δοκεῖ γέ μοι, ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τοῦτο  
 ὑμᾶς πρῶτον ἡμῶν στρατηγῆσαι, παρὰ Σεύθου ἡμῖν τὸν  
 30 μισθὸν ἀναπρῶξαι ἢ ἐκόντος ἢ ἄκοντος, καὶ μὴ πρότερον  
 ἡμᾶς ἀπαγαγεῖν." Πολυκράτης δὲ Ἀθηναῖος εἶπεν ἀναστὰς  
 ὑπὲρ Ξενοφῶντος· "Ὅρῳ γε μὴν, ὃ ἄνδρες," ἔφη, "καὶ  
 Ἡρακλείδην ἐνταῦθα παρόντα, ὃ παραλαβὼν τὰ χρήματα,

ἃ ἡμεῖς ἐπονησαμεν, ταῦτα ἀποδόμενος, οὔτε Σεύθῃ ἀπέδωκεν, οὔτε ἡμῖν τὰ γιγνόμενα, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς κλέψας πέπαται. "Ἦν οἶν σωφρονῶμεν, ἐξέμεθα αὐτοῦ· οὐ γὰρ δὴ οὗτός γε," ἔφη, "Θράξ ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ Ἕλληνα ὦν Ἕλληνας ἀδικεῖ."

Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Ἡρακλείδης μάλα ἐξεπλάγῃ· καὶ πρὸς ἐλθὼν τῷ Σεύθῃ λέγει· "Ἡμεῖς, ἦν σωφρονῶμεν, ἅπι-  
μεν ἐντεῦθεν ἐκ τῆς τούτων ἐπικρατείας." Καὶ ἀναβάντες  
ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους, ἔρχοντο ἀπελαύνοντες εἰς τὸ ἑαυτῶν στρα-  
τόπεδον. Καὶ ἐντεῦθεν Σεύθης πέμπει Ἀβροξέλην τὸν  
ἑαυτοῦ ἑρμηνεῖα πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα, καὶ κελεύει αὐτὸν κατα-  
μεῖναι παρ' ἑαυτῷ, ἔχοντα χιλλοὺς ὀπλίτας· καὶ ὑπισχνεῖται  
αὐτῷ ἀποδώσειν τὰ τε χωρία τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα,  
ἃ ὑπέσχετο. Καὶ ἐν ἀποβύῳ ποιησάμενος, λέγει, ὅτι  
ἀκῆκος Πολυνείκου, ὥς, εἰ ὑποχείριος ἔσται Λακεδαιμονί-  
οις, σαφῶς ἀποθανοῖτο ὑπὸ Θίμβρωνος. Ἐπίστελλον δὲ  
ταῦτα καὶ [οἱ] ἄλλοι πολλοὶ [ξένοι] τῷ Ξενοφῶντι, ὥς διαβε-  
βλημένος εἶη, καὶ φυλάττεσθαι δεοί. Ὁ δ' ἀκούων ταῦτα,  
δύο ἱερεῖα λαβὼν, ἔθυσεν τῷ Δίῃ τῷ Βασιλεῖ, πότερὰ οἱ λωΐον  
καὶ ἄμεινον εἶη μένειν παρὰ Σεύθῃ, ἐφ' οἷς Σεύθης λέγει,  
ἣ ἀπίσται σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι. Ἀναιρεῖ δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπέναι. 20

### Κεφάλαιον ζ'.

Ἐντεῦθεν Σεύθης μὲν ἀπιστρατοπεδεύσατο προσωτέρω·  
οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐσκήνησαν εἰς κώμας, ὅθεν ἔμελλον πλείστα  
ἐπισιτισάμενοι ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἤξαι. Αἱ δὲ κώμαι αὗται  
ἦσαν δεδομένοι ὑπὸ Σεύθου Μηδοσάδῃ. Ὅρων οὖν ὁ Μη-  
δοσάδης δαπανώμενα τὰ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων,  
χαλεπῶς ἔφερε· καὶ λαβὼν ἄνδρα Ὀδρύσην, δυνατωτάτον  
τῶν ἄνωθεν καταβεβηκότων, καὶ ἱππέας ὅσον τριάκοντα,  
ἔρχεται καὶ προκαλεῖται Ξενοφῶντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ στρα-  
τεύματος· καὶ ὅς, λαβὼν τινες τῶν λοχαγῶν καὶ ἄλλους

[τινας] τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, προσέρχεται. Ἐνθα δὲ λέγει ὁ Μηδοσάδης· “Ἀδικεῖτε, ὡς Ξενοφῶν, τὰς ἡμετέρας κόμας πορθοῦντες. Προλέγομεν οὖν ὑμῖν, ἐγὼ τε ὑπὲρ Σεύθου, καὶ ὅδε ὁ ἀνὴρ, παρὰ Μηδόκου ἦκων τοῦ ἄνω βασιλείως  
6 ἀπιῖναι ἐκ τῆς χώρας· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψομεν ὑμῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐὺν ποιῆτε κακῶς τὴν ἡμετέραν χώραν, ὥς πολέμιους ἀλεξή-  
σόμεθα.”

Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν, ἀκούσας ταῦτα, εἶπεν· “Ἀλλὰ σοὶ μὲν τοιαῦτα λέγοντι καὶ ἀποκρίνασθαι χαλεπόν· τοῦδε δὲ ἔνεκα  
10 τοῦ νεανίσκου λέξω, ἔν’ εἰδῇ, οἷαί τε ὑμεῖς ἐστέ, καὶ οἷοι ἡμεῖς. Ἡμεῖς μὲν γάρ,” ἔφη, “πρὶν φίλοι γενέσθαι ὑμῖν, ἐπορευόμεθα διὰ ταύτης τῆς χώρας, ὅποι ἐβουλόμεθα, ἣν μὲν ἐθέλοισιν πορθοῦντες, ἣν δ’ ἐθέλοισιν καταναίοντες. Καὶ σύ, ὅποτε πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔλθοις πρεσβεύων, ἡλλίξου παρ’  
15 ἡμῖν, οὐδένα φοβούμενος τῶν πολεμίων. Ἑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἔτε εἰς τήνδε τὴν χώραν, ἢ, εἰ ποτε ἔλθοιτε, ὥς ἐν κρείττωνον χώραν ἡλλίξεσθε ἐγκυκαλινωμένοις τοῖς ἴπποις. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμῖν φίλοι ἐγένεσθε, καὶ δι’ ἡμᾶς σὺν θεοῖς ἔχετε τήνδε τὴν χώραν, νῦν δὴ ἐξελαύνετε ἡμᾶς ἐκ [ταύτης] τῆς χώρας; ἣν  
20 παρ’ ἡμῶν ἐκόντων κατὰ κῆρτος παρελάβετε· ὥς γὰρ αὐτὸς οἶσθα, οἱ πολέμιοι οὐκ ἦσαν ἱκανοὶ ἡμᾶς ἐξελαύνειν. Καὶ οὐχ ὅπως δῶρα δοῦς καὶ εὖ ποιήσας, ἀνθ’ ὧν εὖ ἔπαυες, ἀξιοῖς ἡμᾶς ἀποπέμψασθαι, ἀλλ’ ἀποπορευομένους ἡμᾶς οὐδ’ ἐναυλισθῆναι, ὅσον δύνασαι, ἐπιτρέπεις. Καὶ ταῦτα  
25 λέγων οὔτε θεοὺς αἰσχύνῃ οὔτε τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρα, ὃς νῦν μὲν σε ὀρεῖ πλουτοῦντα, πρὶν δὲ ἡμῖν φίλον γενέσθαι, ἀπὸ λη-  
στείας τὸν βίον ἔχοντα, ὥς αὐτὸς ἔφησθα. Ἄτάρ τί καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ λέγεις ταῦτα;” ἔφη· “οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἔτι ἄρχω, ἀλλὰ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οἷς ὑμεῖς παρεδώκατε τὸ σφράγισμα ἀπαγωγῆν,  
30 οὐδὲν ἐμὲ παρακαλέσαντες, ὃ θαυμασιότατον, ὅπως, ὥς περ ἀπηχθάνομεν αὐτοῖς, ὅτε πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἦγον, οὕτω καὶ χαρι-  
σαίμεν νῦν ἀποδιδούς.”

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσεν ὁ Ὀδρύσης, εἶπεν· “Ἐγὼ μὲν,

ὡς Μηδόσαδες, κατὰ τῆς γῆς καταδύσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης, ἀκούων ταῦτα. Καὶ εἰ μὲν πρόσθεν ἠπιστάμην, οὐδ' ἂν συνηκολούθησά σοι· καὶ νῦν ἄπειμι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν Μίδοκος με ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπαινοίη, εἰ ἐξελεύνομι τοὺς ἐνεργέτας." Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀναβῆς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀπήλαντε, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ οἱ ἄλλοι ἵππεις, πλὴν τεττάρων, ἢ πέντε. Ὁ δὲ Μηδοσάδης, ἐλύπει γὰρ αὐτὸν ἡ χώρα πορθουμένη, ἐκέλευε τὸν Ξενοφῶντα καλέσαι τὸν Λακεδαιμονίῳ. Ὁ δ' ἀπολαβὼν τοὺς ἐπιτηδεωτάτους, προσῆλθε τῷ Χαρμῖνῳ καὶ τῷ Πολυνείκῳ, καὶ ἔλεξεν, ὅτι καλεῖ αὐτοὺς Μηδοσάδης, προειρῶν ἄπερ αὐτῷ, ἀπείναι ἐκ τῆς χώρας. "Οἶμαι ἂν οὖν," ἔφη, "ὑμᾶς ἀπολαβεῖν τῇ στρατιᾷ τὸν ὀφειλόμενον μισθόν, εἰ εἴποιτε, ὅτι δεδίκηται ὑμῶν ἡ στρατιὰ συναναπράξαι τὸν μισθόν ἢ παρὰ ἐκόντος ἢ παρὰ ἄκοντος Σεύθου· καὶ ὅτι τούτων τυγχόντες, προθύμως [μὲν] ἂν συνέπεςθαι ὑμῖν φασί· καὶ ὅτι δίκαια ὑμῖν δοκοῦσι λέγειν· καὶ ὅτι ὑπέσχεσθε αὐτοῖς τότε ἀπείναι, ὅταν τὰ δίκαια ἔχωσιν οἱ στρατιῶται." Ἀκούσαντες οἱ Λάκωνες ταῦτα, ἔφασαν ἔρεϊν, καὶ ἄλλα, ὅποια ἂν δύνανται κράτιστα· καὶ εὐθύς ἐπορεύοντο ἔχοντες πάντας τοὺς ἐπικαιρίους. Ἐλθόντων δὲ ἔλεξε Χαρμῖνος· "Εἰ μὲν οὐ τι ἔχεις, ὦ Μηδόσαδες, πρὸς ἡμᾶς λέγειν· εἰ δὲ μή, ἡμεῖς πρὸς σὲ ἔχομεν." Ὁ δὲ Μηδοσάδης μάλα ὑφειμένως· "Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν," ἔφη, "λέγω, καὶ Σεύθης τὰ αὐτά, ὅτι ἀξιούμεν, τοὺς φίλους ἡμῖν γεγεννημένους μὴ κακῶς πάσχειν ὑφ' ὑμῶν· ὃ τι γὰρ ἂν τούτους κακῶς ποιῇτε, ἡμᾶς ἤδη ποιεῖτε· ἡμέτεροι γὰρ εἰσιν." "Ἡμεῖς τοίνυν," ἔφασαν οἱ Λάκωνες, "ἀπιομεν ἂν, ὅποτε τὸν μισθὸν ἔχοιεν οἱ ταῦτα ὑμῖν καταπράξαντες· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐρχόμεθα μὲν καὶ νῦν βοηθήσοντες τούτοις, καὶ τιμωρησόμενοι ἄνδρας, οἱ τούτους παρὰ τοὺς ὄρκους ἡδίκησαν· ἣν δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς τοιοῦτοι ἦτε, ἐνθ' ἐνδεᾶ ἀρξόμεθα τὰ δίκαια λαμβάνειν." Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν· "Ἐθέλοιτε δ' ἂν, ὦ Μηδόσαδες, τούτοις ἐπιτρέψαι, ἐπειδὴ φατὲ φίλους εἶναι ὑμῖν, ἐν ᾧ τῇ χώρᾳ ἐσμέν, ὁπότ' ἂν ψηφίσωνται, εἴθ' "

ἡμᾶς προσηῆκεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπιέναι, εἴθ' ἡμᾶς ;" Ὁ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἔφη· ἐκέλευε δὲ μάλιστα μὲν αὐτῷ ἐλθεῖν τῷ Λάκωνε παρὰ Σεύθην περὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ, καὶ οἰεσθαι ἂν Σεύθην πείσαι· εἰ δὲ μή, Ξενοφῶντα σὺν αὐτῷ πέμπειν, καὶ  
 6 συμπράξειν ὑπισχνεῖτο· ἐδεῖτο δὲ τὰς κόμας μὴ κᾶειν.  
 Ἐντεῦθεν πέμπουσι τὸν Ξενοφῶντα, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ, ὃς ἐδόκουν ἐπιτηδεότατοι εἶναι. Ὁ δ' ἐλθὼν λέγει πρὸς τὸν Σεύθην·

“Οὐδὲν ἀπαιτήσων, ὦ Σεύθη, πάρειμι, ἀλλὰ διδάξων,  
 10 ὥς ἂν δύνωμαι, ὥς οὐ δικαίως μοι ἡχθέσθης, ὅτι ὑπὲρ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπῆτουν σε, ἃ ὑπέσχον αὐτοῖς προθύμως· σοὶ γὰρ ἔγωγε οὐχ ἤτιον ἐνόμιζον εἶναι συμφέρον ἀποδοῦναι, ἢ ἐκείνοις ἀπολαβεῖν. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οἶδα μετὰ τοὺς θεοὺς εἰς τὸ φανερόν σε τούτους καταστήσαντας, ἐπεὶ γε βασιλεῖα  
 15 σε ἐποίησαν πολλῆς χώρας καὶ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων· ὥστε οὐχ οἷόν τε ἐστὶ λανθάνειν, οὔτε ἦν τι καλόν, οὔτε ἦν τι αἰσχρὸν ποιήσης. Τοιοῦτῳ δ' ὄντι ἀνδρὶ μέγα μὲν μοι ἐδόκει εἶναι, μὴ δοκεῖν ἀχαρίστως ἀποπέμψασθαι ἄνδρας εὐεργέτας, μέγα δ' , εὐ ἀκούειν ὑπὸ ἐξακιςχιλίων ἀνθρώπων· τὸ δὲ μέγι-  
 20 στον, μηδαμῶς ἄπιστον σαυτὸν καταστήσαι, ὃ τι λέγεις. Ὅρῳ γάρ, τῶν μὲν ἀπίστων ματαλους καὶ ἀδυνάτους καὶ ἀτίμους τοὺς λόγους πλανωμένους· οἳ δ' ἂν φανεροὶ ᾧσιν ἀλήθειαν ἀσκοῦντες, τούτων οἱ λόγοι, ἦν τι δέωνται, οὐδὲν μείον δύνανται ἀνύσασθαι, ἢ ἄλλων ἢ βία· ἦν τε τινὰ σωφρονίζειν  
 25 βούλονται, γινώσκω τὰς τούτων ἀπειλὰς οὐχ ἤτιον σωφρονιζούσας, ἢ ἄλλων τὰς ἡδὴ κολάσεις· ἦν τέ τῷ τι ὑπισχνῶνται οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἄνδρες, οὐδὲν μείον διαπράττονται, ἢ [οἱ] ἄλλοι παραχρῆμα διδόντες. Ἀναμνήσθητι δὲ καὶ σύ, τί προτελέσας ἡμῖν συμμάχους ἡμᾶς ἔλαβες. Οἶσθ', ὅτι  
 30 οὐδέν· ἀλλὰ πιστευθεὶς ἀληθεύσεις, ἃ ἔλεγες, ἐπῆρας το-  
 τούτους ἀνθρώπους συστρατεύσασθαι τε καὶ συγκατεργά-  
 σασθαι σοὶ ἀρχήν, οὐ τριάκοντα μόνον ἄξιαν ταλάντων, ὅσα  
 οἶκονται δεῖν οὗτοι νῦν ἀπολαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ πολλαπλασίῳν. Οὐ-

ποῦν τοῦτο μὲν πρῶτον, τὸ πιστεύεσθαι σε, τὸ καὶ τὴν βα-  
 σιλεῖαν σοι κατεργασάμενον, τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ὑπὸ σοῦ  
 πιπρασκοῖται. Ἴθι δὴ, ἀναμνήσθητι, πῶς μέγα ἡγοῦ τότε  
 καταπράξασθαι, ὃ νῦν κατασφραγίσμενος ἔχεις. Ἐγὼ μὲν  
 αἶδ', ὅτι εὖτε ἂν, τὰ νῦν πεπραγμένα μᾶλλον σοι καταπρα- 5  
 χθῆναι, ἢ πολλαπλάσια τούτων τῶν χρημάτων γενέσθαι.  
 Ἔμοι τοίνυν μείζον βλάβος καὶ αἴσχιον δοκεῖ εἶναι, τὸ πάντα  
 νῦν μὴ κατασχεῖν, ἢ τότε μὴ λαβεῖν, ὅση περ χαλεπώτερον  
 ἐκ πλουτοῦ πένητα γενέσθαι, ἢ [τὴν] ἀρχὴν μὴ πλουτῆσαι·  
 καὶ ὅση λυπηρότερον ἐκ βασιλείας ἰδιώτην φανῆναι, ἢ ἀρχὴν 10  
 μὴ βασίλευσαι. Οὐκοῦν ἐπίστασαι μὲν, ὅτι οἱ νῦν σοι ὑπὲρ-  
 κοοὶ γινόμενοι οὐ φιλίᾳ τῇ σῇ ἐπέσθησαν ὑπὸ σοῦ ἄρχεισθαι,  
 ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη· καὶ ὅτι ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἂν πάλιν ἐλευθεροὶ γίγνε-  
 σθαι, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτοὺς φόβος κατέχοι. Ποτέρως οὖν οὔτε, μάλ-  
 λον ἂν φοβεῖσθαι τε αὐτούς, καὶ φρονεῖν τὰ πρὸς σέ, εἰ ὁρῶν 15  
 σοι τοὺς στρατιώτας οὕτω διακειμένους, ὥς νῦν τε μένοντας  
 ἂν, εἰ σὺ κελύοις, αὐτοῖς τ' ἂν ταχὺ ἐλθόντας, εἰ δέοι, ἄλ-  
 λους τε, τούτων περὶ σοῦ ἀκούοντας πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ, ταχὺ ἂν  
 σοι, ὅποτε βούλοιο, παραγενέσθαι· ἢ εἰ καταδοξάσαιαν,  
 μήτε ἂν ἄλλους σοι ἐλθεῖν, δι' ἀπιστίαν ἐκ τῶν νῦν γιγνε- 20  
 μένων, τούτους τε αὐτοῖς εὐνουστέρονς εἶναι ἢ σοί; Ἀλλὰ  
 μὴν οὐδὲν πλήθει γε ἡμῶν λειφθέντες ὑπεῖξάν σοι, ἀλλὰ  
 προστατῶν ἀπορίᾳ. Οὐκοῦν νῦν καὶ τοῦτο κίνδυνος, μὴ  
 λάβωαι προατάτας κινὰς αὐτῶν τούτων, οἱ νομίζουσιν ὑπὸ  
 σοῦ ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἢ καὶ τούτων κρείττονας τοὺς Λακεδαιμο- 25  
 νίους, ἐὰν οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται ὑπισχνῶνται προθυμότερον  
 αὐτοῖς συστρατεύεσθαι, ἐὰν τὰ παρὰ σοῦ ἀναπράξωσιν, οἱ  
 δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, διὰ τὸ δεῖσθαι τῆς στρατιᾶς, συναίνεσω-  
 αιν αὐτοῖς ταῦτα. Ὅτι γὰρ μὴν οἱ ὑπὸ σοὶ Θερᾶκες γινόμε-  
 νοι πολὺ ἂν προθυμότερον ἵοιεν ἐπὶ σε ἢ σὺν σοί, οὐκ ἄδη- 30  
 λον· σοῦ μὲν γὰρ κρατοῦντος, δουλεία ὑπάρχει αὐτοῖς· κρα-  
 τουμένου δὲ σοῦ, ἐλευθερία. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τῆς χώρας προνοεῖ-  
 σθαι ἥδη τι δεῖ ὥς σῆς οὔσης, ποτέρως ἂν οὔτε ἀπαθῇ κα-

κῶν αὐτὴν εἶναι μᾶλλον, εἰ οὗτοι οἱ στρατιῶται, ἀπολαβόν-  
 τες ἃ ἐγκαλοῦσιν, εἰρήνην καταλιπόντες οἰχοιντο, ἢ εἰ οὗτοί  
 τε μένοιεν ὡς ἐν πολεμίᾳ, σύ τε ἄλλους πειρῶο πλείονας τού-  
 των ἔχων ἀντιστρατοπεδεύεσθαι, δεομένους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ;  
 6 Ἀργύριον δὲ ποτέρως ἂν πλεῖον ἀναλωθείη, εἰ τούτοις τὸ  
 ὀφειλόμενον ἀποδοθείη, ἢ εἰ ταῦτά τε ὀφείλοιο, ἄλλους τε  
 κρείττους τούτων δέοι σε μισθοῦσθαι ; Ἀλλὰ γὰρ Ἡρα-  
 κλείδῃ, ὡς πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐδήλου, πάμπλου τούτο δοκεῖ τὸ ἀργύ-  
 ριον εἶναι. Ἢ μὴν πολὺ γέ ἐστιν ἕλαττον νῦν σοι καὶ λαβεῖν  
 10 τούτο καὶ ἀποδοῦναι, ἢ, πρὶν ἡμᾶς ἐλθεῖν πρὸς σέ, τὸ δέ-  
 κατον τούτου μέρους. Οὐ γὰρ ἀριθμὸς ἐστὶν ὁ ὀρίζων τὸ  
 πολὺ καὶ τὸ ὀλίγον, ἀλλ' ἡ δύναμις τοῦ τε ἀποδιδόντος καὶ  
 τοῦ λαμβάνοντος. Σοὶ δὲ νῦν ἡ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν πρόσδοδος  
 πλείων ἐστίν, ἢ ἔμπροσθεν τὰ παρόντα πάντα, ἃ ἐκέκτησο.  
 15 Ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ Σεύθῃ, ταῦτα ὡς φίλου ὄντος σου προανοοῦμην,  
 ὅπως σύ τε ἄξιος δοκοίης εἶναι, ὣν οἱ θεοὶ ἔδωκαν ἀγα-  
 θῶν, ἐγὼ τε μὴ διαφθαρείην ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ. Εὐ γὰρ ἴσθι,  
 ὅτι νῦν οὗτ' ἂν ἐχθρὸν βουλόμενος ἐγὼ κακῶς ποιῆσαι θυνη-  
 θείην σὺν ταύτῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ, οὗτ' ἂν, εἰ σοὶ πάλιν βουλοί-  
 20 μην βοηθῆσαι, ἱκανὸς ἂν γενοίμην. Οὕτω γὰρ πρὸς ἐμὲ ἡ  
 στρατιὰ διάκειται. Καίτοι αὐτόν σε μάρτυρα σὺν τοῖς θε-  
 οῖς εἰδόσι ποιοῦμαι, ὅτι οὔτε ἔχω παρὰ σοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖς στρα-  
 τιώταις οὐδέν, οὔτε ἤτησα πώποτε εἰς τὸ ἴδιον τὰ ἐκείνων,  
 οὔτε ἂ ὑπέσχου μοι ἀπήτησα. Ὅμνυμι δέ σοι, μηδ' ἀποδι-  
 25 δόντος δεῖσασθαι ἂν, εἰ μὴ καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἔμελλον τὰ  
 ἑαυτῶν συναπολαμβάνειν. Λίσσυχρον γὰρ ἦν τὰ μὲν ἐμὰ δια-  
 πεπράσθαι, τὰ δὲ ἐκείνων περιῦδεῖν ἐμὲ κακῶς ἔχοντα, ἄλ-  
 λως τε καὶ τιμώμενον ὑπ' ἐκείνων. Καίτοι Ἡρακλείδῃ γε  
 λῆρος πάντα δοκεῖ εἶναι πρὸς τὸ ἀργύριον ἔχειν ἐκ παντὸς  
 30 τρόπου· ἐγὼ δέ, ὦ Σεύθῃ, οὐδὲν νομίζω γε ἀνδρὶ, ἄλλως  
 τε καὶ ἄρχοντι, κάλλιον εἶναι κτῆμα, οὐδὲ λαμπρότερον,  
 ἀρετῆς καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ γενναιότητος. Ὁ γὰρ ταῦτα  
 ἔχων πλουτεῖ μὲν ὄντων φίλων πολλῶν, πλουτεῖ δὲ καὶ ἄλ-

λων βουλομένων γενέσθαι· καὶ εὖ μὲν πράττων ἔχει τοὺς  
 συνησθησομένους, ἐὰν δέ τι σφαλῇ, οὐ σπανίζει τῶν βοηθη-  
 σόντων. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰ μήτε ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν ἔργων κατέμαθες,  
 ὅτι σοι ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς φίλος ἦν, μήτε ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων  
 δύνασαι τοῦτο γινῶναι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν λόγους  
 πάντας κατανόησον· παρῆσθαι γάρ, καὶ ἤκουες, ἃ ἔλεγον  
 οἱ ψίγειν ἐμὲ βουλόμενοι. Κατηγόρουν μὲν γὰρ μου πρὸς  
 Λακεδαιμονίους, ὡς σὲ περὶ πλείονος ποιοίμην, ἢ Λακεδαι-  
 μονίους· αὐτοὶ δ' ἐνεκάλουν ἐμοί, ὥς μᾶλλον μέλει μοι,  
 ὅπως τὰ σὰ καλῶς ἔχοι, ἢ ὅπως τὰ ἑαυτῶν· ἔφασαν δὲ καὶ 10  
 δῶρα ἔχειν παρὰ σοῦ. Καίτοι τὰ δῶρα ταῦτα πότερον οἶει,  
 αὐτοὺς κακόνοιάν τινα ἐνιδόντας μοι πρὸς σὲ αἰτιάσθαι με  
 ἔχειν παρὰ σοῦ, ἢ προθυμίαν πολλὴν περὶ σὲ κατανοήσαν-  
 τας; Ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι πάντας ἀνθρώπους νομίζειν, εὖνοιαν  
 δεῖν ἀποκίῃσθαι τούτῳ, παρ' οὗ ἂν τις δῶρα λαμβάνῃ. Σὺ 15  
 δέ, πρὶν μὲν ὑπερετῆσαι τί σοι, ἐμὲ ἐδέξω ἡδέως καὶ ὁμ-  
 μασι καὶ φωνῇ καὶ ξινοῖς, καὶ ὅσα ἔσοιτο ὑπὸ χροῦμένου  
 οὐκ ἀνεπίμπλασο· ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπραξες, ἃ ἐβούλου, καὶ γε-  
 γήνησαι, ὅσον ἐγὼ ἐδυνάμην, μέγιστος, νῦν οὕτω με ἄτιμον  
 ὄντα ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις τολμᾷς περιορᾷν; Ἀλλὰ μὴν, ὅτι 20  
 σοι δόξει ἀποδοῦναι, πιστεύω καὶ τὸν χρόνον διδάξειν σε,  
 καὶ αὐτόν γέ σε οὐκ ἀνέξισθαι τοὺς σοὶ προεμένους εὐεργε-  
 σίαν ὁρῶντά σοι ἐγκαλοῦντας. Δίομαι οὖν σου, ὅταν ἀπο-  
 διδῶς, προθυμεῖσθαι ἐμὲ παρὰ τοῖς στρατιώταις τοιοῦτον  
 ποιῆσαι, οἷόν περ καὶ παρέλαβες.”

25

Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Σενύθης κατηρμάσατο τῇ αἰτίᾳ τοῦ μὴ  
 πάλαι ἀποδεδῶσθαι τὸν μισθόν· καὶ πάντες Ἡρακλείδην  
 ταῦτον ὑπώπτευσαν εἶναι· “Ἐγὼ γάρ,” ἔφη, “οὔτε διε-  
 νοήθην πώποτε ἀποστερηθῆσαι, ἀποδώσω τε.” Ἐντεῦθεν  
 πάλιν εἶπεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν· “Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἀποδιδόναι βούλει, 30  
 νῦν ἐγὼ σου δέομαι δι' ἐμοῦ ἀποδιδόναι, καὶ μὴ περιῶδειν  
 με διὰ σὲ ἀνομοίως ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ νῦν τε, καὶ ὅτε  
 πρὸς σὲ ἀφικόμην.” Ὁ δ' εἶπεν· “Ἀλλὰ οὔτε τοῖς

στρατιώταις ἔσθ' δι' ἐμὲ ἀτιμότερος· ἂν τε μίνης παρ' ἐμοί, χιλίους μόνους ὀπλίτας ἔχων, ἐγὼ σοι τά τε χωρία ἀποδώσω καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα, ἃ ὑπεσχόμην." Ὁ δὲ πάλιν εἶπε·  
 "Τυῦτα μὲν ἔχειν οὕτως οὐχ οἶόν τε· ἀπόπεμπε δὲ ἡμᾶς."  
 5 "Καὶ μὴν," ἔφη ὁ Σεύθης, "καὶ ἀσφαλέστερόν γέ σοι οἶδα ὄν παρ' ἐμοὶ μένειν, ἢ ἀπιέναι." Ὁ δὲ πάλιν εἶπεν·  
 "Ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν σὴν πρόνοιαν ἐπαινώ· ἐμοὶ δὲ μένειν οὐχ οἶόν τε· ὅπου δ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἐντιμότερος εἴην, νόμιζε, καὶ σοι τοῦτο ἀγαθὸν ἔσσεσθαι." Ἐντεῦθεν λέγει Σεύθης· "Ἀργύ-  
 10 ριον μὲν οὐκ ἔχω, ἀλλ' ἢ μικρόν τι, καὶ τοῦτό σοι δίδωμι τάλαντον· βουῆς δ' ἑξακοσίους καὶ πρόσβατα εἰς τετρακισχίλια καὶ ἀνδράποδα εἰς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. Τνῦτα λαβεῖν, καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀδικησάντων σε ὁμήρους προςλαβεῖν, ἀπιθί." Γελάσας ὁ Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν· "Ἦν οὖν μὴ ἐξικνῆται ταῦτα  
 15 εἰς τὸν μισθόν, τίνος τάλαντον φήσω ἔχειν; Ἄρ' οὐκ, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐπικίνδυνόν μοι ἐστίν, ἀπιόντά γε ἄμεινον φυλάττεσθαι τοὺς πέτρους; Ἦκουες δὲ τὰς ἀπειλάς;" Τότε μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ ἔμειναν.

Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπέδωκέ τε αὐτοῖς, ἃ ὑπέσχετο, καὶ τοὺς  
 20 ταῦτα ἐλάσσοντας συνέπεμψεν. Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τέως μὲν ἔλεγον, ὥς Ξενοφῶν οἴχοιτο πρὸς Σεύθην οἰκήσων, καὶ ἃ ὑπέσχετο αὐτῷ ἀποληψόμενος· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἤκοντα εἶδον, ἡσθησάν τε καὶ προσέθεον. Ξενοφῶν δ', ἐπεὶ εἶδε Χαρμί-  
 25 ρον καὶ Πολύνεικον. "Τυῦτα," ἔφη, "καὶ σέσωσται δι' ὑμᾶς τῇ στρατιᾷ, καὶ παραδίδωμι αὐτὰ ἐγὼ ὑμῖν· ὑμεῖς δὲ διαθήμενοι διάδοτε τῇ στρατιᾷ." Οἱ μὲν οὖν παραλαβόντες καὶ λαφυροπώλας καταστήσαντες, ἐπώλουν, καὶ πολλὴν εἶχον αἰτίαν. Ξενοφῶν δὲ οὐ προσήει, ἀλλὰ φανερός ἦν οἰκαδὲ πυρασκευαζόμενος· οὐ γὰρ πω ψῆφος αὐτῷ ἐπῆκτο  
 31 Ἀθήνησι περὶ φυγῆς. Προσελθόντες δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ ἐπιτήδειοι ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι, εἶδοντο μὴ ἀπελθεῖν, πρὶν ἂν ἀπαγάγοι τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ Θίμβρωνι παραδοίη.

## Κεφάλαιον η'.

Ἐντεῦθεν διέπλευσαν εἰς Λάμψακον· καὶ ἀπαντᾷ τῷ  
 Ξενοφῶντι Εὐκλείδης, μάντις, Φλιάσιος, Κλεαγόρου υἱός,  
 τοῦ τὰ ἐνύπνια ἐν Λυκίῳ γεγραφότος. Οὗτος συνήδετο  
 τῷ Ξενοφῶντι, ὅτι ἐσίσωστο· καὶ ἤρώτα αὐτόν, πόσον χρυ-  
 σίον ἔχοι. Ὁ δ' αὐτῷ ἐπομόσας εἶπεν, ἥ μὴν ἔσσεσθαι μηδ' 5  
 ἐφόδιον ἱκανὸν οἰκᾶδε ἀπιάναι, εἰ μὴ ἀπόδοιτο τὸν ἵππον,  
 καὶ ἅ ἄμφι αὐτόν εἴχεν. Ὁ δ' αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐπίστευεν. Ἐπεὶ  
 δ' ἐπεμψαν Λαμψακηνοὶ ξένια τῷ Ξενοφῶντι, καὶ θύων τῷ  
 Ἀπόλλωνι παρεστήσατο τὸν Εὐκλείδην, ἰδὼν τὰ ἱερεῖα ὁ  
 Εὐκλείδης εἶπεν, ὅτι πείθοιτο αὐτῷ, μὴ εἶναι χρήματα. 10  
 “Ἄλλ' οἶδα,” ἔφη, “ὅτι, καὶν μέλλῃ ποτὲ γενήσεσθαι, φαί-  
 νεται τι ἐμπόδιον, εἴαν μηδὲν ἄλλο, σὺ σαυτῷ.” Συνωμολό-  
 γει ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν. Ὁ δ' εἶπεν· “Ἐμπόδιος γάρ σοι  
 ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Μειλιχίος ἐστι·” καὶ ἐπῆρετο, εἰ ἤδη ποτὲ θύσειεν,  
 “ὥςπερ οἴκοι,” ἔφη, “εἰώθειν ἐγὼ ὑμῖν θύεσθαι καὶ ὅλο- 15  
 καυτεῖν.” Ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη, ἐξ ὅτου ἀπεδήμησε, τεθυκέναι τού-  
 τῳ τῷ θεῷ. Συνεβούλευσεν οὖν αὐτῷ θύεσθαι καὶ ἅ εἰώθει,  
 καὶ ἔφη συνοίσειν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ὁ Ξενο-  
 φῶν προελθὼν εἰς Ὀφρύνιον ἐθύετο, καὶ ὠλοκαύτει χοίρους  
 τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ· καὶ ἐκαλλιέρει. Καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ 20  
 ἀφικνεῖται Βίτων καὶ ἅμα Εὐκλείδης, χρήματα δώσοντες τῷ  
 στρατεύματι· καὶ ξενούνται τε τῷ Ξενοφῶντι, καὶ ἵππον,  
 ὃν ἐν Λαμψάκῳ ἀπέδοτο πενήτηκοντα δαρεικῶν, ὑποπτεύον-  
 τες αὐτόν δι' ἐνδειαν πεπρακέναι, ὅτι ἤκουον αὐτόν ἡδῆσθαι  
 τῷ ἵππῳ, λυσάμενοι ἀπέδωσαν, καὶ τὴν τιμὴν οὐκ ἤθελον 25  
 ἀπολαβεῖν.

Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο διὰ τῆς Τρωάδος, καὶ ὑπερβάντες  
 τὴν Ἰδην, εἰς Ἀνταδρον ἀφικνοῦνται πρῶτον· εἰτα πᾶσι  
 θάλατταν πορευόμενοι τῆς Ἀσδίας, εἰς Θήβης πεδίον. Ἐν-  
 τεῦθεν δι' Ἀτραμυτιλίου καὶ Κερτονίου παρ' Ἀταργεία εἰς 30

Καΐκου πεδίων ἐλθόντες, Πέργαμον καταλαμβάνουσι τῆς Μυσίας.

Ἐνταῦθα δὲ ξενοῦται Ξενοφῶν παρ' Ἑλλάδι, τῇ Γογγύλου τοῦ Ἐρετριέως γυναικί, καὶ Γοργίανος καὶ Γογγύλου μητρί.  
 5 Ἀὕτη δ' αὐτῷ φράζει, ὅτι Ἀσιδάτης ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, ἀνὴρ Πέρσης· τοῦτον ἔφη αὐτόν, εἰ ἔλθοι τῆς νυκτὸς σὺν τριακοσίοις ἀνδράσι, λαβεῖν αὐν καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ παῖδας καὶ τὰ χρήματα· εἶναι δὲ πολλά. Ταῦτα δὲ καθηγησομένους ἔπεμψε τὸν τε αὐτῆς ἀνεψιὸν καὶ Λαφναγόραν, ἐν  
 10 περὶ πλείστου ἐποιεῖτο. Ἐχων οὖν ὁ Ξενοφῶν τούτους παρ' ἑαυτῷ, ἐθύετο. Καὶ Ἀγασίας ὁ Ἡλείος μάντις παρὼν εἶπεν, ὅτι κάλλιστα εἶεν τὰ ἱερὰ αὐτῷ, καὶ οἱ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὖν ὑλώσιμος εἴη. Δειπνήσας οὖν ἐπορεύετο, τοὺς τε λοχαγούς τοὺς μάλιστα φίλους λαβὼν καὶ πιστοὺς γεγεννημένους δια-  
 15 παντός, ὅπως εὖ ποιῆσαι αὐτούς. Συνεξέρχονται δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλοι βιασάμενοι, εἰς ἑξακοσίους· οἱ δὲ λοχαγοὶ ἀπῆλαινον, ἵνα μὴ μεταδοῖεν τὸ μέρος, ὥς ἐτοίμων δὴ χρημάτων.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο περὶ τὰς μέσας νύκτας, τὰ μὲν περὶ 80 ὄντα ἀνδράποδα τῆς τύρσιος καὶ χρήματα πλεῖστα ἀπέδρα αὐτούς παραμειλύντας, ὥς τὸν Ἀσιδάτην αὐτὸν λάβοιεν καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου. Πυργομαχοῦντες δ' ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐδύναντο λαβεῖν τὴν τύρσιν, ὑψηλὴ γάρ ἦν, καὶ μεγάλη, καὶ προμαχεῶνας καὶ ἀνδρας πολλούς καὶ μαχίμους ἔχουσα, διορύττειν ἐπεχεί-  
 25 ρησαν τὸν πύργον. Ὁ δὲ τοῖχος ἦν ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ πλίνθων γήινων τὸ εὖρος. Ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ διωρῶρυκτο· καὶ ὥς τὸ πρῶτον διεφάνη, ἐπάταξεν ἔνδοθεν βουπόρῳ τις ὀβελίσκῳ διαμπερὲς τὸν μηρὸν τοῦ ἐγγυτάτῳ· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐκτοξεύοντες ἐποίουν μηδὲ παριέναι ἔτι ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι. Κεκραγόντων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ πυρσευόντων, ἐκβοηθοῦσιν, Ἰταβέλιος μὲν 30 ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἐκ Κομανίας δὲ ὀπλῖται φρουροί, καὶ ἱππεῖς Τρκάνιοι, καὶ οὗτοι βασιλέως μισθοφόροι, ὥς ὀγδοήκοντα, καὶ ἄλλοι πελτασταὶ εἰς ὀκτακοσίους· ἄλλοι

δ' ἐκ Παρθενίου, ἄλλοι δ' ἐξ Ἀπολλωνίας καὶ ἐκ τῶν πλησίον χωρίων καὶ ἱππεῖς.

Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὥρα ἦν, πῶς ἔσται ἡ ἄφοδος, σκοπεῖν· καὶ λαβόντες, ὕσσι ἦσαν βόες καὶ πρόβατα, ἤλαννον, καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα ἐντὸς πλαισίου ποιησάμενοι· οὐ τοῖς χρήμασιν οὕτω προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλὰ μὴ φυγὴ εἴη ἡ ἄφοδος, εἰ καταλιπόντες τὰ χρήματα ἀπίοιεν, καὶ οἱ τε πολέμιοι θρασύτεροι εἶεν, καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἀθυμότεροι· νῦν δὲ ἀπήεσαν ὥς περὶ τῶν χρημάτων μαχούμενοι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἰώρα Ἰωγγύλος ὀλίγους μὲν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, πολλοὺς δὲ τοὺς ἐπικείμενους, ἐξέρχεται καὶ αὐτὸς βίᾳ τῆς μητρός, τὴν ἐκυτοῦ δύναμιν ἔχων, βουλόμενος συμμετασχεῖν τοῦ ἔργου· συμβοήθει δὲ καὶ Πυοκλῆς ἐξ Ἀλυσάρνης καὶ Τευθρανίας, ὁ ἀπὸ Λαμαράτου. Οἱ δὲ περὶ Ξενοφῶντα, ἐπεὶ πάντῃ ἦδη ἐπιέζοντο ὑπὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων καὶ σφειδονῶν, πορευόμενοι 15 κύνελῳ, ὅπως τὰ ὄπλα ἔχοιεν πρὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων, μόλις διαβαίνουσι τὸν Κάϊκον ποταμόν, τετρωμένοι ἑγγὺς οἱ ἡμίσεις. Ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος, ὁ λοχαγός, τιτρώσκεται, τὸν πάντα χρόνον μαχόμενος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. Καὶ διασώζονται, ἀνδράποδα ὥς διακόσια ἔχοντες, καὶ πρόβατα 20 ὅσον θύματα.

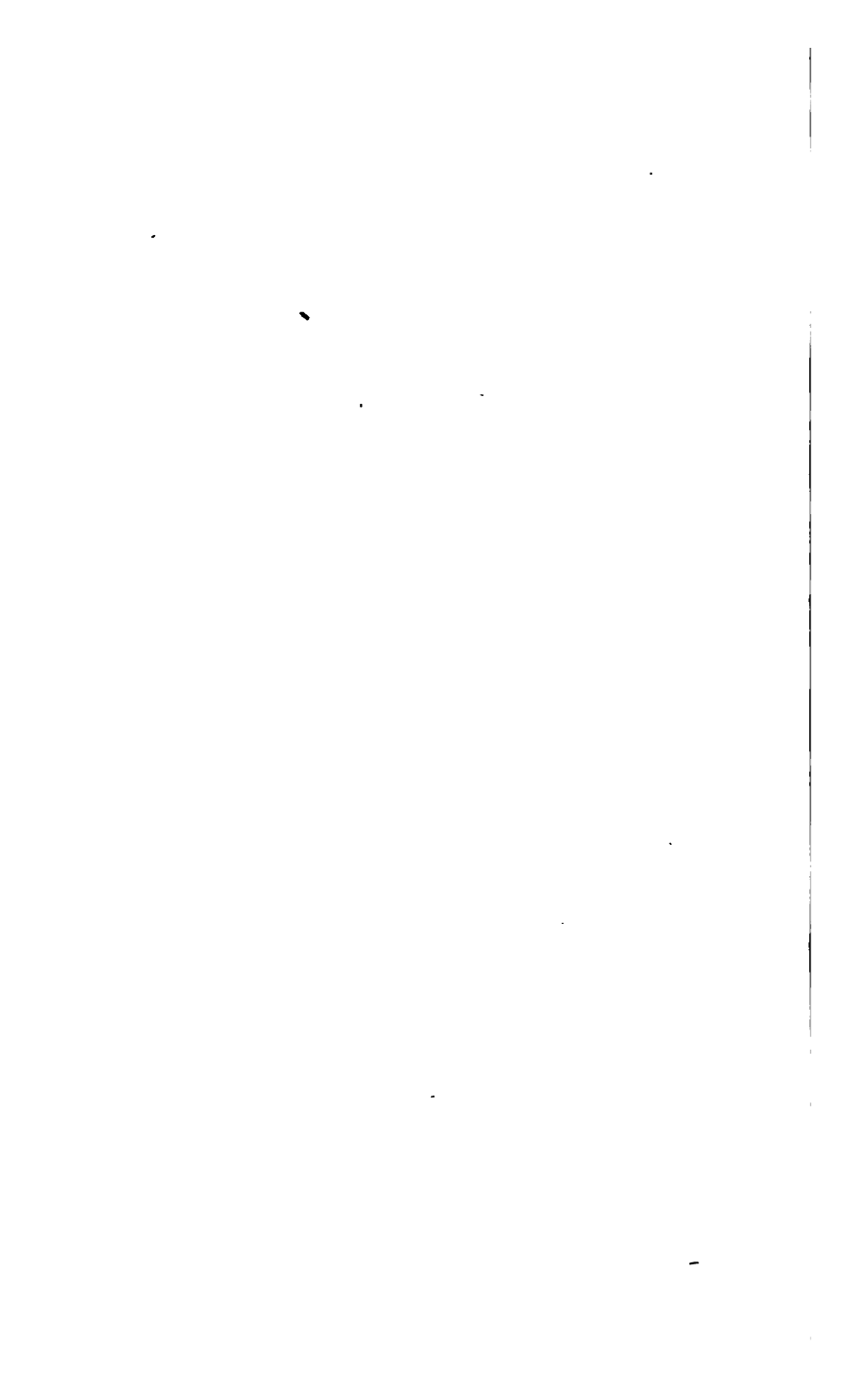
Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ θυσάμενος ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἐξάγει νύκτωρ πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα, ὅπως ὅτι μακροτάτην ἔλθοι τῆς Λυδίας, ὥστε μὴ διὰ τὸ ἑγγὺς εἶναι φοβεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀφυλακτεῖν. Ὅ δ' Ἀσιδάτης, ἀκούσας, ὅτι πάλιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τεθυμένος εἴη 25 Ξενοφῶν, καὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι ἦξοι, ἐξαυλίζεται εἰς κόμας ὑπὸ τὸ Παρθένιον πόλισμα ἐχούσας. Ἐνταῦθα οἱ περὶ Ξενοφῶντα συντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ λαμβάνουσιν αὐτόν, καὶ γυναῖκα, καὶ παῖδας, καὶ τοὺς ἵππους, καὶ πάντα τὰ ὄντα· καὶ οὕτω τὰ πρότερα ἱερὰ ἀπέβη. Ἐπεὶτα πάλιν 30 ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς Πέργαμον. Ἐνταῦθα τὸν θεὸν οὐκ ᾔτιάσατο ὁ Ξενοφῶν· συνέπραττον γὰρ καὶ οἱ Λάκωνες, καὶ οἱ

λοχαγοί, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοί, καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται, ὥστε  
ἐξαίρετα λαμβάνειν, καὶ ἵππους, καὶ ζεύγη, καὶ τᾶλλα· ὥστε  
ικανὸν εἶναι καὶ ἄλλον ἤδη εὖ ποιεῖν.

Ἐκ τούτου Θίμβρων παραγεγόμενος παρέλαβε τὸ στρά-  
5 τευμα, καὶ συμμίζας τῷ ἄλλῳ Ἑλληνικῷ ἐπολέμει πρὸς Τι-  
σαφέρην καὶ Φαρνάβαζον.

Ἄρχοντες δὲ οὔδε τῆς βασιλείας χώρας, ὅσῃν ἐπὶ λθόμεν,  
Λυδίας, Ἀρτίμας· Φρυγίας, Ἀρτακάμας· Λυκαονίας καὶ  
Καππαδοκίας, Μιθριδάτης· Κιλικίας, Σύννευσις· Φοινί-  
10 κης καὶ Ἀραβίας, Δέρνης· Συρίας καὶ Ἀσσυρίας, Βέλσας·  
Βαβυλῶνος, Ρωπάρας· Μηθίας, Ἀρβάκας· Φασιανῶν καὶ  
Ἑσπεριτῶν, Τηρίδαζος· Καρδοῦχοι δὲ καὶ Χάλυβες, καὶ  
Χαλδαῖοι, καὶ Μάκρωνες, καὶ Κόλχοι, καὶ Μοσύνοικοι, καὶ  
Κοῖται, καὶ Τιβερηνοί, αὐτόνομοι· Παφλαγονίας, Κορύ-  
15 λας· Βιθυνῶν, Φαρνάβαζος· τῶν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ Θρακῶν,  
Σεύθης.

Ἀριθμὸς συμπάσης τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἀναβάσεως καὶ κατα-  
βάσεως, σταθμοὶ διακίσιοι δεκαπέντε, παρασάγγαι χίλιοι  
ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα πέντε, στάδια τριζμύρια τετρακισχίλια  
20 ἑξακόσια πεντήκοντα. Χρόνου πλῆθος τῆς ἀναβάσεως καὶ  
καταβάσεως, ἑνιαυτὸς καὶ τρεῖς μῆνες.



# NOTES.

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[Contractions in the Notes.—F. for Fisk's Greek Grammar, 2d ed.—  
Antiq. for Compendium of Grecian Antiquities, by the Editor.]

## BOOK FIRST.

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### CHAPTER I.

*'Anákas* (compounded of *ἀνά* and *βαίνω*, to go up) literally means *the ascent*. It was not uncommon for the Greeks, when speaking of a journey to any celebrated city, to use the verb *ἀναβαίνειν*, thus applying its superiority over other places in size and opulence, to its local situation. But this form of expression was more particularly used when they would speak of going from the sea-coast to the interior of a country, as in the present case. Ionia, Lydia, Caria, and all the maritime provinces of Asia Minor, were called *lower Asia*, while the interior was called *upper Asia*. This distinction may have arisen from the general course of the rivers in that country, which flow towards the west, and empty into the *Ægean sea*. Cyrus was satrap over all the provinces which border on this sea, and hence, after he had collected his troops together, *his march up* towards Babylon, to meet his brother in the field, is called *'Anákas*. Page. 1

As the "*Anabasis*" is a book of travels as well as a book of military history and exploits, the student should constantly consult the map accompanying this work, and trace the progress of the army.

1. ΔΑΠΕΙΟΥ.] See F. Rule XVII. This Darius was the second king of Persia of that name, called also *Nectus* or 'illegitimate.'

2. νεώτερος.] *Cyrus the younger*. The history of the elder Cyrus, or Cyrus the Great, King of Persia, is given by Xenophon in his "*Cyropædia*."

Page.

1 5. *παρὸν ἐνέγγχον*, happened to be present. F. Rule XXXII, Obs. 2.

6. *σατράπης*, a *satrap*. This was the Persian title for a prince or governor of a province. It is said to be derived from *Chatrapa* "lord of the umbrella, or shade of state." Bearing an umbrella, as a distinction of dignity, is still a custom in many countries of the East, and has been so in Persia from the earliest times, where this sort of shade is held over the chief or king whether he be sitting or walking.

7. *Καστολεύς*.] The plain of Castölus, in Lydia, was the place where the troops of Cyrus' province were accustomed to assemble: so for each province of the Persian empire certain campaign situations were designated for the assembly of its forces on the approach of war.

8. *Τισσαφέρνης*.] This is the same Tissaphernes who commanded the forces of Artaxerxes at the battle of Cunaxa. In addition to his faithless conduct towards Cyrus himself, he endeavoured, but in vain, to cut off the retreat of the Greeks, and was guilty of the grossest treachery to the Grecian generals, who had placed themselves under his direction. But he met with a fate worthy of his baseness. Being routed several times by Agesilaus, who was sent with some Lacedæmonian forces into Asia, after the retreat of the Ten Thousand, Artaxerxes became incensed against him, and ordered him to be beheaded.

9. *ἰπλίταις*.] The Grecian infantry consisted of three sorts of soldiers, namely, the *ἰπλῖται*, or *heavy-armed*, who wore corselets, and carried long spears and swords; the *ψιλοί*, or *light-armed*, who made use of missive weapons, such as arrows, darts, and slings, and who were not calculated for close fight; and the *εἰληναεῖς*, or *targeteers*, who seem to have held a middle rank between the *light* and the *heavy armed*. Their bucklers were lighter than the one, and their darts shorter than the other, so that upon an emergency they might fight at a distance or in close quarters. Their name is taken from the *εἶλην*, which they wore, a short *buckler* or *target* in the shape of a half-moon. See Antiq. Part 8. Chap. 2.

10. *Παρθάσιοι*.] The Parrhasii were a people of Arcadia (in Peloponnesus), on the Laconian frontier.

14. *ἑαυτῆς αἰμένη*, having begged off for herself or for her own sake. For the force of the middle voice, see F. p. 59.

16. *ἔσως μήποτε ἔτι*, how never for the future.

17. *ἐπὶ*, with the dative, frequently means in the power of.

18. *ὑπᾶρχει*, favored, espoused the cause of. Parysatis preserved her partiality for Cyrus to the last, and punished, in the most cruel manner, those who had been instrumental in his death.

20. *Ὅσοις δὲ τῶν παρὰ βασιλῆως*, literally, whoever of those from the king: *οἱ παρὰ σοῦ* is an elliptical expression, meaning your messengers: *οἱ παρὰ βασιλῆως*, the king's courtiers or delegates.

1. *οὕτως διατιθείς*, so favorably disposed.

3. *ἐννοικῶς ἔχοντι*.] Adverbs are often put with the verb *ἔχον*, and they both together have the same sense as the adjectives corresponding to those adverbs, with the verb *ἵσται*, to be: thus *ἔχον ἐννοικῶς* is the same as *ἵσται ἐννοικός*, to be friendly disposed to: strictly there is an ellipsis of *οἱ* in this case, as, *ἔχει οἱ καλῶς*, literally, he has himself well.

5. *ἔτι ἀπαρσκευότατον*, as unprepared as possible. The particles *ὥς*, *ἔσως*, *ἔτι* are often joined to superlatives, to which they give additional force. The expression is of course elliptical. Formerly *ἔτι* was written as two words *ἔ τι* (the pronoun *what*); and *ὑδαίμων ἔτι μάλιστα*, as happy as possible, if fully expressed, would be *οὕτως ὑδαίμων, ὥς ἔ τι μάλιστα ὑδαίμων ἔστι*, thus or as happy, as what is most happy. The origin of the phrase was however soon overlooked, and *ἔτι* was used not as a neuter pronoun, but as a particle, just like *ὥς* with which it corresponds in meaning in other respects. The ellipsis in the phrase under consideration may thus be supplied, *ἔσως λάβοι βασιλῆα οὕτως ἀπαρσκευον, ὥς ἔ τι ἀπαρσκευότατον ἔστι*, that he might take the king as unprepared as what is most unprepared. So Thucydides, *ἔτι ἰγγύεσθαι*, as near as possible; *ἔτι ἐν βραχυτάτῃ*, as near as possible.

6. *συλλογὴν*, a levy of soldiers.

8. *Πελοποννησίους*.] The Lacedæmonians at this time were the first state in Greece, and favored the colonies in Asia Minor.

8. *ἔτι πλείους*.] See note on 5th line.

9. *ὥς*.] For the elegant use of this particle with the genitive absolute, see Vigerus de Idiotismis Græcis, Cap. viii. Sec. 10. Also F. Rule XXXIII, Obs. 4.

- 2 10. Καὶ γάρ.] Γάρ, *for*, never stands at the beginning of a sentence, but instead of it καὶ γάρ is used. There is, of course, something to be supplied, which γάρ connects with what follows, but this is passed over by the speaker in the vivacity of his discourse. Here something like the following may be supplied, καὶ . . . . γάρ, and . . he ordered these measures to be taken . . *for*, &c. *Matthiæ*, Sec. 615. *Vigerus*, (*Herman*.) Lond. 1824, p. 496.

10. ἐν ἀρχαῖον.] See F. p. 155, "Frequently the neuter article," &c.

12. Μιλήτηρ.] Miletus was the chief city of Ionia, situated on the sea-coast.

17. Καὶ αὐτὴ αὖ ἄλλη περίφασις ἦν, and this again was another *pretext*.

18. τοῦ ἀρριζίου.] See F. Rule XXX.

23. πολεμοῦντα, *by waging war*, the participle used for the Latin *Gerund*. See *Vigerus*, p. 332, and F. Rule XXXII, Obs. 5.

23. αὐτὸν . . . . δαπανῶν, *that he was expending his means upon his forces*, where ἐμφί is equivalent to *in*.

24. αὐτῶν.] See F. Rule XVIII, 3.

24. καὶ γάρ . . . . ἴχων, and he was not displeased at their quarrelling, *for Cyrus sent to the king the tributes arising from the cities which Tissaphernes happened to have*; that is, that though wrested from Tissaphernes, they were still supposed to be held by him, as given him by the king. ᾧ for αἷ. See F. Rule VI, Exc. 1.; and for ἐτύγγασι ἴχων, See F. Rule XXXII, Obs. 2.

28. καταντιπείρας, *opposite to*. To supply the ellipsis, ἐν χώρῃ ἢ ἔσσι, *the country which is opposite to*, &c.

28. Κλίαςχος.] Xenophon merely states here that Clearchus was a banished man, without mentioning the cause of his banishment. For this he has been accused of a want of candor, since it was for the crimes of tyranny, robbery, and murder. However, in drawing up his character (Book II, Chap. 6.) he fully exposes his violent passion for war.

30. δαρεικός.] The Persian *daric* was a gold coin, worth about three dollars, and took its name from having on one side the head of Darius.

- 3 2. ἑκούσας, *voluntarily, of their own accord*. See F. Rule II, Obs. 8.

3. *τριφόμενον ἰλάνθαιον.*] See F. Rule XXXII, Obs. 2.

5. *καὶ πειζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ὅσας ἀντιστασιωτῶν*, and being harassed by an opposite faction at home.

6. *εἰς.*] This preposition when joined with an accusative of number generally means *about*: as *εἰς διεχίλιους*, about two thousand.

6. *ξένος.*] The original meaning of *ξένος* is *an enemy*. In the primitive ages there was but little intercourse among mankind, vast numbers lived by plunder, physical force chiefly obtained, and every stranger was looked upon as *an enemy*. Hence *ξένος* came to signify *a stranger, a foreigner*; and afterwards, in a more settled and civilized state of society, *a guest or friend*. But how came it to signify *a mercenary or hired soldier*, as in this place? In the early periods of Grecian history, every soldier served at his own expense, and it was considered a great disgrace to receive pay for military service. But in process of time, the Greeks enlisted foreign soldiers into their armies, and paid them. Hence the changes in the signification of the word *ξένος*, meaning, first, *an enemy*; then, *a stranger or foreigner* and *guest or friend*, then, *a foreign soldier*; and lastly, any *mercenary or hired soldier*.

7. *παιγνισθείμενος ἂν.*] "Αν gives the sense of *likelihood* to the event.

10. *καταλῦσαι*, (τὸν πόλεμον understood,) *to put an end to the war*.

14. *Πισιδας.*] Pisidia was a mountainous country in the interior of Asia Minor, bounded N. by Phrygia, S. by Lycia and Pamphylia.

15. *πράγματα παρικόνηται*, giving trouble, that is by invading and laying waste. For *ὡς* with gen. abs. see F. Rule XXXIII, Obs. 4.

## CHAPTER II.

21. *ἄνω.*] That is, from the sea-coast into upper Asia.

24. *ἑαυτῷ* signifies *here, in this place*, that is, in his own dominions, rather than *thither*, that is, in Pisidia, according to the interpretation of Zeunius.

26. *συναλλάγναι*, having been reconciled, or having come to an agreement. See 'Αρίστιππος in the fourth line. Aristippus did not come himself, but sent Menon.

- 3 28. τοὺς ξινοὺς, the mercenary troops, στρατιώτας being understood. See F. Rule XVIII, Obs. 11.
- 4 4. ταῖς.] Some editions have προσήματα, the Attic form of third person plural, of the pluperfect middle, of the verb ἵμι, to go. See Port Royal Greek Grammar, p. 223.
8. γυμνάται, light-armed soldiers, the same as the ψιλοί.
13. Σάρδεις.] Sardis was the capital of Lydia, and the seat of the kings.
14. Τισσαφέρνης.] Diodorus relates that Alcibiades first betrayed the design of Cyrus to Pharnabazus, and was therefore put to death.
16. ὅς, used with the accusative, by the Attics, for πρὸς βασιλῆα.
16. ᾧ.] To supply the ellipsis, is εἴ μὴ τὸ ᾧ ἴδιοντε περιέσθαι εἰχόμενα, in the way in which he was able to go the quickest. See Bos. Ellips. under ἴδιος.

20. παρασάγγας.] As was stated in the first edition, the *parasang*, or Persian mile, is equal to about three and three-quarters, or nearer three and a half, English miles, as it is undoubtedly the same measure as the *farang*, which is in present use throughout Persia, and which is known to be about this length. But by a reference to some parts of the ground travelled over by the Ten Thousand, the geography of which is very well known, and from the known average length of the daily marches of many modern armies, it appears that the *parasang* of Xenophon is equal to about three Roman, or two and three-quarters English miles. For instance, the distance between *Tarsus* and the river *Pyranus* at *Mopsuestia* \* is known by the measurement of modern travellers to be forty-five Roman miles: in the *Anabasis* (p. 12, line 26,) it is given at fifteen *parasangs*. So also *Tarsus* is known to be almost seventy-five Roman miles from *Tyana*, † and in the *Anabasis* it is laid down at twenty-five *parasangs*. It thus appears that the *parasang* of Xenophon is equal to three Roman miles; that is, to about two English miles and three-quarters.

Major Rennell, in his "Illustrations of the History of the Expedition," has taken great pains to ascertain the mean daily march of ancient and modern armies, and has collected together many statistical statements bearing upon the subject. The result is, "somewhat

\* See map.

† Called by Xenophon *Δάνα*, on p. 7, line 15.

above fourteen British miles by the road." The average length of the daily marches of the Greeks from Sardis to Cotyōra, is about fifteen English miles. This may seem a short distance; but it must be borne in mind that the situation of large armies on their march is very different from that of ordinary travellers walking at their ease. The former, besides being partially laden, are often very much retarded in their movements by the difficulty of procuring food for themselves, and provender for their horses in sufficient quantities, especially when going through such barren regions, as are found in certain parts of Asia. It is true that Bonaparte and Alexander sometimes made *forced marches* of a much greater length; but the former marched across countries well *stocked* and inhabited, where he made every thing contribute to accelerate his progress; while the latter seemed to care little for either man or beast as long as his thirst for dominion continued. In marching from *Ecbatana* to *Rages* in eleven days, at the rate of nineteen miles per day, Arrian says (Lib. III), "Although many of his soldiers fainted on the road, and many of his horses died, through excessive weariness, Alexander still resolved to proceed at the same rate." See Rennell's "Illustrations," 4to. Lond. 1816. 4

20. σταθμοί, *stations*, or *day's marches*, which had no determinate length, but varied according to the nature of the country travelled over.

22. δύο κλίθρα.] The κλίθρα was a measure of 100 feet.

24. πόλις οἰκουμένην, *an inhabited city*. On the line of Cyrus's march, many ruined and deserted towns were met with, and therefore Xenophon generally mentions it, when they meet with an inhabited and populous city. The city Colossæ here mentioned is celebrated on account of St. Paul's Epistles to its inhabitants. Though a flourishing city in the time of Xenophon, it was destroyed four centuries after, and two years after the date of Paul's Epistles, by an earthquake, so that no traces of it now remain.

30. βασιλῆα.] This is the neuter plural of the adjective, meaning *the royal palace*. It is here put in the plural to include all the accompaniments of royalty.

30. παρθέσιον.] This is a Persian word, and originally meant a *pleasure-garden*, and afterwards, as in this place, a *park*. It was the custom among the Persian kings to have these *parks*, which were

- 4 well watered, surrounded by walls and planted with trees; and in them wild beasts were kept, for the purpose of affording exercise and amusement, in hunting, to the king and his courtiers.
- 5 2. *μικέλου βασιλίου.*] "This is the title given by all the Greek authors to the King of Persia, which is preserved to the successors of Mahomet, in that of the *Grand Seignior*." Spelman. See F. Rule XVII.
7. *Μαζεύων.*] The historical or fabulous accounts of persons and places will not always be given, as it is presumed that every reader of the "Anabasis" will own a Classical dictionary, which should be continually consulted.
8. *πρὸ σοφίας.*] The usual signification of *σοφία* is *wisdom*; it also signifies *philosophy, science*, and also, as in this place, *the liberal arts, music, and poetry*.
19. *μέγιστον καὶ χίλιον.*] According to some editions there is a discrepancy between the aggregate amount of troops here stated, and the sum of all the numbers brought by each general, as mentioned before. Schneider has left Menon's forces out of the calculation, and makes the whole number 12,300. Weiske reads *Πασιόν τις ἑξακισσώντων ἄνδρας*, *Pasion, seven hundred men*, which we much prefer, as it makes the sum of the particulars equal to the number of the troops stated to be reviewed by Cyrus. If we consider the *γυμνῆται* and the *εὐχίνοι* as *light-armed troops*, the catalogue will be thus:

	<i>Ὀπλίται.</i>	<i>Πελτασταί.</i>
Xenias, . . . . .	had 4000	
Proxenus, . . . . .	" 1500	500
Sophænetus, the Stymphalian, "	1000	
Socrates, . . . . .	" 500	
Pasion, (according to Weiske) "	700	
Menon, . . . . .	" 1000	500
Clearchus, . . . . .	" 1000	1000 *
Sosias, . . . . .	" 300	
Sophænetus, the Arcadian, . "	1000	
	11000	2000

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\* Two hundred of which were *εὐχίνοι*.

22. Πίλαται.] In going from Celænzæ to Peltæ, and thence to the Forum of the Ceramians or Kramians, Cyrus appears to have gone entirely out of the general direction of his route, as will be seen by the map. But as he was making preparations for his expedition, his object probably was to take the stores and provisions that he had collected at different places. From the Forum of the Kramians he may be considered as commencing his undeviating route towards Babylon.

23. Λύκαια.] This was an Arcadian festival (Xenias being an Arcadian), and was celebrated by horse and foot racing. It was instituted in honor of Pan, and resembled the Roman Lupercalia. The reward of victory was generally a suit of brazen armour. Here the rewards were σπλιγγίδες χρυσαῖ, *golden flesh-brushes or scrapers*, (for we can find no better terms,) used for scraping or rubbing the skin, at the time of bathing, or after the exercises of the gymnasia.

32. διηγύς.] Probably αὐτοῦς is understood; *he led them along*, that is, *encouraged them by talking of his hopes*. For the use of the participle, see F. Rule XXXII, Obs. 5. If χρόνος be supplied, the sense would be, *he protracted the time*.

32. δῆλος.] See F. Rule II, Obs. 8.

33. πρὸς, in accordance with, or characteristic of.

33. ἴχοντα, agreeing with ἐκείνους understood, instead of ἴχοντες to agree with Κύρου. See F. Rule IV, latter part of Obs. 1.

10. Σάτυρον.] *The satyr Silenus*. For the tradition in connexion with this, see Class. Dict., article *Silenus*.

16. αὐταῖς.] Governed by ἡν understood. See F. Rule XX, L.

17. συντάξει δὲ ἑκάστος τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ, *and that each general should draw up his own troops*.

18. ἐπὶ τεσσάρων, *four deep*.

21. κατ' ἑλῆς καὶ κατὰ τάξεις, *by troops and companies*. The word ἑλῆ (*turma* in Latin) was applied particularly to a *troop of cavalry*; while τάξεις was generally applied to a *company of infantry*.

23. ἀρμαμάχης.] This was a *covered chariot*, used chiefly by women.

24. νημιῶδες.] See Antiq. Part 8, Chap. 3.

25. ἐκτεταθυμέναις.] Weiske, with his usual acuteness, thinks that the true reading is, τὰς νημιῶδες ἐκτεταθυμέναις καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας

- 6 *ἐκτεταλασμένους*, having their greaves well burnished and their shields unsoured; because the former, being naturally much tarnished by their journey, would require polishing, while to display the brightness of the latter, it would be necessary only to throw aside the part of their dress which protected them.

26. *φάλαγγος*.] See Antiq. Part 8. Chap. 5.

28. *πρὸβαλεῖσθαι τὰ ἔσλα*, to present their pikes, or rather, (*ἔσλα* including all offensive weapons,) to hold their arms in front, in the manner of attack. See Antiq. Part 8. Chap. 3.

28. *ἰσχυρῆσαι*, to advance, as if to battle.

30. *ἐκάλυψεν*.] See F. Rule III, Obs. 1.

31. *ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτομάτου*, of themselves, by a sudden or simultaneous movement.

- 7 1. *οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἀγοαῖς*, the sutlers, those who kept refreshment and provisions for the soldiers.

12. *τὴν ταχίστην ὁδόν*.] See the route on the map.

14. *μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων*.] That is, with all his army, excepting the detachment sent to escort the queen.

17. *ἐν ᾧ*.] That is, *ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ*.

18. *φανικιστήν*.] It was the custom in Persia, for the king and men of high rank, to wear purple, and he who had attained an elevated station, was called *φανικιστής*. These two words, *φανικιστὴν βασιλεῖον*, may be translated, a royal courtier.

20. *ἡ δὲ ἰσχυρά*.] There are several passes leading into Cilicia, from Cappadocia on one side, and Syria on the other: but the two through which Cyrus and Xenophon march, are the chief. The one through which the army is now about to go is properly called the *Cilician pass*, leading over mount Taurus in Cappadocia, into *Cilicia*. It is situated a few miles south of the city Tyana.\* "The entrance was just broad enough for a chariot to pass; very steep, and inaccessible to an army if there had been any opposition."

26. *ἔσω τῶν ὄρεων*, within the mountains, that is, on the side towards Tarsus, where was the palace of the king; though Menon was on the other side with respect to the situation of Cyrus.

30. *ὅς ἐφύλαττον*, where the Cilicians used to keep watch. The imperfect expresses a continuance of action or habit; for this was the station usually guarded for the defence of the country.

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\* Called by Xenophon *Δάνα*, *Dana*.

31. *πιδίον*.] This extensive plain lies between the rivers Cydnus\* 7  
and Pyramus, in the former of which Alexander bathed, when very  
warm, and nearly lost his life in consequence. See Quintus Curt.  
Lib. III. Cap. 4.

32. *ἱμῶν*.] This adjective is declined in the Attic form, like  
*εὐγύιος*. See F. p. 46.

32. *σάσαμον καὶ μιλίνον*.] The *sesame* is a leguminous plant,  
found in the Levant, which is used as food, and from which an oil is  
extracted. It resembles the bean in the manner of its growth. The  
difference between *μιλίνη*, *panic*, and *κίγχρος*, *millet*, is, that the  
former bears its grain in ears, the latter in bunches. They both  
make bad bread.

1. *ἐν θαλάττῃ εἰς θάλατταν*.] Quintus Curtius, in speaking 8  
of this ridge of mountains, says that it is of a semicircular shape,  
each end terminating at the sea. See map.

13. *λίχαι*.] See Antiq. Part 8. Chap. 5.

### CHAPTER III.

2. *τοῦ πρῶτον, farther*. Schneider thinks that the text is here 9  
corrupt, and that it should be *ἐν πρῶτον*. Yet from the number  
of passages in which *τοῦ πρῶτον* is found, it cannot but be regarded as  
genuine. The ellipsis may be supplied by *διὰ τοῦ τῶτον πρῶτον*,  
*through any place farther*.

5. *ἰσχύειτο*, (imperfect,) *was for compelling, began to compel*.

5. *ἔβαλλον*.] *τοῖς λίθοις* is here understood; *but they continued*  
*to attack him with stones*.

7. *τοῦ μὴ καταπειραμένῃαι*.] After verbs which contain a denial  
(as *ἐξέφυγε*), the negative *μὴ* is added to the infinitive.

12. *χαλιπῶς φέρω τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν*.] The dative is often  
put after neuter verbs, where the cause or occasion is expressed with  
*ἐπί* understood; — *that I am distressed at the present state of things*.

16. Jacobs has omitted a phrase after *ἐμοί*, which, it is believed, is  
found in all the other editions. It is *ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κατεδωρόμην*,  
*neither did I lavish it upon my pleasures*. When *ἀλλὰ* is followed

\* Which flowed through Tarsus.

9 by *οὐδὲ*, it means *moreover, furthermore*; and greatly increases the force of the negative particle. See Vigerns, p. 472.

19. *ἀπαμύναται*.] This verb governs two accusatives. See *Matthæi*, Art. 412. F. Rule XXV.

24. *ἴσθαι*.] Schneider, on the authority of Porson, substituted *ἴσθαι* to go.

10 2. *ἀνδράσιν*.] See F. Rule XLVII, Obs. 2.

4. *ἀλλήλων*.] This is in the first aor. mid. infin. by syncope for *ἀλλήλοισιν*, from the verb *ἀλλέω*, though it might be formed regularly from *ἀλλέω*, which is seldom used.

4. *Ὡς ἔμω οὐδὲ ἴσθαι . . . . ὅτι γινώσκω ἔχρει*, literally, *Have an opinion of me, therefore, as going, that is, know then that I shall go, &c.* The particle *ὡς* is elegantly construed with participles in the genitive, instead of *ὅτι* with the finite verb.

10. *ταῖς ἀραιῇς*, being perplexed at these things, not knowing how to manage them. The verb *ἀραιῶ* is found with both the genitive and dative, but with different significations: *ἀραιῶ τι* is, "not to know what course to take in any matter;" *ἀραιῶ τινος* is, "to be deprived of any thing."

17. *τὰ μὲν, κ. τ. λ.*, it is evident that Cyrus stands in a similar relation towards us, that we do towards him; that is, "we are each independent of the other." This speech of Clearchus is one of much shrewdness; since he tells the soldiers that they are at liberty to do as they please, and at the same time puts many difficulties in their way, should they conclude to abandon Cyrus. He therefore governs them, without their suspecting it.

22. *ἐν μὲν μίσητον*, in the first place, or, more especially, because, &c.

23. *πάντα*.] *Κατὰ* is here to be supplied. F. Rule XLII, Obs. 1.

27. *μίνωμεν*.] The present tense used for the future.

27. *αὐτοῦ*, here. The ellipsis is *ἐν αὐτοῦ εἴσω*, in this place. See Bos. *Ellipses Græcæ*.

27. *ὡς ἀρπαλίσσασθαι*.] See note on page 2, line 3.

31. *Ὁ δὲ ἀνὴρ*, this man, by way of eminence, referring to Cyrus.

32. *ἐχθρὸς, πολέμιος*.] The difference between these two words is, that the former means a private enemy, and implies malice, and a desire for revenge, while the latter signifies a public enemy, or an

enemy in war, where the parties are excited by no individual malevolence. 10

1. *πῆρθε* . . . . *πρὸς καθήκον*, to be encamped far from him. 11

4. *ἐκ τοῦ ἀποταμένου*, voluntarily, according to their inclinations.

5. *ἐγκρίλινοντα*.] This word exemplifies the peculiar beauty which the preposition *ἐκ*, in composition, possesses; namely, that of diminishing the force of the word with which it is compounded. In this respect it corresponds to the Latin *sub*; as *subfuscus*, brownish, somewhat brown; *subfrigidus*, cool, somewhat cold. So in Greek, *ὑχλωρεῖς*, greenish; *ὑμνωρεῖς*, bitterish. And in this place the soldiers are said not to be *κρίλινοντα*, openly directed, but *ἐγκρίλινοντα*, secretly instructed, privately advised. See Vigerus, p. 611.

6. *ἔστιν τῆς* . . . . *γνώμης*, contrary to the wish.

19. *μηδὲς ὑμῶν λογίται*, let no one of you nominate me, &c.

21. *ὥς*.] The form of expression is here changed, otherwise *πιστεύμαι* would be *πιστεύμενοι*, to correspond with *ἐντασσεύμενοι*. 'Ὡς' here means *that*, and is put for *ἵνα*, with the ellipsis *εἰς λογίται* to be supplied.

22. *ἄρχεσθαι*, to obey.

25. *ὅς περ ἄλλιν [τὸν] ἐπίλοιον Κέρου μὴ πιστεύμενοι*, as if Cyrus would not make his journey back again, that is, by sea, and would therefore want ships. 'How foolish then,' says Clearchus, 'would it be for us to ask of him the only means of conveying back his army.'

27. *λυμανόμεθα*, to frustrate, to bring ruin upon; from *λύμη*, plague, ruin.

27. *τὴν ἐρεῶν*, the enterprise. The difference between *ἐρεῶν*, and *ἔργον* is, that the former means an action in progress, the latter, an action completed.

28. *ἐὰν ἄρα ἡμῖν προκαταλαμβάνον*, to seize upon these heights for us.

31. *τρήξετε*, is governed by *ἐν*, understood.

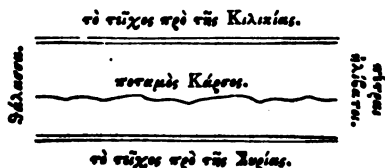
32. *οὐχ ὅτις τι ἵεται*, it will not be possible. *Ὅτις*, implying ability, is very frequently thus used, with *ἐνθῆτες* understood; as *οὐκ ἵεται τοιοῦτος, οὗτος ποιεῖν*, he is not such an one as to do it, that is, he is not able to do it.

6. *συναναβάντων*, who went up with him. These relate to the 12 three hundred Greeks, who attended Cyrus to court, under the command of Xenias.

- 12 9. *πρὸς θάλασσαν.*] *Χώρας* or *γῆς* is to be supplied.  
 14. *τὰ δέξαντα τῇ στρατιῇ,* the resolutions of the army.  
 21. *παραιτοῦνται.*] *Πρὸς*, in composition, generally increases the signification of the simple word, as in this place: *παραιτοῦναι* means to ask earnestly, to importune, and here, perhaps, to ask for more.  
 23. *οἱ.*] This is in the genitive, by the Attic attraction: one and a half of that which they received before; that is, half as much more. F. Rule VI, Exc. 1, Obs. 1.  
 24. *τοῦ μὲν τῇ στρατιῇ.*] Here is a double ellipsis; *δὲ* is understood before *μὲν*, and *ἐκείνῃ* before *στρατιῇ*.

## CHAPTER IV.

- 13 5. *Ἡγούμενοι.*] There were two fleets united: Pythagoras had the command of the vessels from Peloponnesus, and Tamos of those from Ephesus; in all seventy vessels. Cyrus intended with these to attack the fortress at the pass situated on the shores of the gulf of Issus: but the enemy retired and left it open to him.  
 10. *ἄγκυραν,* lay at anchor, from *ἄγκω*, and not from *ἄγκιστρον*, as some of the commentators have supposed.  
 11. *οἱ παρ' Ἀβροκάμας . . . . ἀποστάσαντες,* who were with Abrocamas, having deserted him, &c.  
 16. *πύλας.*] This pass, called the Gates of Cilicia and Syria, is also known by the names of the Syrian Straight and the Maritime Pass, from its being formed by the near approach of mount Amanus to the sea. It consisted of a narrow strip of land, extending from the cliffs of the mountains to the water. Across this were built the fortifications, two parallel walls (*δύο τεῖχος*) about five hundred yards apart, the inner next to Cilicia, and the outer next to Syria. Between these flowed the river Carsus.



"The space between the two fortified lines facing the opposite 13 quarters (for such they must be considered) being no more than three stadia along the coast, proves that there must have been a considerable space between the rocky face of the mountains and the sea; and that nothing like a defile or very narrow space was intended. For, when Xenophon says that the pass was narrow (*στενή*), he could only mean in reference to a *front* formed for an attack, since there was width enough for a fortress, and that fortress large enough to contain a considerable force." Rennell.

20. *στάδιον*.] The *στάδιον*, or *στάδιον*, of the Greeks was about equal to an English furlong. See Antiq. Appendix.

20. *ὅτι ἦν*.] Supply the ellipsis, *δινασίν*.

22. *ἡλίζεσθαι*.] This word (compounded of *ἥλιος*, the sun, and *βαίνειν*, to go,) literally means, *reaching to the sun*, or *sun-extending*, a beautiful epithet.

24. *ἴσως ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἀποδείξουσιν*, that he might land his heavy-armed infantry.

25. *ἔσω καὶ ἔξω*, within, that is, towards Cilicia; and without, towards Syria.

2. *ἐλαδίς*.] See Antiq. Part 9. Chap. 1.

14

5. *φιλονειμήσιντες*, being piqued, thinking themselves dishonored.

13. *ἰσπελάσθων* is the third plur. pres. imper. of *ἰσπένταμαι*, to know.

14. *ἀποδιδράσκουσιν*.] The difference between this word and *ἀποφύγουσιν*, is this: a person is said *ἀποδράναι*, when he has absconded and is *out of knowledge*, or in a place unknown; but he is said *ἀποφύγειν*, when he has absconded and is *out of power*, or cannot be taken. The context clearly shows this distinction.

19. *κακῶς ποῦ*.] See F. Rule XXV, Obs. 2.

19. *τὰ χρήματα ἀποσπύλῳ*, that I plundered them of their property. From *σύλη*, plunder, booty.

19. *ἰόντων*.] Some copies read *δὲ* after *ἰόντων*. Stephanus, Hutchinson, and Weiske retain it; Zeunius, Porson, and Schneider reject it. Porson says of it, "Nullis nisi æquæ mendosis exemplis defendi potest." This word is the Attic form of the third pers. plur. imperative, for *ἴεντων*.

23. *εἴς τις πρός τινι*.] See F. Rule II, Obs. 10.

29. *πλάην* is from *πλάης*, in the accusative singular, contracted.

- 14 29. *ὡς αἱ Σύραι.*] It is evident, from the united testimony of many ancient historians, that the Syrians abstained from the eating of fish and pigeons, considering them sacred. See Class. Dict. under *Semiramis* and *Derceto*. "The river is filled with an incredible number of fine carp, some of which are two feet in length. As they are forbidden to be caught or molested, they multiply exceedingly; it being regarded as a sacrilege of the most unpardonable kind, for any one to use them as food. There is every reason to believe, that this abstinence is a relic of the ancient superstition of the country, which taught men to worship Dagon or Venus, under the form of a fish, and, consequently, to abstain from eating their god." Buckingham's *Travels in Mesopotamia*, Vol. I, Chap. 3.

32. *eis ζώνην δαδωμέναι.*] It was a custom with the kings of Persia to allot different cities to their queens, to supply them with different articles of dress. These villages seem to have been given to Parysatis, to supply her with girdles. Some copies read *ζώνες*, and it would then be translated, *to supply her table*.

- 15 3. *ἔρως.*] "*Eros* is here to be supplied; *which the seasons of the year produced*.

7. *ἦκιστα*, was situated.

8. *Θάψακος.*] The different writers upon the geography of Asia Minor, Forster, Williams, Lake, Rennell, and others, do not agree upon the exact position of Thapsacus, and many other places mentioned by Xenophon. But it would be altogether out of place to introduce topographical discussions here. As a whole we prefer Major Rennell's "*Illustrations*," and have therefore followed him. See map.

14. *πάλαι*, all along before.

17. *καὶ ταῦτα*, and that too. Supply the ellipsis *δίδωκε*, and he gave this money to those going not to battle, &c.

20. *μιας.*] For the value of this coin, see Antiq. Appendix.

20. *μολὸν ἰστέλῃ*, full pay.

32. *αἵτις αἶναι*, to be the cause of, to have influence by your example.

33. *χάριν εἶναι*, will acknowledge the favor. The verb is from *εἶδω*, to see or know.

- 16 1. *εἰ τις καὶ ἄλλος*, that is, *ἐάν τις* understood, if any other one knows, he certainly does.

2. *ἢ δ' ἀποφασίσονται*, but if they should determine not, that is, not to cross the Euphrates

2. ἄπιμιν.] The present of the verb ἵμι has the signification of 16 the future. See F. p. 116, Obs. 1.

2. τοῦμπαν, for τὸ ἱμπαν· ἄπιμιν εἰς τοῦμπαν, *we will go back.* To supply the ellipsis, ἄπιμιν εἰς τὸ μέρος τῆς ὁδοῦ ἢ ἐντὶ ἱμπαν, *we will go to the part of the way which is behind.*

5. Κύρου.] See F. Rule XVIII, 8.

24. ἐπειρίεσαντο, *procured provisions for themselves.* Th. εἶποι.

## CHAPTER V.

26. ἐρήμους, *in the midst of a desert.* This is the southern part of Mesopotamia. Ammianus says that this region is excessively sardy and barren, having no water excepting that which is salt and stagnant, and producing nothing but dragon-root, wormwood, and a few other herbs of this class. "The aspect of the country was dull and uninteresting, as there was neither mountain, valley, nor even plain; the whole being an unequal surface, like the high and long waves of a deep sea, when subsiding from a tempest into a calm, and not a tree any where in sight to relieve the monotony of the scene." Buckingham's *Travels*.

1. ὕλη, *shrubbery, brush.*

3. οἱ ἄγριαι.] The swiftness of wild asses, and their fondness for desert places, have been confirmed by all naturalists. See also Hosea, viii. 9. Joh, xxiv. 5. Jeremiah, ii. 24. Isaiah, xxxii. 14, where it is predicted that Jerusalem will become a desert and "a joy of wild asses."

3. σπερδοί.] This word, when not attended with the qualifying adjective μεγάλαι, usually signifies *sparrows*. But σπερδοὶ αἱ μεγάλαι, *ostriches*.

4. ὠρίδες, *bustards*, which are small birds, and are remarkable for having but three claws. As food they are condemned by some, and lauded by others, among whom is our author. The theme is, probably, *of, the ear*, as they have this organ larger than any other bird of their size. Their sense of hearing is so acute that sportsmen find it difficult to approach them.

4. λαγάδες, *roe-bucks*, or rather *gazelles*.

8. πάντες ἰσάκον, *they did the same*, that is, they ran on before and then halted.

18 19. *ἴσται μὲν, unless where.*

21. *μέχιστα.*] The pronoun *αὐτός* is here understood, instead of the accusative; as the subject of the infinitive is the same as that of the participle *νυμίζων*. See F. Rule IV, Exc.

23. *ἔν.*] The verb *εἶπαι* is often used in this elliptical sense, meaning power or possibility; as *ἔν ἐννοεῖν*, it was to perceive, that is, any one might perceive.

24. *πλάθι χώρας*, from the extent of its territory; *πλάθι ἀνθρώπων*, from the number of its inhabitants.

25. *εὖ διανεσάσθαι.*] See F. Rule XXX.

30. *σχιδιαίς*, with rafts. This word is an adjective, meaning, *sudden, hastily done*, from *σχιδίον*, adv. *near*; and it agrees with *ναυεῖ*, understood; *σχιδιαίς ναυεῖ*, with boats or rafts made for the occasion.

30. *Διφθίρας*, skins, of which the tents of the soldiers were usually made, and with which, after being stuffed in the manner here described, rivers were often crossed. The Euphrates, according to Buckingham, is even now continually crossed, by men and boys, upon goat-skins tightly filled with air. They extend themselves upon this buoyant substance, clasp their arms around one end of it, throw their legs over the sides of the other end, and, by the propelling motion of their feet, cross the river with considerable rapidity.

31. *συνῆγον καὶ συνέσαν*, drew them together and stitched them. *Συνέσαν* from *συνάω*.

31. *ἐπέπλασαν χεῖρτος.*] See F. Rule XXIII.

33. *βαλάνου.*] The Persians made a very agreeable wine from dates, the fruit of the palm tree. *Βάλανος* is the fruit, and *φαινέξ* the tree.

19 3. *Ἀμφιλιζάντων τι*, disputing about something.

10. *τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν*, friends, companions.

11. *πρὸς ἑλκοντι*, was marching with the army.

24. *ἑωυτῷ*] *ἑαυτοῦ σθένεισμα*, understood.

24. *ἔθετο ἐὰν ὅπλα*, ordered arms, that is, made his soldiers stand to their arms, to be prepared for any emergency.

26. *ἴσται, αὐτοῦ . . . . κατακλινομένης*, that, while he himself narrowly escaped being stoned to death, he (that is, Proxenus) should speak, &c.

20 4. *ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐγίνετο*, he came to himself, that is, was convinced of his rashness.

5. *πρὸς τὰς χώρας*, to their places.

## CHAPTER VI.

6. ἰχνη.] A diminutive noun, the theme of which is ἰχνη. 20
7. στίβοι, (from στίβω, to tread,) signifies *the path or the print of the feet upon the sand.*
10. τὰ πολεμικα, in *military science*; κατὰ is understood. Δυσμινος, *ranked.*
14. κωλύειν τοῦ καίειν ἐπιόντας, literally, *would prevent them going about, from burning*, that is, *would prevent them from going about, and laying waste the country by fire.* See F. Rules XXIII and XXX.
27. ἑπτὰ.] "We often find a council of seven mentioned by the writers, who treat of the affairs of Persia; which council seem to have been instituted in memory of the seven Persian noblemen, who put the Magi to death, of whom Darius Hystaspes, afterwards king of Persia, was one." Spelman.
4. ἐξηγγίλει τὴν κρίσιν, *he gave an account of the trial.* 21
5. ἀρχιν τοῦ λόγου, *to begin or open the consultation.*
9. σουτοῦ.] See F. p. 57, Obs. after αὐτοῦ.
9. γάρ.] This conjunction may be considered as *declarative*, giving additional force to the sentence with which it is connected, and may be rendered *truly, verily.* But it is always, strictly speaking, *causal*, and connects something understood with its own sentence. Here we might supply, *I have taken this course FOR, &c.*
10. ἰσὺ δὲ παχθείς, *afterwards, being commanded, &c.* Cyrus intends, by the clause ὡς ἴφη αὐτός, to accuse Orontes out of his own mouth, since, although a subject of Cyrus, he acted in obedience to the king.
18. κακῶς.] See F. Rule XXV, Obs. 2.
18. ἰδύναι.] Second person sing. imperf. of δύναμαι.
19. ἴγνως τὴν εἰσαυτοῦ δύναμιν, *conscious of thy own power*, meaning to imply his want of power.
20. ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀρτέμιδος βωμόν.] The altar of Diana at Ephesus is, probably, alluded to here. It was usual for criminals to fly to the altars of the deities for protection, and, these places being esteemed sacred, no one could forcibly drag the suppliant from his place of refuge. To add force and solemnity to an oath also, it was customary to swear with one hand (ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν).

21 21. ἰσπνέει.] This is the imperfect, for ἰσπν, by the Æolic dialect which adds σπ. The Ionic sometimes removes the augment, by sphaerēsis, making ἰσπνσπ.

27. γάρ.] See note on line 9. *I must own it, you, &c.*

22 3. τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶναι, as far as regards him. But to be more critical, τὸ is in the accusative and connected with εἶναι, and they together, used as a substantive, are governed by πρὸς understood: τὸ εἶναι, as to being, as to our connexion, as far as we are connected with him, or as far as we may be in connexion with him. See Matthiæ, Art. 539, and 282, p. 409.

6. ἱλάσσοντο αὐτὸς ζώνης.] It was customary among the Persians to lay hold of the criminal's girdle when he was condemned to death. See F. Rule XIX.

6. ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, to put him to death.

8. προσκύνουσιν.] The Persians used to salute their king, or any one of his court, by total prostration of the body, and kissing the feet.

11. ἀσπερφόχων.] The sceptre was, as it now is, an ensign of great dignity. The sceptre-bearers were probably a life-guard around the person of the king.

## CHAPTER VII.

18. εἰς τὴν ἐπαιούσαν ἑα, upon the following morning; ἑα from ἑας.

22. ἀντίρρολοι, deserters; from ἀντίς and ῥολῖον, going spontaneously.

27. εἴη . . . . ἀπερῶν, not from a want of, not being in need of. F. Rule XVIII, 6.

29. Ὅμως.] This exhortative particle is frequently used in this elliptical manner, especially among the Attics. The verb to be supplied is ἐπεσπύρει, or ἐπαύρει, see to it, or look to it, that, &c.

23 3. ὦν.] See F. Rule VI. Exc. 1.

5. Τί . . . . πλεῖστος.] See F. Rule XLII.

6. ἰσπνν.] Ionic for ἰσπνν, they come upon you, or are accustomed to attack.

6. καὶ ἄλλα.] Governed by πρὸς, understood. Weiske has a comma after δεῦρ, Schneider and Dindorf have not. If the comma

be retained, it will read thus: *if you are able to withstand these, and methinks I am ashamed to make any other supposition, you will know what kind of men there are in this country of ours.* 'Ημῶν may be governed by *χάρις*, or *ἀνθρώπους*; if by the latter, we should translate it, *what these men of ours are.* If there be no comma after *δεκα*, the passage may be rendered, *and in other respects, methinks I am ashamed that you should know, &c.* Observe the difference between *ἀνθρώπους* and *ἀνδρῶν*. The same distinction exists in Latin between *homo* and *vir*.

9. *ὅμῶν τὸν μὲν . . . . βουλέμην, whoever of you, indeed, may wish.*

10. *τοῖς οἰκίαις ζηλωτὴν, envied by those at home.*

10. *ὅ' οἶμαι ποιήσιν, but, methinks, I shall effect.*

14. *τοιούτων.*] *Καιρῷ* understood.

20 *ἴτου*, Attic for *εὐτίνος*, from *ἔτις*. The latter part of the preceding sentence is understood here: *οὐ δύναται αἰετὶν οἱ ἀνθρώποι, which is uninhabitable by reason of the cold.*

21. *σατραπύουσα, governs in the capacity of satraps.*

22. *τούτων ἐγκρατῆς.*] See F. Rule XIII.

23. *μὴ οὐκ.*] With infinitives after negative propositions or verbs, these two negatives are equivalent to the Latin *quin*, or *quominus*; as, *οὐδὲν ἐλλείψω τὸ μὴ οὐ ποιεῖσθαι*, Soph. "I will leave nothing undone but that I may ascertain," &c. But where the opt., subj., or indic. follows, *μὴ οὐ* are equivalent to *ne non*; as *ἄστι οὐ τούτο δίδωκε, μὴ οὐκ ἔχω*, "so that I have no fears of this, that I shall not have," or "lest I should not have," &c. *Matthiæ*, art. 608.

24. *ἂν εἰ γίνηται, if the event prove favorable.*

23. *ὥδι πως, somewhat in this manner.*

33. *Οἷ.*] The Attics, in some verbs, terminate the second person singular of the pres. ind. pass. in *υ* as *βούλυ, οἷ, ἔψυ*. See F. p. 88.

5. *ἀσπὴ* is here, by metonymy, put for *ἀσπιδοφόρον*.

7. *δρεσπασφίρα.*] See *Antiq. Part. 8. Chap 2.*

8. *ἐκατὸν καὶ εἰκοσι μυριάδης.*] As *μυριάς* signifies a *myriad*, or *ten thousand*, the army of the king consisted of twelve hundred thousand; but this probably does not mean fighting men, but includes all the followers of the army.

25. *ἐργασί.*] See *Antiq. — Appendix.*

- 24 30. *πλοῖα*.] For the difference between this word and *νῆες*, see Antiq. Part 8. Chap. 1.

32. *παρ' αὐτὸν ἐν Εὐφράτῃ*, on the side towards the river Euphrates. This τάφρος ἔσκαψεν was a temporary trench dug by Artaxerxes for the protection of his camp, and wholly distinct from the *δύσπηξις*, canals, which were opened between the Euphrates and Tigris for purposes of agriculture and navigation. This trench however was left unfinished for the last twenty feet towards the Euphrates, and through this narrow pass (*παρόδος στενὴ*) Cyrus marched.

- 25 1. *ἀπὸ ἑόρματος*, instead of a fortification or rampart.  
 12. *δύνα τάλαντα*.] From this it appears that ten talents and three thousand darics were equal.  
 18. *τὸ δὲ πλεον, the greater part of the army.*

## CHAPTER VIII.

21. *ἀπὸ ἀγορῆς πλείουσαν*, about the full-market time, which was the third hour, or nine o'clock in the morning. It is not unusual to find in the classics the time of day denoted by the employment of it.

22. *ὁ στανμός*, the place for encampment.

23. *ἐνὰ πρῶτος*, at full speed.

- 26 11. *παρμηνηδίας*.] See Antiq. Part. 8. Chap. 2.

12. *ψιλῆν*.] This word does not here mean, bare of every thing, but destitute in relation to what goes before. The Greeks had helmets upon their heads, but Cyrus' head was destitute of the helmet: that is, he only wore the tiara, or turban, according to Plutarch, who says, that in this battle the tiara of Cyrus fell from his head.

14. *ψιλαῖς ταῖς κεφαλαῖς*, with only the tiara upon their heads. Weiske and Wyttenbach think that this sentence, from *λίγους* to *διακονοῦν*, is spurious. For, in the first place, it is at variance with what has been said before of the equipage of Cyrus' six hundred horse; and, secondly, Xenophon would not have used the word *λίγους*, in reference to a fact which he might have seen with his own eyes. Some would wish to insert *παλαιούς*, instead of *ἐλλούς*, thereby confining this custom to the ancient Persians: others, *παλ- λάων*.

19. δειλν.] The time denoted by this word is about the middle of 26 the afternoon, or three o'clock.

20. ευχρῆ.] The word *ευχρῆς* means *dense, crowded*, and hence, *much, abundant* : *χρῆν δὲ οὐ ευχρῆ*, and in not a long time.

22. ἤρξατο, began to glitter.

25. γιγθοφόροι, buckler-bearers, so called from the Persian shield *γίββος*, which was made of osiers and covered with hide.

28. κατὰ ἔθνη, according to their nations, or each nation by itself.

28. πλασίον.] The difference between *πλασίον* and *πλασίον*, is, that the former is an oblong, the latter a square, to denote which Xenophon uses *πλασίον ἰσόπλευρον*, and not *πλασίον*. See *Arriani Tactica*, p. 69. Also, compare Book 3. Chap. 4.

29. διακείμενα ευχρῆ, separated at a considerable distance, where *ευχρῆς* is used adverbially or with *κατὰ* understood.

32. ὑπὸ ταῖς δίφροις, under the seats of the charioteers.

32. ὡς διανοέσκειν.] See F. Rule XXIX. Obs. 3.

1. ἰλόντων.] This is the future participle, Attic form, for *ἰλόν- 27*  
*όντων*, from *ἰλάνω*, fut. *ἰλῶσω*, dropping the *σ*, and contracting, *ἰλῶ*.  
It is used with *ὡς*, in the genitive absolute. See F. Rule XXXII.  
Obs. 6.

4. ὡς ἀνεστίν, as much as possible.

4. ἰς ἴση.] Supply *βήματι*, with an equable pace.

5. ἰς ταῦτα.] *Χρῆν* is here understood : *at this time*.

6. τῷ Κλειάρχῳ ἰβῶν.] The battle of Cunaxa, as Major Hennell well observes, appears to have been lost through the error of Clearchus in not following the counsel, or rather in not obeying the orders of Cyrus, to bring up his men against the centre of the enemy, in which the king was posted ; "for," says he, "if we break *that*, our work is done." The king had such a superiority of numbers, that when he stood in the centre of his own army, he was beyond the left wing of that of Cyrus ; and Clearchus, fearing to be surrounded, could not be prevailed upon to withdraw his *right* wing from the river. As the king, therefore, found that no one opposed him in front, he wheeled to the *left* in order to surround Cyrus' army. It was then that Cyrus advanced to attack the king, and broke and dispersed the strong body of choice cavalry which attended him ; but in the pursuit he himself was left almost unattended, and in a rash and furious attack on the king was slain by an obscure individual.

- 27 It may therefore be inferred that had Clearchus brought his forces to the centre of the king's army, the event would have been totally different. No one can doubt but that victory would have attended the steps of the Greeks; and a victory in the centre would either have placed the king in the power of Cyrus, or driven him out of the field. But then we should have been without the "Anabasis," the choicest piece of ancient military history, and fairly worth the history of all the Persian dynasties since that period.

17. *ἐν αὐτῷ, in the same place.*

18. *ἐν τοῖς ποιοῦσιν, from the soldiers as they came up.*

21. *ὑπελάσας, having ridden up.*

22. *ῥησάμενος,] having stopped for the purpose of hearing him.* Bornemann renders it *animum ad Xenophontem advertens.*

29. *δύχομαι, (ἐν εἰωνῷ understood,) I receive the omen: or supply ἐν Δία συνεῖρα καὶ νῆσιν.*

32. *ἰκαίανον.] The Greeks used to sing two pæans; one, before the battle, to Mars; and the other after the battle, to Apollo.*

33. *ἱξινύμενοι.] The metaphor contained in this word is very beautiful. The theme is κύμα, a wave; for as the wave lifts its head above the level expanse of the waters, so here, a part of the army, undulates or fluctuates from the rest, in its eagerness to engage in battle.*

- 28 2. *Ἐνυαλίη] This is an epithet of Mars, derived from Ἐνυά, Bellona, the goddess of war. After the pæan was sung it was usual, before going into battle, to invoke the aid of Mars, under this appellation.*

3. *Δίγονται δὲ τῷσι.] The question has been asked, why does Xenophon, who was present at the battle, relate a circumstance on the authority of others? To this it may be answered here, that he could not be present at different parts of the army at the same time, and that what he now speaks of, occurred elsewhere than where he had his station.*

5. *εἰξέτωμα.] Supply πρὸς or εἰς αὐτούς, before an arrow reached them, that is, before they came within bow-shot.*

8. *Τὰ δὲ ἄρματα ἑλέσθην τὰ μὴ, and the chariots were borne along, some, &c.*

10. *ἰσθὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ διόσαντος, when they saw them coming at a distance, they divided, or opened their ranks.*

10. ἔστι ὃ τις, literally, *there was one who, that is, some one*: κατελήφθη, *was seized, was caught up*: ἐσπληγίς, *being struck with astonishment (ob repentinum adventum hostium; Lex. Xen.)* Schneider remarks, *Persæ enim curribus falcatis insistentes pugnabant, Græci eos vitubant laxatis ordinibus; pauci inapru dentes correpti a curribus et dejecti fuerunt.*

11. οὐδὲν μίντοι οὐδέ.] This repetition of negatives, in Greek, gives great additional force to the negation.

15. τὸ κατ' αὐτοὺς, *the part opposite to themselves.*

17. οὐδ' ὡς ἐξήχθη, *neither was he thus excited*: ὡς for ὡς-ως.

18. συνσπικραμένῳ, *conglobated around him.*

25. μίρον.] *Míros* understood.

28. ὡς τις κύκλωσιν.] This was done in order to surround the army of Cyrus.

5. οὐκ ἠνέχετο, *could not contain himself*, from ἀνέχεμαι.

9 ἰναυθα μαχόμεναι.] This appears to be in the nominative absolute, for the genitive, *more Attico.*

## CHAPTER IX.

22. ἐκτελέσσειν.] The primitive meaning of this verb is, *to conclude, to bring to an end*; hence, when it signifies *to die*, the ellipsis, ἐν βίῳ, is to be supplied.

25. δοκούντων ἐν πείρῃ γινίσθαι, *who were reputed to be on intimate terms with Cyrus*: δοκούντων, according to Schneider and the Lex. Xen., is here redundant.

28. ἐπὶ ταῖς . . . Δύραις, *at the court.*

29. εὐφροσύνη, *modesty*, as opposed τῇ αἰσχρίῃ, *indeficate, impure.*

5. τῶν αὐτοῦ ὑποδυσστέγων, *than those who were inferior to him.*

7. "Ἐπειρον.] "Ἀθροσαι is here to be supplied.

11. οὐκ ἔτρεψεν, *he did not cowardly fly from.*

13. εἰλος, *at last*, used adverbially with κατὰ understood.

19. ὅτι πλεῖστον ποιοῦτο, *that he esteemed it of the highest importance.*

20. τῇ.] The article is often put by the Attics, for the indefinite pronoun τις. See Matthiæ, Art. 266.

- 30 24. *παρὰ τὰς σπονδάς*, *contrary to the treaty*. *Σπονδάς*, is a verbal noun, from *σπίνδω*, to *pour out*, and properly signifies *libations* of wine poured upon the head of the victim at the time of sacrifice. But as these libations were made at the ratification of treaties, the word is frequently put for the treaty itself.

27. *αρεσθαι*, to *give up* or *betray*; second aor. mid. of *προσείμι*.

32. *καὶ ἰσχυρὸν δὲ τινὲς αὐτοῦ ἔξιφισον*, and some report an express wish of his.

- 31 1. *ἐλεξιμένους*.] See F. Rule XXXII, Obs. 6.

2. *τῶν ἱφ' ἡμῶν*, of the men in our age, those of our time.

5. *καταγελᾶν*.] Supply *τῶν νόμων*, to hold the laws in derision, or *αὐτοῦ* referring to Cyrus.

7. *τιδῶν*.] Among the Persians criminals were punished by being deprived of some of their limbs, and in this situation were exposed in the public streets. For the government of this gen. see F. Rule XXIII and XXVII.

9. *ἔχοντι δὲ τι προχωρεῖν*, carrying with him whatever he pleased. *Προχωρεῖν* primarily means to advance forward, hence to succeed, hence to be advantageous to, as it might here be rendered. The sense of the passage is, that "in the province of Cyrus any one could travel with safety, and carry with him whatever might be necessary either for his support on his journey, or for purposes of trade, without any fear of being molested by robbers."

20. *Εἰς γὰρ μὲν*.] This is an elliptical expression for *κατὰ τὸ εἰς γὰρ μὲν δικαιοσύνην ἦκον*, as to that which pertains to justice.

21. *περὶ πάντος ἐσθιῦτο . . . . πικρῶν*, he esteemed it of the greatest importance to render, &c. Observe the transition from the singular, in *τ.ε.*, to the plural in *τούτους*, which is frequent with our author.

22. *Καὶ γὰρ εἰς*.] The particles of the Greek language constitute one of its peculiar beauties. But it is often impossible to give their full force, and exhibit the ideas which each conveys, in a translation. *Γὰρ καὶ* may be rendered, *for besides*; after the first *καὶ* something is understood, *besides WHAT I HAVE MENTIONED*, &c.; the particle *εἰ*, after *ἀλλὰ* corresponds to *καί*, before *σφραγίσματα*. The verb *διεχρηρίσθη* is in the middle voice, and *αὐτῷ* would seem to be redundant. But in reality it gives the middle verb more force; *he managed to his great advantage*. Townsend makes the verb in the passive and *πολλὰ* the nominative to it. But is it not connected with *ἐχρήσθη*

by καί? For besides what I have said, therefore, he both wisely conducted, with great advantage to himself, many other departments of his government, and possessed an army deserving the name. Ἀληθινῇ, true, real, one that could discharge all the duties incumbent upon it, and answer the purposes for which it was organized.

24. λοχαγεῖ.] See Antiq. Part 8, Chap. 4.

30. δινύν, vigilant, energetic, possessing the qualities of a governor or steward in an extraordinary degree.

31. ἐν τοῦ δικαίου, justly, that is, on principles of justice.

31. κατασκευάζοντα, improving or cultivating the country.

33. ἀφίλις.] Supply ταύτην τὴν χάραν.

7. Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο, for in relation to any particular thing: 32  
κατὰ is to be supplied.

8. ὡς συνεργοὺς ἔχει, that he might have them as coadjutors.

11. διὰ πολλὰ.] Αἵτια is to be supplied: διὰ πολλὰ αἵτια, upon many accounts.

11. εἰς γι ἀνὴρ ἓν, for one man, for a single individual.

12. διδίδου.] The imperfect tense of verbs in μι is very little used; but, in its stead, the imperfect of the circumflexed verbs from which they are derived is generally found; as from διδῶ, διδῶ, imp. διδουν, ιδιδους, ιδίδου, for ιδίδου, ιδίδως, ιδίδω. F. bottom of p. 107.

13. ἰρρή.] See F. p. 103, Obs. 3.

15. εἰς πέλιμον.] That is, coats of mail, rich swords, &c.; εἰς καλλωπισμὸν, such as golden chains, bracelets, tunics, &c.

17. κοσμήσαι.] Bornemann and Dindorf read κοσμηθῆναι, which is preferable.

20. τὸ δὲ τῇ ἐπιμελείῃ περιῖναι τῶν φίλων, but that he should surpass his friends both in zeal, &c.

25. τοῦτον.] Ὁ φέρων τὴν φωνήν, the bearer of the present says, or some similar phrase, may here be inserted.

33. ὡς μὴ . . . . ἄγωσιν.] A very refined idea: that even the horses which carried his friends might not suffer from hunger.

1. Εἰ δὲ δὴ ποτὶ περιῖναι, whenever he went abroad.

2. ἐκπαιδευομένης, he used to talk with them earnestly. Hutchinson says, gravibus de rebus sermonem habebat, which would be rendered, "he used to talk with them on business or affairs of state." But we think the sense is, that he held close and familiar conver-

33 *sitings with his friends, that the spectators might perceive who were the most honored.*

6. δούλου, *subject.*

7. καὶ οὗτος δὲ, *and this man also*, referring to Orontes, and not to the king, as Hutchinson understands it. For Orontes found that the very person, whom he thought the most loyal to him, was far more faithful to Cyrus.

13. τὸ . . . . ἀντὶ γινόμενον, *what happened to him.*

16. συντράπεζαι, literally, *those who sat at his table*, — *his daily guests.*

## CHAPTER X.

27. Φωκαῖα, a *Phocæan*, whose name was *Aspasia*.

28. τὴν σοφίαν, *accomplished, witty.*

29. ἡ κωτίρα.] That is, ἡ κωτίρα παλλακίς.

34 1. πρὸς τοῖς 'Ελλήνων.] Τὸ στρατόπεδον, or τὸν σταθμὸν, is here to be supplied, *to the camp, or station, of the Greeks*, or, as we should say, using the possessive case, *to the Greeks'*, that is, *to the Greeks' camp*. So, in English, 'to the bookseller's', 'to the printer's'.

1. οἱ Ἰνυχον . . . . Ἰππία ἔχοντες, *who happened to be standing armed.*

4. καὶ ταύτης.] Referring to *Aspasia*.

5. ἐντὶς αὐτῶν, *within them*, that is, *within their camps*.

6. δίοχον.] See F. Rule XVIII, 13.

7. οἱ μὲν refer to the Greeks; οἱ δὲ, to the Persians.

8. καθ' ἑαυτοὺς, *opposite to themselves.*

8. ὡς πάντας νικῶντες.] Stephens thinks the reading should be *πάντα*, but *πάντας* seems to be perfectly proper: *as if they had conquered all the enemy*: οἱ ἤδη πάντας νικῶντες, *as if they all were the victors*, that is, as if their own troops had gained the victory in every part of the field.

12. τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς.] Supply *μέρος* or *στράτημα*.

12. ὄχλων διώκοντες, *were marching in pursuit.*

18. συνεραφίνεις, *having faced about*. The Greeks had pursued one wing of the enemy for some distance, when Artaxerxes, having plundered the camp of Cyrus, turned about in order to fall on their rear (πρὸς τὴν ὀπίσθιν).

19. ταύτη.] Supply *μερὶς*, in that part. See Bos. "*Ellipsis Nominum*," under *μέρις*. 34

19. ὃς ταύτη περιμένει καὶ διζήμενος.] Larcher, Wytenbach, Bornemann, and Dindorf, read *περιμένους* agreeing with *βασιλῆος* understood, which would be in the gen. absolute. After *διζήμενος* supply *αὐτόν*, and translate the whole "that as the king came up in this way they might receive him." Zeuner goes so far as to say, "*περιμένους sine sensu est.*"

19. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς . . . . ἀναλαβών.] The king, in returning, did not go in a direction towards the Greeks, but went back the same way that he advanced before, namely, without the left wing of the Greeks, leading back, &c.

20. ἰσχυρόν.] Xenophon here considers the Greek army as it stood at the commencement of the battle; otherwise, it having faced about, what was the left wing had become the right.

25. διαστάντες.] See page 28, line 9, where the motion made to admit the passage of the chariots through their columns, was the same as that made here, for the passage of Tissaphernes' cavalry.

28. ὡς μῦθον ἔχων ἀπηλλάγη, literally, as he had departed, having himself inferior.

29. πάλιν μὲν οὐκ ἀναστρέφει, did not return back again, for he feared that it would not be safe, and therefore pushed his way through to the camp of the Greeks, where he found the king.

2. Ἐν ᾧ (χρόνῳ understood), At the time when, while.

3. παραμειψάμενος, changing his position: φάλαγγα is governed by *πατίσσειν*, and not by *παραμειψάμενος*, as some have thought.

8. ἐκ πλείονος, for a long distance, over a long space.

10. ὑπὲρ γὰρ τῆς πόλεως γήλοφος, for there was an eminence beyond the village.

10. ἐφ' ᾗ ἀνιστρέφθησαν, upon which they faced about.

12. ὧςτι.] Supply *τοὺς Ἕλληνας*, as the accusative before *γινώσκουσιν*: *τὸ ποιοῦμενον*, what was doing or being done.

13. ἐπὶ εἰλπῆς ἀνατεταμένον, with its wings extended, upon a spear.

16. οὐ μίντοι ἴτι ἀλλοί, ἀλλ' ἄλλοι ἄλλοις, not indeed any longer in a body, but some one way and some another.

22. ἀπὸ κρᾶτος, with all their might, at full speed.

24. ἀνιπαύοντο, rested upon their arms.

- 35 28. προηλασάναι, *had pushed forward*: κατακτημένοι τι, *in order to take possession of some port.* F. Rule XXXII, Obs. 6.
33. ἄλλαν.] This word, in its exceptive sense, refers to οὐσίᾳ, ἢ οὐσίᾳ, *they found all their other effects plundered*, besides the provisions.
- 36 6. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἀρτέρον, *they had also been deprived of their dinner*: καταλῆσαι, *to halt*, which has the sense of *loosing down*, or *loosing to lay down*, is used of soldiers laying aside their accoutrements, to take their meals, and of travellers alighting for lodgment or refreshment. The name for an inn is πανόλον, both in ancient and modern Greek.

## BOOK SECOND.

### CHAPTER I.

1. ἀρρίσθη Κύρου, *was collected together by Cyrus.* 37
2. ἀνίδω.] This word is synonymous with ἀνάστασις.
5. τῇ ἡμερᾷ.] See F. Rule II, Obs. 10.
6. Ἄμα.] This adverb, when joined with the dative of time, signifies *immediately with* : as ἄμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, *immediately with the day, or at day break.*
9. εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν, *forward.* To supply the ellipsis, εἰς τὸν τόπον ὅπου πρόσθεν, *to the place which is before.*
11. Τευθρανίας.] Teuthrania was a city of Mysia, in Asia Minor, of which Procles was governor. He was a descendant of Damaratus, one of the kings of Sparta.
12. Ταμώ.] Tamos was of Memphis, and admiral to Cyrus, after whose death he sailed with his fleet to Egypt.
15. καὶ λέγει, *and he would say, or and he says* : supply Ἀριστὸς.
18. ἀνθιπνέμενοι, *on hearing the news.*
19. Ἄλλ' ὄφελι μὲν Κύρος ζῆν, *Truly Cyrus ought to have lived, or Would that Cyrus were still alive !* When the verb ὀφείλω is used in this sense, expressing strong desire, the particle εἴθε is usually joined with it ; though it is sometimes omitted, as in this case.
5. τὸ ἄρχον, *the government.* 38
9. περιμένει, *awaited their return.*
10. ἀποστρέφει.] Observe that this participle is in the plural, to agree with the individuals implied in the collective noun, στρατόμαχον. F. Rule II, Obs. 1.
12. οὓς ἀνάγκηζον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐμβαλεῖν τοὺς αὐτομολοῦντας, *which the Greeks had compelled the deserters from the king to throw away.* Ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν is here understood, governed by ἐμβαλεῖν *to*

- 38 *throw from their hands.* Spelman renders ἐκβάλλειν, "to pull out of the ground," which is evidently incorrect.

14. γόμφους, *wicker bucklers*, — governed by ἐχρῶντο, above.

15. φέρεσθαι.] Schneider and Muretus omit this word. Hutchinson would connect it with ἄμαξαι only, having τῶν ὑποζυγίων understood, and implying that the chariots were destitute of the beasts of burden, and could not be drawn. But πύλται, being connected with ἄμαξαι by the conjunction, seems also to belong to φέρεσθαι. The sense therefore is, that *the bucklers and the empty chariots were carried away from the field, for the purpose of fuel.*

21. ἐκπαισμένοι . . . . τῶν ἀμφί, κ. τ. λ., *skilled in every thing that appertains to military tactics and the exercise of arms.*

25. ἐπιεικισθαι . . . . τι . . . . ἀγαθόν, *to obtain some favor.*

28. τῶν νεώτερον.] See F. Rule XVII.

32. τὰ ἐντέρα, *the entrails of the victim sacrificed.* The sentence, from ἐκάλειτο το θυμῖνος, is parenthetical.

- 39 4. τί, *why*, is governed by κατὰ understood.

5. σίσις, *by means of persuasion*: τί ἔσται τοῖς στρατιώταις, *what will the soldiers receive, or what profit will it be to them?*

11. εἰ παρίχαι ὑμῖν, *if he should deliver them up to you.*

20. ἡ νεικία. Some editions read Εὐνοφῶν, instead of Θείατομος, in the thirteenth line, thereby making our author one of the parties in this dialogue. But the weight of authority is in favor of Θείατομος.

25. ἄλλο τα.] Governed by κατὰ or εἰς understood.

27. 'Εν τούτῳ.] That is, ἐν τούτῳ χρόνῳ.

30. ἄσμενος.] See F. Rule II, Obs. 8.

31. καὶ ἡμεῖς, *as we also are*; that is, Ἕλληνες ἐσμῖν.

33. συμβουλευμένῳ σοι, *we ask your advice*, the verb being in the middle voice.

- 40 2. εἶμι.] This is the future of φέμι, from the obsolete δει.

2. χρόνος ἀναλογόμενος.] There is a peculiar force in this expression; Ἔσονται χρόνος may be translated *posterity*, and ἀναλογόμενος, *recapitulating, scrutinizing.* The sense is, *Consider what will redound most to your honor with posterity, when they shall con over these actions and exploits of ours.*

4. συμβουλευόμενος . . . . ἀντιῷ, *to them consulting him.*

7. ταῦτα ἐνήγιστο, *artfully introduced these remarks.*

40

9. ὅπου ἐρίψας, *having adroitly evaded a direct answer.*

## CHAPTER II.

12. τὰ ἱερά, *the sacrifices.*

41

13. Καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἔρα οὐκ ἰγίγνυτο, *And for a very good reason indeed they were not favorable.*

16. οἶον.] This adjective is elegantly used in this elliptical manner, having the signification of *possibility*, with *ταῖς* understood: as οὐ μίνυν οἶον, *it is not possible to remain*, for οὐ ταῖς οἶον μίνυν, *THE CASE is not such as to permit us to remain.*

17. παρὰ, *to*; on page 40, line 10, it means *contrary to*.

19. ἀπὸ πάντας διενεῖν, *that we all retiring should sup, &c.* The accusative is not unfrequently used in this manner, before the infinitive, for the imperative.

20. σημήνη.] See F. Rule III, Obs. 1.

20. ὡς ἀναπαύεσθαι, *as if it were the signal for retiring to rest.*

21. ἀνατίθετε ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα, *put the baggage upon the sumpter horses.*

22. τῇ τρίτῃ.] That is, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ τρίτῃ σημείῳ, *at the third signal.*

23. πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, *next to the river.*

23. τὰ δὲ ὄπλα.] Ὀπλά is here put for *ὀπλίτας*, *the heavy-armed troops.*

25. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν.] Supply the ellipsis *καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ χρόνου*, *and for the future.*

25. ὁ μὲν.] Referring to Κλίμαχος.

26. οἷα δι.] Supply *φρονεῖν*.

28. ἐξ Ἐφίσου.] Supply *πέλιος*.

28. μέχρι τῆς μάχης, *as far as the battle-ground, which was Canaxa* So ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης, *from the battle-ground.*

29. παρασάγγαι.] Hence it appears that 535 parasangs equal 16,050 stadia, or 1 parasang equals 30 stadia. "If the whole number of marches in the history of the Expedition and Retreat, together with

- 41 the number of parasangs, as summed up by Xenophon, in Books II, V, and VII, he noted, that is, 93 marches equal to 535 parasangs, from Sardis to the field of battle at Cunaxa, and 122 marches, giving 620 parasangs from thence to Cotyora, there will be an aggregate of 215 marches and 1155 parasangs. And accordingly, by this statement, the *mean* march of the Greeks, taken throughout the whole Expedition and Retreat, is equal to 5.36 parasangs, or reckoned in British miles, as nearly 15 as possible." Rennell. See also note on page 4, line 20.

- 42 11. ἄριστον.] This is the third person plur. first aor. of ἄριστος.

14. σφάξαντες.] Among all the nations of antiquity it was the custom to sanction and strengthen every important proceeding, particularly leagues and treaties, by sacrifices. The Scythians used to dip the points of their spears into the blood of the immolated victim, as a confirmation of their oaths of fidelity. See Antiq. Part 5, Chap. 5.

15. εἰς ἀντίθεον, into a shield. The shields or bucklers of the Greeks had a prominence in the middle of that side which was presented to the enemy, called ἑμφαλὴς, a boss, for the purpose of glancing off missive weapons: consequently there was a corresponding concavity on the inner side.

20. "Ἦν.] This is governed by κατὰ understood; κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, the way by which.

21. ἀπολείμεθα.] See ἀπόλλυμι.

26. Πισιόνιον.] This neuter adjective has the force of obligation, being similar to the Latin gerund. See F. Rule XXXIV.

30. εὐπύρι.] This adverb may qualify some verb or verbal understood, as εὐπύρι τι φοβησίων, μή, &c. "we need no longer fear that the king will be able."

- 43 3. "Ἦν δὲ . . . . δυναμένη, this plan of the general was calculated for nothing else," &c.

5. ἐν διέξῃ ἰχοντες εὐὸν ἤλιον. They were therefore marching to the north.

17. ἀκνημένους, worn down with fatigue.

21. κατισκηνώσιν, they pitched their tents: from κατὰ and σκηνώω, which is from σκηνή.

21. ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατιώματος.] Schneider, Weiske, and Dindorf, read ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στρατιώματος.

24. *ὡς ἐγγύχων ἵκασται*, where they happened to be, that is, without any regularity or method. 43

26. *τῶν πολεμίων.*] This genitive is not governed by *ἐγγύχων*, but by *οἱ*, used partitively: *those of the enemy who were nearest.*

4. *ὅς ἂν τὸν ἀφίνα . . . . μυνύσῃ*, whoever shall discover the one that has let loose, &c. Bornemann thinks that Clearchus here had in his mind the fable of Æsop, which relates the exploits of the ass in a lion's skin. Whether this be the allusion or not, the satire upon the tumult of the soldiers is admirable, and must have been far more effective in quieting them than any commands. For if the noise proceeded from fear, the soldiers saw at once the perfect absence of fear in their generals, and were calmed; but if from revelry, the comparison shamed them into silence. 44

### CHAPTER III.

19. *ἐτάλιναι*, sent for, and not *ἐτάλιναι*, ordered, as some editions have it.

27. *οὐδὲ ὁ τελευτήσων . . . . λίγην*, neither is there any one so bold as to speak, — a truly Spartan reply.

3. *ἡγούμεναι*, guides, persons to conduct the army. 45

4. *αὐτοῖς.*] That is, *αὐτοῖς μόνοις.*

6. *ἰούσι καὶ ἀπειῦσιν*, with those going and returning, that is, with those who were the bearers of despatches between Artaxerxes and the Greeks.

12. *μὴ ἐποδείξῃ ἡμῖν*, lest it should not seem advisable to us.

19. *ἀπισθοφυλάκει*, took charge of the rear.

20. *αὐλῶναι*, canals, aqueducts, from *αὐλῶν*. There were many of these canals between the Euphrates and Tigris, constructed for the purpose of watering the intervening country. "In their way to the provision villages, on the short march of the second day, they crossed canals over which it was necessary to make temporary bridges. Whether these were canals drawn from the larger ones, for the purpose of irrigation, such as Xenophon saw near *Sitace*, or whether they were the same which they had crossed in their way downwards, and must have re-crossed in their march northward; or, lastly, whether

- 45 they were not drawn immediately from a branch of the Tigris, for the purpose of irrigation, cannot be known." Rennell.

23. ἢ . . . . καταμαθεῖν, literally, *it was to see*, that is, *one could see*. ὡς ἐπιστάται, *how he discharged the duties of a commander*.

25. ἐπισκευάζειν.] That is, those appointed to superintend the passages of the ditches and canals, and remove all obstructions.

26. τὸν ἐπισκευάζοντα.] The primary significations of this word are, *fit, suitable, deserving*. Here it has the last meaning, in reference to the verb which follows, *ἐπαισιν· ἐπισκευάζοντα, deserving punishment*. The meaning is, *and if any of those to whom this work was intrusted, appeared to be lazy, Clearchus selected him, who was worthy of punishment, and chastised him*.

28. πρὸς αὐτόν.] The preposition *πρὸς* seems sometimes to be used with the accusative, denoting the instrument. Here *πρὸς αὐτόν* answers to *ἐκ' αὐτοῦ*, *by him*. Some think the text should be *πρὸς τοῦτο*, *to this work*. Bornemann reads *πρὸς αὐτοῦ*.

32. ἔρα.] From this it appears that the summer, the season for watering the country, had passed.

- 46 5. ἰψήσας, *prepared by boiling*.  
 6. οἷας.] An elliptical phrase for *τοιαῦται μὲν οἷας*.  
 7. ἀπίκνυστο, *are reserved for*.  
 9. ἡλίετρον.] The color of *amber* is very near that of *gold*.  
 10. τραγήματα.] Supply *ὡς· παρὰ πότον, inter bibendum*.  
 11. κεφαλαγίς, *causing the headache, heady*; from *κεφαλῆ, the head*, and *ἄλγος, pain*: ἡδύ, supply *τὸ τραγήμα, used as a dessert*.  
 11. ἐγκίφαλον, *the pith of the top of the palm tree*.  
 15. ὅλος ἐξηραίνετο, *was wholly withered up*: from *ἐξηραίνω*.  
 22. ἀμύχανα, *and insuperable, inexplicable*, for *καὶ ἀμήχανα*.  
 23. εὑρημα ἐποισάμεν.] The word *εὑρημα* (from *εὕρισκω, to find*), means *any thing found, a discovery*; hence, *an unexpected gain, a profit, or advantage*; *εὑρημα ἐποισάμεν, I considered it as a happy circumstance*.  
 27. ὅτι, *that*; ὅτι, *because*.  
 47 11. ἐν δυνῶ, *in difficulty*.  
 12. ἡσχύνθημεν, *we should deem it shameful, or we should consider it as offering an indignity both to the gods and to men*.

13. παρέχοντες ἡμῶς αὐτοὺς εἰς πονῆν, *having suffered ourselves to be benefited by him, or, to have received favors from him.* 47

24. μινύσαν.] Attic for μινύσας.

27. σώζω, *to conduct them safely.*

30. ἢ μήν.] These particles contain a strong affirmation, and generally precede an oath. 'Ημῶς, understood, is the accusative before παρίξιν.

## CHAPTER IV.

23. πρὶ πάντων δὲ τιμήσεται, *would esteem it of the greatest consequence.* 48

26. ἴσως οὐκ ἐπιθήσεται ἡμῖν, *but that he will attack us.*

2. καταγυλάσαντες, *having held him in derision.* It is said of those who, having offered violence to others, depart with impunity. 49

7. οὐδ' ἐπέθιν.] That is, οὐδ' οὐδὲ παρίξιν ἐπέθιν.

8. ἀφιστάξω, *will withdraw*; from ἀφιστάω, same as ἀφίστημι.

10. ὅστις.] That is, ὅστις φίλος.

19. θεοὺς ἠρωκῆσαι, *to offend the gods by perjury.*

22. ἤγχι δέ.] These words relate to Orontas.

32. ἐν τοῦ αὐτοῦ.] That is, ἐν τοῦ αὐτοῦ τόπου.

3. πρὸς τὸ Μηδίας . . . . ταῦχος.] "At the end of the third march 50 from the villages, the Greeks came to the Wall of Media, built of burnt bricks, laid in bitumen, and said to be twenty feet thick, and 100 feet in height. This wall appears to have stretched across the narrow isthmus, between the Tigris and Euphrates, terminating on the former a little above the site of Bagdad, and in the latter not far from the outlet of the *Nahr-Malka* canal. Its length was about 24 British miles, and its use was, to protect the lower and more fruitful parts of Mesopotamia, from the inroads of the Medes or the Assyrians of Ninevah." Rennell.

5. πλῆθους ὀρεαῖς, *of burnt bricks.*

13. ἐπὶ τὰς μιλίας.] Supp'y *καταρίμονται.* 'Επὶ, *for, for the benefit of*, as the *panic* requires much moisture.

15. Σιόακκ.] The modern city upon this place is Bagdad.

23. καὶ ταῦτα.] When *καὶ ταῦτα* are used in this manner they

50 may be rendered, *although, especially, particularly*. Here, *although* is the best translation. There is of course some word to be supplied, as *ἐπειὴ*, and *he did these things coming from Ariæus*. There is a similar phraseology in our language, — *and that too*. “He did not inquire for Menon, and that too, coming as he did from Ariæus.”

51 1. Νεαῖος.] Some suppose that this is Xenophon, who modestly calls himself a *youth*.

15. διελόντις.] Before Bornemann's edition of Schneider appeared, the texts commonly had *διελόντες*, though the commentators observed that *ὅ* should be inserted before it. Weiske even inserted *ὅ* without the authority of any manuscript; for otherwise there would be no sense in the passage. The part of the country near Babylon, between the Euphrates and Tigris was called *ἡ νῆσος*, the island, as rivers and the canals surrounded it on all sides. The Greeks were on this *νῆσος*, and the Persians feared *lest* (according to Weiske) *they would not pass the bridge*, but keep on the island which was so well defended. But Bornemann happily conjectured that it should be *διελόντις* instead of *διελόντες*, and thereby was under no necessity of inserting *ὅ*. Besides the sense is even better. “The Persians fearing lest the Greeks, *tearing down* the bridge, would remain on the island,” &c.

19. ἀποσυρομένη, a refuge, a place of retreat.

27. διαβαινόντων.] Genitive absolute, *αὐτῶν* being understood. F. R. XXXIII, Obs. 4.

52 5. εἰς δύο.] According to Vigerus, *two by two*, or *two deep*.

6. ἄλλοτε καὶ ἄλλοτε ἐπιστάμενοι, now and then ordering them to halt.

7. τὸ πρῶτον, the first part, the van; *μείζους* is to be supplied.

20. σχιδίαις διφθιρίαις.] To this day the Tigris is crossed in the same manner.

22. Ζάβαρον.] This river is now called the Greater Zab.

25. συγγινέσθαι Τισσαφέρνην.] The history of the conference between the Grecian generals and Tissaphernes, which led to the massacre of the former, by Clearchus' falling into the snare so artfully laid for him, is related very circumstantially and clearly by Xenophon. By that it appears that the credulity of Clearchus was beyond all example; and is the more remarkable, in that he was himself so deeply impressed with the idea of mutual jealousies and suspicions, that

he sought an explanation. But Clearchus had, in his turn, been guilty of treachery and murder, at Byzantium, much in the same way ; and, like other murderers, was perhaps bereft of his judgment and presence of mind, and thus drew down a just punishment upon himself.

## CHAPTER V.

8. ἤδη, heretofore : ὅσα ἤδη, I have known, which refers to past time. Observe that ἀνθρώπους, persons, and not ἄνδρας is used.

10. φάσκει, to anticipate, to be beforehand with any one. F. Rule XXXII, Obs. 2.

17. τὸν . . . . θεῶν πῶλον, the divine wrath. This sentence contains a sublime description of the omniscience and omnipotence of the Deity.

22. παρ' οἷς ἡμεῖς τὴν φιλίαν συντίμηκεν κατιδίμεθα, with whom we, having formed an alliance, have entrusted our friendship.

31. ἱφιδρον.] The allusion here to the public games is very beautiful. It was customary for those who entered the lists, as wrestlers, in the Olympic games, to draw lots for their antagonists. A number of pellets were put into an urn, upon every two of which was inscribed the same letter, and those who drew the same letter wrestled together. But if the number of wrestlers was odd, he who drew the odd pellet wrestled last of all with him who had the mastery, and was therefore called ἱφιδρος (from ἰσθ and ἔξω), as coming after the rest. So Artaxerxes is here called τὸν μίγιστον ἱφιδρον, the most powerful champion ; and Clearchus says, " If we overcome all our other enemies, we have still to contend with the μίγιστον ἱφιδρον."

7. Ἀλλὰ μὲν.] The force of these particles is, " but besides what I have already advanced, I have yet more to remark ; " or, as we should say, but this is not all, for, &c.

16. τῷ.] Attic for τοῖ.

21. τό.] The article joined to the infinitive, which, together, are used as a noun. See Matthiae, Art. 539. F. Rule XXX.

22. δυνὸς λίγων, powerful in speaking, eloquent.

30. ἀντάκουσον, hear me in reply.

5. ταμινύσθαι, to select at our pleasure.

16. ἀνάγκη ἰχμύνειν, of those pressed by want.

- 55 19. ἔϊν.] The Attics frequently use the neuter participles ἔϊν, ἰόν, παρίν, absolutely, for the impersonal verb. Thus ἔϊν, *when it is lawful*, or, as it means in this place, *when it is in our power*. F. Rule XXXIII, Obs. 3.

25. ἐν τῇ κεραιῇ.] The sense is, that, *although, according to the customs of Persia, the king alone be permitted to wear an upright turban upon his head, another may easily preserve an upright heart towards you who so much favor him*.

29. οὐνοῦν.] This particle means both *therefore not*, and *therefore*, and receives the accent on the syllable in which the principal meaning is contained: when it signifies *therefore not*, οὐ is accented, as οὐνοῦν · when *therefore*, the latter syllable οῦν, as οὐνοῦν. It is also used interrogatively in the sense of *therefore not*, as οὐνοῦν δέξαι τίς τὰ ἔρχεσθαι παύει; *do not those therefore deserve to suffer the severest punishment?*

29. τοσούτων . . . . παρελόντων.] A parenthetical clause in the genitive absolute, *since there are so many inducements for us to cultivate friendship*.

- 56 6. φιλικῶς αἰέμνος διακίεσθαι τῷ Τισσαφέρνηι.] Weiske suggests a difficulty in this sentence, arising from the participle αἰέμνος, as if Clearchus did not know his own mind. Bornemann would read Τισσαφέρνην αὐτῷ, *thinking that Tissaphernes was friendly disposed towards him*. But if διακίεσθαι be used in a passive sense, the difficulty would be removed: literally, *thinking that it was well disposed by Tissaphernes*, that is, *that Tissaphernes possessed a friendly feeling towards the Greeks*.

- 57 15. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἴσταντο εἰς ἑνὶόνον, *When they had placed themselves in a place where they could be heard*.

26. νομίω, *that you would consider*; Attic for νομίζω.

28. ὥς.] Some commentators think that this should be ὅς, the adverb, *thus*. But may it not connect αἰσχύνεσθαι with ἀποθνήσκειν · *do you not stand in fear of both gods and men, THAT you have put to death*, that is, *BECAUSE you have put to death, &c.* Larcher and Schneider reject ὥς altogether. Dindorf remarks that "all the commentators do not perceive that Cleanor is intent only upon heaping up proofs of the treachery of Arizus and Tissaphernes, neglecting the elegancies of composition, and style."

## CHAPTER VI.

8. Οἱ μὲν.] "The treacherous massacre of the Greek generals 58 and other officers, together with the sudden hostility at the Zabatus, might have effected the entire destruction of their army, had they not been accustomed to encamp apart from the Persians, at the distance of a parasang; which cautious measure appears to have been adopted from the beginning. This gave the Greeks time to stand to their arms, before the Persians could attack them; and as villany seldom sees its way clear enough to accomplish its utmost designs, the Persians do not seem to have taken such advantages, as the occasion offered. Had they kept the main body of their cavalry ready to attack the Grecian camp, at the instant of the massacre, instead of sending a detachment only, to scour the plain and cut off stragglers, irreparable mischief might have been done." Rennell.

13. παρίμειν, *he remained firmly at home.*

15. ὡς ἰδύνατο.] Weiske would render this, *exerting his greatest influence.* But such a translation would require ὡς ἰδύνατο μάλιστα. Xenophon seems to touch but lightly this unjust act of Clearchus. Ὡς ἰδύνατο may be translated *as he was able*, that is, *by what means he could.*

16. Ἐφόρων.] See Antiq. Part 4. Chap. 5.

19. Ἰσθμοῦ.] That is, the Isthmus of Corinth.

22. Ἰππιοι.] Xenophon does not mean to say that Clearchus persuaded Cyrus to undertake a war against his brother; but the word Ἰππιοι refers to what follows, δίδωσι δὲ αὐτῷ Κύρος μυριάς δαρικαίους.

26. Ἰφρις καὶ ἄγρυ, *he plundered and laid waste.*

4. ἰξίν.] See F. Rule XXXIII, Obs. 3: πολέμων, see F. Rule XXXII, Obs. 5. 59

5. μίονα ταῦτα ποσὶν, *to diminish these very riches.*

10. ἀρχαίης, *skilled as a general.*

10. ὡς δύνατον . . . ἴχην, *as far as one could be, from such a disposition as he (Clearchus) possessed.*

12. ἴξιν.] Some editions read ἴχην, in the optative, which, as connected with ἴσως, would seem to be better.

17. ἴτι, *at times.* For as he sometimes punished in anger, he

59 would, of course, at times, experience regret, when his passion had subsided.

17. γνώμη, with deliberation.

22. ἀποφασίως, promptly, without hesitation.

24. τὸ σπουδίον, sternness; φαιδρίον, mildness.

26. ἠμμύριον, firmness.

33. ἐπὶ τοῦ δεῖσθαι, compelled by necessity.

60 3. χρησίμοις, κ. τ. λ.] That is, "Whoever could desert him in peace, always did so. But if, from any circumstances, they were compelled to follow his standard, there were many things which tended to make them good soldiers while they were with him."

11. Πλου.] Proxenus paid tuition-money to the philosopher Gorgias, as his instructor, who is said to have received a hundred *minæ* (about sixteen hundred dollars) from each pupil.

16. σφάρα ἰδηλὸν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτο εἶχεν, on the other hand he made this disposition strikingly evident, namely, that, &c.

28. εὐμεταχυσίον, one that can be easily imposed upon.

61 9. μόνος οἶτο εἶδεναι ῥᾶλλον ὅτι, he supposed himself the only person, who knew it to be an easy thing.

28. ἀγύριος, a youth without a beard.

62 1. αἰσθητὶς ἱναυρίν, having suffered torture for a whole year. Weiske is of the opinion that Menon might have died from a severe disease, or that the protracted punishment here spoken of, might have been neglect and contempt from the king. But the word *aisthētis*, according to authorities produced by Schneider, was generally, if not always, applied to the death of malefactors who were deprived of their hands and feet, or who suffered death by torture of any kind.

## BOOK THIRD.

### CHAPTER I.

17. ἀθύρως ἔχοντες.] Instead of ἀθύροι ὄντες. Adverbs are often put with the verb ἔχιν in the same sense as the adjectives corresponding to those adverbs, with the verb εἶναι, as καλῶς ἔχου, for καλόν ἐστι. Matthiæ, Art. 612. 63

18. ὀλίγοι δὲ πῦρ ἀνέκαισαν, *few lighted up any fire in the hope of getting victuals to cook.*

18. ἐπὶ . . . . τὰ ἑσλᾶ, *to their quarters*, where their arms were.

4. Ξενοφῶν.] The modesty of Xenophon, in speaking of himself, is here particularly observable. 64

6. ξῖνος ὢν ἀρχαῖος, *having been formerly a guest.*

8. ὃν αὐτὸς ἔφη περίττω ἑαυτῷ νομίζειν τῆς πατρίδος, *who, in his opinion, he said, would be of greater service to him, than his country.*  
 "Ον refers to Cyrus, and ἑαυτῷ to Proxenus.

9. ἀνακαιοῦται, *communicates with, consults with.*

22. ἰσθόν.] A neuter adjective, from ἵμι, *to go*, and implies necessity, like the Latin gerund. F. Rule XXXIV.

23. ἤρου.] Imperfect of ἔρομαι.

29. ἡ στρατεία, *the expedition*; λήξῃ from λήγω.

2. Φοβούμενοι δὲ τὴν ὁδόν, *terrified at the length of the way.*

9. πῇ μὲν, *in some respects*; πῇ δέ, *in other respects.*

19. ἐνί, *in the power of.*

21. ὀβριζόμενους ἀποθανεῖν, *to die in a most ignominious manner.*

33. οὐδὲ, οὐδὲν.] A double negation, to give additional strength to the remark.

1. εἰ ὑφησώμεθα, *if we become remiss.*

- 66 7. Ἄρ' οὐκ εἰς ἐνὶ πᾶσι ἴσθαι; will he not resort to every expedient?  
 12. ἡμᾶς . . . . οἰστροῦν, to deplore our condition.  
 13. αὐτῶν is governed by χάρις.  
 15. τὰ . . . . τῶν στρατιωτῶν, the circumstances of the soldiers.  
 17. ὅσῳ δὲ ἀγορεύεται, with which we might make purchases. Ὅσῳ is the genitive of price, and ἔχοντας governs εἰ understood, the antecedent of ὅσῳ.  
 24. ἀγορεύεται.] The judges who awarded the prizes to the conquerors at the public games, were called ἀγορεύεται.  
 25. Οὐτοι, these men, that is, the Persians; αὐτοῖς refers to the gods.  
 31. αἱ δὲ ἄνδρες.] There appears to be a peculiar, though latent beauty in these words, which seem to refer to the phrase εὖν τοῖς θεοῖς, in the line above. The idea is, *We, having the favour of the gods, are more likely to have our lives preserved, whereas mere men (αἱ δὲ ἄνδρες, men of themselves, without divine protection,) are more exposed to wounds and death.*  
 33. Ἄλλ' ἔγωγε γάρ.] In this sentence γάρ connects something understood; — *But it is not necessary for me to say any thing more, for probably, &c.*
- 67 11. βιωσιάζων, speaking coarsely like a Boeotian.  
 12. εἰ δύναται.] That is, εἰ δύναται πείθειν.  
 14. μεταξὺ ὑπολαβόν, (λίγοντα understood,) while he was speaking. Μεταξὺ is joined with participles in any case, having the signification of *inter* and the gerunds in *dum*. See F. Rule XXXII, Obs. 7.  
 16. Ἐν ταύτῃ . . . . τοῦτοις, in the same place with these, that is, in company with them: ταύτῃ for τῇ αὐτῇ.  
 17. μέγα φρονήσας ἐν τούτῳ, vaunting greatly at this circumstance.  
 28. οἱς ταὐτὸ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς, in the same rank with ourselves.  
 29. ὡς τοιοῦτον χρῆσθαι to treat him as such, that is, as one only fit for carrying the baggage.
- 68 2. ὧτα τιτρεσσημίον.] See F. Rule XLII. Apollonides was a Lydian by birth, and had been a servant in Boeotia, where he had learned their dialect. Proxenus brought him into Asia, and gave him his liberty.  
 5. ὑπεστρατηγόν.] This word seems to be synonymous with ἐμπεχός.

6. εἰς τὸ πρὸσθεν.] That is, εἰς τὸ πρὸσθεν χωρίον, *before the camp*, 68  
where the soldiers were quartered.

22. μίγιστον ἔχοντι καιρὸν, *you have before you the most important crisis.*

31. τοῦ πλῆθους, *than the multitude.*

32. προεουλεύειν, *to be superior in counsel.*

3. ὡς . . . . συνιόντι εἰπεῖν, *to speak briefly*: supply λόγῳ. 69

6. Ἐπειδὴ.] The order is, Ἐπειδὴν δὲ καταστήσῃς τοὺς  
ἔρχοντας, ἔσους διτῷ, οἶμαι, ὁμᾶς πάνν ἂν ἐν καιρῷ ποιῆσαι, ἦν,  
κ. τ. λ.

12. ὡς μὴ τοῦτο μένον ἐνοῶνται, *so that they would not dwell upon this alone.*

17. ἐπιτεπολύ.] For ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ.

18. οἱ ἐναντίοι οὐ δύνανται, *those opposing them cannot sustain their attack.* τούτους governed by δύνανται.

27. παρακαλιῖν.] That is, παρακαλιῖν ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας εἶναι.

3. συγκαλοῦμιν.] Porson considers this the future Attic.

5. κήρυξ.] See Antiq. Part 8. Chap. 6. 70

## CHAPTER II.

19. ἐκ τῶν παρόντων . . . . ἐλθῶν, *to emerge out of our present difficulties.*

21. ἀλλὰ, *certainly, at least.* See Vig. Chap. 8. Sec. 1.

29. ἐπὶ ταύταις, *in addition to these things, moreover.*

2. Δία Ξίνιος.] The Grecian deities had each his peculiar title 71  
and province. Jupiter was considered as the guardian of the rites of  
hospitality and the protector of strangers. Hence he was addressed  
under the appellation of Ξίνιος. See Antiq. Part 5. Chap. 5.

22. τοὺς στρατηγούς.] The accusative for the nominative, for  
ἰρῶντας οἷα οἱ στρατηγοὶ πιστεύουσιν.

27. πτόρνυται τις.] The Greeks were peculiarly a superstitious  
people and observant of every outward sign. Sneezing in a par-  
ticular manner was enough to dissuade one from any business, or  
encourage him to undertake it. See Antiq. Part 5. Chap. 13.

28. μὲν ἑμῶν, *simultaneously.*

- 71 30. *αιωνίς.*] This word is very general in its application, being used in reference to all kinds of omens.
31. *Θύματα σωτήρια.*] *Θύματα* is understood; — to offer sacrifices for safety received; literally, to offer safety-sacrifices.
- 72 1. *ἀνατινάτω τὴν χεῖρα.*] It was the custom of the Greeks, in all their public assemblies, to signify their wishes by holding up their hands. See *Antiq.* Part 3. Chap. 10.
- 15 *παρελαβὴν ἐνέλη.*] Supply *ἐν*. The battle of Marathon is here alluded to, in which, according to Nepos, the Persians had a hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse. Xenophon could not have made a happier allusion, to inspire the Greeks with confidence and courage.
19. *ὅν εἶχον ἱκανός.*] Herodotus says that six thousand four hundred Persians were killed in the battle.
23. *τούτων.*] That is, of the men with whom you have now to fight.
- 73 8. *οἱ Κερεῖαι, the Persians on the side of Cyrus.*
21. *ἐπὶ τοῦ γῆς βιβημένους, treading firmly on the ground.*
23. *Ἐν μίᾳ, in one respect only.*
30. *περὶ τὰς ταυτῶν ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ σώματα, at the peril of life and limb;* meaning, probably, that they would be put to death by mutilation and torture, to which severe death all traitors were subject.
33. *μηδὲ τοῦτο ἔτι ἔχοντας, not any longer having this; that is, τοῦτο ἀγγύριον.*
33. *αὐτούς, that we ourselves.*
- 74 3. *καὶ μεγάλως ἡγήσθαι ἑξαπατηθῆναι διαβάντες, and you think that you have been greatly deceived in crossing the river.* That is, — “that the Persians, in inducing you to cross, have greatly deceived you.”
8. *ποταμοὺς ἔσται.*] *χεῖμα* understood. The same ellipsis is found in Latin; *triste lupus anbulis.*
7. *Εἰ δὲ μή' οἱ ποταμοὶ διείκουν.*] Some of the Latin commentators have rendered this passage, — *but if the rivers would not permit us to pass.* But the verb *διαίκω* means to differ, and from the preceding sentences it would seem to mean so here. Xenophon therefore says, “For although all rivers, at a great distance from their sources, may be impassable, yet, if we follow them up we shall be able to cross without going up to our knees. *But even if there were no difference*

between the width of rivers at their sources and their outlets, and therefore we be unable to pass, still there would be no cause for dejection, for we can settle here." He then states the inducements or settling in the king's territories. The reader will perceive the consummate art with which this speech is wrought up.

16. αὐτοῦ σου, *somewhere in this region.*

18. τοῦ . . . ἐπιμψυ, *of sending*, that is, 'that he would willingly give many hostages as a security that he would, without fraud, conduct them out of the country.'

21. 'Αλλά.] The force of this is — *but I DO NOT THINK IT EXPEDIENT TO DO SO, for fear, &c.*

24. μή.] It will be observed that this negative particle is here repeated.

24. λατοφάγου.] Homer (Odys. i, 83.) says, that those who eat of the *lotus*, never think of returning home. The fruit is said to be very delicious.

28. ἔξιν.] See note, page 55, line 19.

1. μὴ . . . στρατηγῇ, *may not affect our march.*

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3. Αὐταὶ γὰρ αὐ, *for these equally.*

5. τὰ περιττά, *the things which are not necessary.*

8. Κρατουμένην . . . ἔτι πάντα ἀλλότρια, *for you know indeed that every thing belonging to the conquered passes into the hands of others.*

24. 'Αλλά.] See note, page 74, line 21.

27. ταῦτη.] ἰδῆ understood.

27. ἰδιώτης, *a private soldier.*

8. πλαίσιον.] This was an oblong figure, approaching a square. 76  
See note on page 26, line 28.

15. Λακεδαιμόνιος.] Clirisophus takes the highest post of honor, as the Lacedemonians, at that time, were possessed of the sovereignty of Greece.

### CHAPTER III.

20. ἐπίσκοπος, *sent as a spy.* Some copies read ἐπισυν, *sus- 77*  
*pected.*

- 77 21. *πίστις ἴστα.*] That is, he was with Mithridates, in order to serve the cause of Tissaphernes, and report to him whatever might be said.

22. *πόλεμον ἀπέκρυτον*, war unpreceded by a declaration, or "in which no intercourse of criers or heralds is permitted between the parties." It was always customary, before going to war, to announce hostile intentions by means of heralds, *κέρυεις*. The Greeks seem therefore determined to despense with this ceremony, having such a perfidious enemy to deal with, with whom no treaties could be made.

27. *λεβάντης ἐν Ζάβατον.*] Major Rennell remarks, that "it appears extraordinary that Xenophon should be silent respecting the mode of passing the *Zabatus*. It was performed under the eye of the enemy, who did not attempt to molest the Greeks, although in full day-light: for no kind of obstruction or difficulty is mentioned."

- 78 8. *κατακίλιοντα*, had retired under cover of the heavy-armed soldiers.

13. *ἐν πολλοῦ.*] That is, *ἐν πολλοῦ διαστήματος*.

25. *καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς μαρτυροῖν*, and that the action itself was witness for them.

- 79 5. *ἐν τόξου ῥύματος*, by bow-shot.

5. *Ἡμῖς.*] Some editions read *ἡμῖν*, to be governed by *δεῖ*. But the reading of our text presents no difficulties: construe, *εἰ μὲν οὖν ἡμῖς μάλλομεν*.

11. *χειροπληθεῖ τοῖς λίθοις*, stones as large as the fist.

13. *πίπνυνται.*] From *πᾶω* or *πάσμαι*, to possess.

14. *τούτων.*] That is, *σφινδοῶν*, for these slings; *ἀντὶ* being understood.

14. *τῇ μὲν αὐτῶν*, to one part of them.

16. *σφινδοῶν ἀντιταγμίνην ἰθίλοντι*, to him who is willing to be enrolled as a slinger.

23. *Ἐδεξί ταῦτα.*] "The first deficiency felt was that of cavalry and slingers, to repel those of the enemy, who taught them this want, during the first very short march, which indeed presented a very unpromising aspect. But the Greeks surmounted every difficulty: they halted during the whole of the succeeding day, and employed it in equipping and mounting fifty horsemen, on the best of the horses

that were found among the baggage, and also in forming a 79  
body of two hundred slingers, out of the Rhodians, and others in  
the army."

## CHAPTER IV.

4. Διαβιβησίσσι.] An example of a-definite tense, indicating the 80  
precise point of time, *at the very moment they had crossed over.*

15. πατιλήφει.] Supply "Ἕλληνας.

16. ἰσήμενι.] That is, ὁ σκαλπηγεὺς ἰσήμενι. F. Rule III,  
Obs. 1.

17. οἱ δέ.] Referring to the Persians.

22. ἤκισαντα.] It will be perceived that the Greeks mangled the  
bodies of the dead only.

2. ἤλιος δὲ νεφέλην προκαλύψας ἤφάνησι.] Although this reading 81  
is found in many of the manuscripts, it is hardly possible to translate  
it and make sense. Stephanus, Hutchinson, Weiske and Dindorf  
read ἤλιος δὲ νεφέλην προκαλύψασα, ἤφάνησι, *a cloud having passed be-  
fore the sun, obscured it*, which is intelligible. But then another dif-  
ficulty presents itself. Did Xenophon relate this as a matter of fact,  
or as a fabulous tradition of the inhabitants of the city? Undoubtedly  
the latter; for long before this time the Greeks knew enough of  
astronomy to know the cause of an eclipse, that it was produced by  
the intervention of the moon between the sun and the earth. Again:  
why should the inhabitants have been struck with such consternation,  
as to lose all their energy and suffer their city to be taken, at the  
mere passing of a cloud over the disk of the sun, since this is almost  
an every-day occurrence? From considerations like these it has been  
conjectured that the true reading of this passage is, ἤλιος δὲ διελθὼν  
προκαλύψασα, ἤφάνησι.

4. ἰάλω.] Second aor., in a passive sense, of ἀλίσσω. The  
regular second aor. is ἤλων, but the Attic ἰάλω is more generally  
used.

9. πύχος, *a castle or fortification.*

11. λίθων . . . κογχυλίων, *marble figured by petrified shells.*

18. ἑβρονάνας.] There seem to be many fabulous traditions  
connected with the cities in this region. At one place an eclipse of

- 81 the sun, at another, thunder and lightning, drive the superstitious inhabitants from their homes.

22. οὐκ.] To supply the ellipsis, and preserve the English order, ἔχον τούτους ἰστίαις, ἔχον οὗς τι αὐτοῖς ἦλθιν.

32. οὐδ' ἄρα, κ. τ. λ.] That is, the enemy were so thick, that every arrow took effect.

- 82 12. μῦον ἔχοντες, *having been worsted.*

17. πλαίσιον ἰσόπλευρον, a *square*. From this it appears that the πλαίσιον was a generic term. When used without any qualifying adjective it would seem to mean an *oblong*, or *rectangle*.

28. ἐκτείνετον.] That is, τὸ πλαίσιον ἐκτείνετον, the *square was exposed to attack*.

29. ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν.] 'Ανὰ signifies equal division or distribution: ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν, *into a hundred men each*.

33. ὅστις μὴ ἰσχυρὸν τοῖς κίεσι, so that no confusion might take place in the wings, or so as not to be in the way of the flanks.

33. εἰς δὲ παρῶν ἔβησαν τῶν κειμένων, then again they marched, but altogether detached from the wings.

- 83 1. τὸ μίον ἀνέξιμπλασαν . . . . . παρ' ἀνωμολίας, they filled up the vacancy, left by the expansion of the wings, that is, in six bodies of 100 men each when the vacancy was small; in twelve bodies of 50 each when larger; and when very large, in twenty-four bodies of 25 each. The text of this whole passage relative to the change in the military disposition of the Greeks, is pronounced by nearly all the commentators to be corrupt, and military men acknowledge that they do not understand it. But that the new disposition was such as to remedy the circumstances of the old, is evident from the whole context. The square presented too extended a front, and therefore they changed it for an oblong. But the evil which Xenophon lays most stress on, was the difficulty of filling up promptly the openings of the rear, made by the separation of the wings, on occasion of forming the square anew, after coming out of a *defile*. If the six hundred men formed the rear face of the oblong, one cannot well comprehend how the companies under the new disposition could extricate themselves from a *defile*, with more celerity than the troops which composed the rear face of the square under the old one. But the number (600) was too small to form a rear face, and it may

therefore be presumed that there is an error in the *number* of the new 83 companies, and that, instead of *six*, there were enough to form a *rear face* of sufficient depth to the *oblong*.

17. ὑπὸ μαστίγων, *under the lash*. It was usual for the Persian generals to flagellate their soldiers to make them do their duty in battle.

24. πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα.] That is, when these archers and slingers returned, down the hill, to the *main body*, they were again assaulted with stones and arrows.

3. Ἐνταῦθα.] "In the villages on the mountains they stayed 84 three days, both on account of the wounded, and because they found great plenty of provisions laid up for the *satrap* of the country. This position must have been situated immediately over the present town of Zaco."

28. ἐκέρυξι.] That is, ἡ ἐκέρυξι ἐκέρυξι.

3. τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ.] It was late on the fourth day's march from the 85 Zaco hills (making the 14th from the Zabatus) when the Greeks found a large body of the enemy in possession of certain heights, which commanded the road, in their front, they having passed the Greeks in the night. Tissaphernes, at the same time, appeared in sight with the main body, threatening their rear. Much general gallantry and exertion were employed in dispossessing the enemy, by a detachment led by Xenophon in person. They finally passed the eminence, which appears to have been another projection from the greater mountains, and descended into the plains beyond it. This plain was situated immediately below the place where the steep and lofty mountains of the Carduchians terminate on the banks of the Tigris, effectually barring the passage upwards, and thus preventing their tracing it till it became fordable. Here then they were totally at a stand; the river was found too deep to be forded, and the enemy appeared in front on the opposite bank, without doubt fully prepared for this exigency which they had foreseen.

23. αἱ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ, *those who beset our way*.

28. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐσόμενου, *from the front*.

28. μακρὰν.] This is for κατὰ μακρὰν ὁδόν.

## CHAPTER VI.

- 87 9. Καὶ ὁ μὲν . . . . βοηθίας, *then Chirisophus with his men comes back from relieving their companions.* The situation of things is this : Chirisophus with his men came down first from the hill and encamped in the plain ; while there, Tissaphernes suddenly appears, and cuts off some of the Greeks who were out on a foraging expedition. Chirisophus then marches to the relief of the foragers, and when he sees the Persians setting fire to the villages he returns again to his own camp on the plain.

21. ἐπὶ τοῖς σκατοῖς ἀπῆλθεν.] As it has been said before, that the Greeks burned their tents, this sentence must mean, *when they returned into the houses of the villages, or into their quarters, as they were now quartered at these villages.*

26. τιγάρις, *the river Tigris.*

27. πρὸς τετραμυχλίους, *by four thousands, or four thousand at a time.*

33. τοῖς τοῖς.] That is, τοῖς τοῖς δισμυῖς.

- 88 9. ἦσαν πολλοὶ ἰσχυροί.] From this it appears that part of the enemy's cavalry were on the other side of the Tigris.

11. εἰς τοῦτομαλιν ἢ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα, *by a way different from that which leads into Babylon.*

18. τὰ μὲν.] Supply μίση · and with τῆς, δδοῦ is to be supplied ; *the parts of the road.*

24. Καρδούχους.] "On an examination of the prisoners, the Greek generals found that it was practicable to pass over the mountains into the territory of the Carduchians. This nation, favored by the natural strength of the country, had preserved their independence in despite of the power of the great King. They are the ancestors of the modern Kourads, who have extended themselves along the ridges and valleys of mount *Taurus*, from Asia Minor to the neighbourhood of Ispahan, and who occupy the country named, from themselves, KOURDISTAN." Rennell.

## BOOK FOURTH.

### CHAPTER I.

15. καὶ ἵσταν αἶ τὸ στενόν, *where it is narrow.* The question is, 90 what does στενόν agree with? Probably with μέγας understood, meaning that there is a point where the distance between the two rivers is quite small.

16. ὧδε ποιοῦνται.] The sense is, *that they wish so to conduct their incursion into the country of the Carduchians, as to conceal their movements from the enemy, and still to get possession of the mountains first.*

17. καταλαβὴν τὰ ἄκρα.] The Carduchian mountains presented, in effect, an asylum to the Greeks, who could in no other way have escaped, at last, the reiterated attacks of such an host of enemies, whose numbers also were augmenting instead of diminishing. But as a Persian army could not subsist, or their cavalry act, within the wide range of these mountains, the Greeks, by ascending them, got rid of their dreadful enemy. And although, in the mean time, they had to contend with an enemy much more brave and persevering, their numbers were fewer, and they might reasonably expect an earlier escape from them than from the Persians. Had they known that the Tigris was fordable under the Zaco hills, and had passed into Mesopotamia, they would still have been followed by the Persians; they would also have had the Euphrates, (a river yet more difficult to cross) in the line which they must have pursued. It therefore appears, according to our limited view of things, that nothing less than such a barrier as these mountains presented, could have saved the Greeks from eventual destruction from the attacks of the Persians.

- 90 18. φυλακάν.] "The Greeks decamped whilst enough of the night remained for them to traverse the plain, and to arrive at the foot of the mountains unobserved; for on this concealment their existence probably depended. They had the good fortune to arrive not only at the mountain foot unobserved, but even to escape the enemy's observation altogether, whilst it was in their power to annoy them in ascending it. From this it may be concluded, that the plain was of no great breadth in that part." Rennell.

- 91 4. αὐτοὶ γὰρ . . . . ἐπίσταντο, *for there was no danger that any enemy would attack them in the rear, as they were going up the mountain.*

7. ἔκρινεν δὲ ὑπογῆναι, *he then led his men on before.*

8. ἐπίσταντο . . . . στρατιώματος, *and the different parts of the army, as they successively gained the summit of the mountain, followed after.*

8. τὸ ὑπερβέβηκον.] *For τὸ τοῦ στρατιώματος μέρος δὲ τὸν ἄρκεον ὑπερβιβάσειν.*

- 92 6. Δίξαν.] This is the first aor. participle neuter, put absolutely for *ἵτι ἰδοὺ αὐτοῖς, it having seemed best to do these things.* Ταῦτα is governed by *ταῦτ' ἐπεὶ* understood. See F. Rule XXXIII, end of Obs. 3.

10. τῶν ἐντομῶν, *the charms; governed by ἐκδομήσεως.*

22. ἵτι πρὸς γὰρ τι εἴη, *that there was some danger threatening.*

28. ὡςτις εἶχεν, *just as he was.*

31. Καὶ οὕτως.] Here is a transition from what is technically called the *oratio obliqua*, to the *oratio recta*. The *oratio obliqua* is when what has been said or thought by another is quoted by the writer not as his own idea, and yet not in the words of the speaker; but in the manner of narration. The *oratio recta* is when the direct words of the speaker are quoted.

- 93 3. Ταῦτα.] Supply διὰ. Διὰ ταῦτα, *for these reasons.*

7. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡμῶν πρὸς γὰρ τι εἴη, *for when they (the enemy) were annoying us.*

## CHAPTER II.

6. *αὐτοί.*] *Λίγουν* understood, to which *αὐτοί* is the nominative: 94  
— and THEY SAID they would march to their assistance.

14. *μαξαίους* . . . . *λίθους*, literally, wagon-stones, stones which are conveyed by wagons, meaning enormously large stones.

25. *τοὺς μὲν* . . . . *τοὺς δέ*, some, others.

26. *ὡς κατίχοντες τῇ ἀκροῖ*, supposing that they were masters of the summit.

18. *Καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν δι' ἰσχυρότησιν, ἥτις ἐῖ ἄλλαι*, the soldiers indeed 95  
could have ascended the same way which the others had taken.

21. *ῥηίους.*] In the Grecian *φάλαγξ* the front was longer than the sides, or there were more men in rank than in file. But the shape of the *ῥηία φάλαγξ* was exactly the reverse, having a narrow front. So the Greeks here ascend the hill *ῥηίους τοῖς λόχοις*, in deep columns.

25. *Καὶ τοῦτον* . . . . *κατιχόμενοι*, the Greeks had scarcely passed this hill, when they beheld another possessed by an enemy.

30. *ἐπὶ πολύ.*] *διάστημα* understood; they were extended over a long space, that is, there was a long train of them.

3. *ὁ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ πυρὶ καταληφθείσης φυλακῆς*, which overlooked 96  
the guard which were taken at the fire.

8. *οἱ δέ.*] The sense is, the Barbarians observing from the top of the hill, all the transactions in the rear of the Greek army, went in a body to attack it.

14. *Σιῶσαι τὰ ἔπλα*, *consistere in armis et instructos*. Schneider.

19. *τῇ μαστῇ.*] This is the same summit as that mentioned in the sixth line of this page, which the Barbarians had left, and which Xenophon now possessed.

21. *ἐφ' ᾧ*, on condition that.

23. *ἄλλο σπράσιμμα.*] That is, the rear of the army which protected the baggage.

25. *ἤρξαντο.*] The Greeks with Xenophon.

3. *ἦν ἡ λάαυς*. Bornemann reads *ἔστι ἡ λάαυς*. The wine 97  
was so abundant that they were obliged to keep it in plastered cisterns.

10. *τοὺς πρώτους*, the van of the army.

21. *τριπύχην.*] See Antiq. Appendix.

- 97 22. πρὸς τὸ κάτω.] That is, πρὸς τὸ μίρος κάτω. This passage is not very clear, and if there were but simply a bow used, we are at a loss to discover its meaning; for how could the arrow be discharged by putting the left foot against the bow, and then drawing the string? The attitude, in the first place, would be extremely difficult, and, in the next place, the arrow could not be aimed high enough to take any effect. Besides, what is meant by τὸ μίρος κάτω, *the lower part of the bow*? But if we suppose that the bow was inserted in a piece of wood, so as to form what is called "a cross-bow," the whole difficulty is solved. Then the τὸ μίρος κάτω is the part where the bow is inserted in the "gun" or "cross-piece." The archer places his left foot against this part, and draws the νευρὸν with his greatest strength towards the handle of the gun, where it is fastened. Then, placing the arrow in the groove made in this cross-piece, he discharges it by remitting the fastening of the string.

### CHAPTER III.

- 98 19. γίγναι.] See Antiq. Part. 8. Chap. 9.
26. εἰ δὲ μή.] This is an elegantly elliptical phrase, where the ellipsis refers to the sense of the whole remark. It cannot be rendered, *but if not*, that is, "if he did not carry his arms in the water the current swept him down;" for the sense is exactly the reverse. Therefore it may be translated, "*but if on the contrary*," that is, *ἄν ἔχον ἔπλεον ἐν τῇ ὕδατι*, "but if, on the contrary, he should carry his arms in the water." So (Matthew ix. 17.) Οὐδὲ βάλλουσιν οἶνον εἰς ἀσकोὺς παλαιούς· εἰ δὲ μήτις ῥήγνυνται οἱ ἀσκοί, "Neither do men put new wine into old bottles, *else* the bottles burst." That is, *εἰ δὲ μήτις*, "if, on the contrary, they do put new wine into old bottles;" or, *but if not*, that is, "if they do not observe this rule, but put new wine into old bottles," &c. The phrase *εἰ δὲ μή* may generally be rendered "otherwise."
- 99 27. νουθεύμενοι.] Participle mid. of νίω, *to swim*.
- 100 13. ἀντιπαρῆσαν, *marched, side by side, on the opposite bank*, a very expressive word compounded of ἀντί, *against*, and παρὰ, *to go*: pluperf. mid.

15. ἴσταντο τὰ ἔσλα, *they stood at their arms.*

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16. σσιφανιστάμινος.] The Lacedæmonian soldiers, when the enemy were in sight, and they were about to engage in battle, used to sacrifice a goat to Diana, and deck their heads with garlands.

17. παρήγγιλλε.] That is, παρήγγιλλε σσιφανιστάμινος καὶ ἀποδύσασθαι.

18. ἱερίους.] See note, page 95, line 21.

4. μὴ ἀπολιπίσθαι, *that they would not be left behind.*

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6. προσηυόσας ἔχθρας ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν, *the banks extending along the side of the river.*

7. τοὺς ἄνω πολέμους.] The infantry of the enemy that were stationed upon an eminence; mentioned on page 98, line 14.

17. ἀμὴν διίβαινε, *were in the very act of passing.*

19. κατ' ἑωμοτίας, *into companies of twenty-five men.*

20. παρ' ἀσπίδας, *to the left*, as the shield was borne on the left arm: παρ' ἀσπίδας παραγαγόντας τὴν ἑωμοτίαν ἐπὶ φάλαγγος, *to extend each company of twenty-five to the left in the form of the phalanx.* This was done in order to present a long line to the enemy.

25. ἔχλους.] The ἔχλος of an army comprises all those who do not bear arms, such as the cooks, sutlers, boys, women, &c.

5. ἐπὶ δέξυ, *to the right*, as their spears were carried in their right hands. Ἐκ' ἀσπίδα and ἐπὶ δέξυ were the common words of command.

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23. Οἱ δὲ ἀπαυτῆσαντες.] The soldiers sent by Chirisophus, p. 101, line 27.

## CHAPTER IV.

12. ἀνίσταλλιν.] The Greeks and Romans had no stirrups; but those of wealth and rank were lifted upon their horses by a person called ἀναβολιστής. In the middle ages, the Pope used to make the generalissimo of the army perform this menial duty.

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2. διατρεμάζιν, *to clear up.* Theme αἶθρ, *the air*; hence αἰτρεμάζιν, *to expose to the open air, to be in a pure air, also to become*

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- 104 *clear.* Xenophon nine lines before had given two reasons why the soldiers should quarter themselves in the villages, namely, *because no enemy appeared* (ὅ γὰρ ἴωρον), and *on account of the quantity of snow* (διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ χιόνος). Now also he assigns two motives for their encamping together in a body, namely, the appearance of the *fires of the enemy* (πολλὰ πυρά), and the *prospect of clear weather* (ἰδεῖν διαδριάζειν). Some commentators have thought that the verb διαδριάζειν here means “to encamp in the open air.”

5. συνσιθῆσαι, *made stiff, benumbed.*

7. ἀλιυρίν, *warm as a shelter*, π. ἄγμα being understood.

- 105 15. τῇ σάλευγγι.] The soldiers were probably scattered upon the hills, and in the enemy's camp in search of booty.

## CHAPTER V.

27. Ὁ δὲ ἐρίτης.] Στραθμός is understood.

- 106 15. ἰβουλιμίαν, *were affected with insatiable hunger.* The disease of βουλιμία is thus described by Galen. “It is a disorder in which the patient is continually craving for victuals, loses the use of his limbs, falls down, and turns pale. His extremities become cold, his stomach oppressed, and his pulse scarcely sensible.”

26. Περσιετί, *in the Persian language.*

29. ἀρχαρχον, *the governor of the village, or mayor, to use a modern term.*

- 107 9. Ὅσοι δὲ ὑποδιδύμειν ἐκουμῶντο, *whoever slept with their shoes on.*  
12. καρχάνται.] See Antiq. Part. 10. Chap. 15.  
25. διαφιρέμιοι, *quarrelling.*

- 108 6. Ἰλον . . . . σφεάτισμα.] That is, the whole of the army except that part which was with Chirisophus, in the village.

20. ἐκίλισιν, *requested.*

26. ἐν ταῖς κώμαις.] That is, in those villages where the Greeks were quartered.

32. οἶνος κριθίνος, *literally, barley wine.* Diodorus Siculus (xiv. 28.) says that Osiris, the Egyptian Bacchus, was the inventor of malt liquor, as a relief to those countries where the vine did not succeed.

83. αἱ κρηταὶ ἰσοχυαῖς.] The meaning of this probably is, that the Greeks, having come into the villages, found the goblets of porter full to the brim, in which some grains of the barley were still floating.

4. συμμαθόντι, to him who became accustomed to it.

10. εἶπεν.] Xenophon here seems to be speaking of wine from the grape.

11. πατωρυγμίνας.] Attic for πατωρυγμίνας.

19. οὐκ ἦν δ' ἔπει οὐ, and there was no place where there was not.

22. φιλοφρονούμενος, from kindness, or out of politeness : ἐργασάτω, to drink to any one's health.

29. ξηρῶ χιλοῦ.] Owing to the season of the year they could not procure green plants, of which garlands were generally made. See F. Rule XXXVII.

31. ὡςτις ἑνοῖς, as if they were deaf, in consequence of their ignorance of the Greek language.

11. Συμυδιστικαί, more mettlesome, spirited.

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## CHAPTER VI.

23. ἦν.] Used impersonally, it was now.

10. παρὰ νίκης, longo agmine. In this disposition of the troops a very narrow front was presented to the enemy.

11. φάλαγγες.] The meaning is, to bring up the columns in the rear, to the front, in the form of the phalanx, so that a broad front might be presented.

29. ἐρέμειον πλὴν, ἢ ἐφ' ἑξήκοντα στάδια, extends to the eye more than sixty stadia.

5. ἡ τραχυῖα.] That is, ἡ τραχυῖα ἰδὲς.

10. χρεῖσθαι, that we shall have the advantage of finding. The verb χρεόμεαι must be rendered variously, according to the sense of the passage in which it is found. It means here to light upon, to find; but then there is an idea of profit or advantage in it, which cannot be expressed in English without circumlocution.

13. ἰμείων.] The citizens of Sparta were divided into two great classes, the Ὀμῶν, who had the privilege of voting, and could be

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- 112 elected to any office; and the *Τρομίονοι*, who could only vote at elections. *Ὅμοιοι*, may be translated *the Peers*, persons of elevated and equal rank. See Antiq. Part. 4. Chap. 2.

18. *ἰπιδιῆσθαι τὴν παιδείαν*, to give us a specimen of your education.

22. *τὰ δημίονα.*] Supply *χρήματα*. Aristophanes, in his Comedies, is continually ridiculing the cupidity and fraud of the Athenian magistrates. Chirisophus seems to give Xenophon as good as he sends; the latter however does not return the retort, but gravely proceeds to business.

29. *κλωσῶν.*] There were many of the Barbarians who followed the Grecian army, at a distance, for the purpose of stealing what they could find.

- 113 20. *Πρὶν δὲ ἰμεῦ εἶναι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀλλήλους.*] Schneider places a comma after *πολλοὺς*, and none after *ἀλλήλους*. This is better. The sense is, *before the main body of each army had engaged with each other, the two parties on the heights had joined battle.*

## CHAPTER VII.

- 114 17. *τῆς ἐνερσιχόουσι πίτρας*, the overhanging rock.

17. *οὕτω διατίθεται*, is thus dealt with, pointing at them at the same time.

26. *ἐπ' ᾧ*, against which or behind which.

- 115 1. "*Αἶψά μιν*," ἴφη, "*τὸ δὲῖον εἶναι*," this is the very thing, said he, that would benefit us.

10. *ὑπὲρ τὰ δένδρα*, under cover of the trees.

15. *μηχανῶνται τι*, devised something of this sort.

31. *ἑαυτὰς ἐκικατεβίβαντες*, threw themselves down upon them.

- 116 8. *εἰς χυῖρας ἤσαν*, they came to close quarters, or fought hand in hand.

9. *πτερόεντα.*] The lower parts of the *loricæ*, or coats of mail of the Greeks, were called *πτερόεντα*, which extended a little over the thighs. Instead of these wings, the Chalybians seem to have had thick cords twisted. Antiq. Part. 8. Chapt. 3.

32. *αἶψα καὶ φθείρειν*, to burn and lay waste.

- 117 15. *Θάλασσα.*] On the shores of the Euxine sea, which the

Greeks now beheld, were many cities inhabited by their countrymen. 117  
Hence, and from the thoughts of the superior facilities it would afford them for returning to their own country, their extreme exultation in beholding it.

20. *Ἰσθὺ δὲ παραγγέλλωντος, some one suggesting it.*

27. *τοὺς δακτυλίου, the rings which he saw on their fingers.*

## CHAPTER VIII.

5. *εἰς δὲ ἐνὶ βάλαντι δὲ ἔριζον, into which that river, which bounded 118*  
the two nations, emptied.

12. *ὀδῶς, thus, that is, by casting stones into the river, and standing upon them, so as to get nearer to the Greeks.*

21. *ἀντιτιτάχεται.*] The Ionians and Dorians form the third person plur. of the perf. passive from the third person singular, by inserting *a* before *ται*, in which case the original aspirated consonant enters before the *a*. For example: *δάπτω, εἰδάμην, εἰδάπται, εἰδάπεται, εἰδάφαται* — so from *ἀντιτάττω, ἀντιτάττωμαι, ἀντιτάτταται, ἀντιτάτταται, ἀντιτάτταται, ἀντιτάτταται*. The Attic writers sometimes use this form. See Matthiae, Art. 198.

15. *ἐπὶ πολλοῖς.*] "*ἐπὶ πολλοῖς τιταγμένοι, — mea sententia 119*  
*phalanx dicitur altior quam latior, ut ἐπ' ὀλίγων τιτ. latior quam altior.*" Bornemann.

20. *εἰ δὲ πῃ, but if in some part.*

11. *εὐχισθαι, to make their vows; that is, to promise sacrifices to 120*  
the gods in case they were victorious.

27. *ἤμουν.*] From *ἡμῶν*.

28. *πάνω διαχέρι αὐτοῖς, alio dejectio accedebat ipsis.*

29. *ἰδδοκίταις.*] Perf. participle Attic of *ἰδω*.

33. *ἀποδίδουσι.*] Observe that this is the dat. of the participle, governed by *ἰδουσι*.

12. *ξίνας.*] The various presents which it was customary for 121  
hosts and guests to give to each other as a proof of the sincerity of their friendship, were called by the general name of *ξίνας*.

16. *ἀγῶνα.*] For an account of the Grecian games, see Antiq. Part. 6. Chap. 6.

- 121 19. δρέμον . . . . ἐπιμηθεύει, *to take charge of the race-course.*  
 28. αἰχμαλώτων.] It would seem very repugnant to the habits and feelings of the Greeks, that their captives, who were slaves, should mingle with their masters in the exercises of the games. Besides, how could they so soon learn the various exercises, which the Lacedæmonians and Athenians made a distinct part of education? Weiske and Schneider conjecture that the true reading is, Δασι-  
 δαιμονίων.  
 28. δόλιχον.] The measure of the δόλιχος does not appear to have been fixed. Generally it was about seven stadia, or the simple course, called στάδιον, or στάδιον, was run over seven times and back.  
 32. κατὰ τοῦ πρῶτου ἰλάσσοντες, *having run down a declivity.*
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## BOOK FIFTH.

### CHAPTER I.

12. ἐκταίς.] From ἐκτείνω, to stretch out, sail away. 123
10. ἐν προσημαῖς, with regular foraging parties : διὸν ἡμᾶς under- 124  
stood before λαμβάνειν.
16. ἰδῶμεν, that we may know.
18. ἀπειροτέρων, of those of less experience.
33. κατὰγοιμιν, that we may bring into port.
33. πηδάλια.] See Antiq. Part. 9. Chap. 3. This was done  
to prevent either the owners or the soldiers from sailing away with the  
ships clandestinely.
5. ναῦλον συνθίσθαι, to make an agreement with them for the 125  
freight.
13. ἐπιψήφισι μὲν οὐδὲν, did not put the question to vote.

### CHAPTER II.

5. ὅτι ἐκπικνωμένοι ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις, because having been driven 126  
from their houses.
24. καὶ γὰρ.] The sense requires that this clause, as far as πικνω-  
μένοι, should be considered as in a parenthesis. So also the next  
clause from ἥν γὰρ to χαράξαν.
27. οἱ δέ.] That is, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι.
30. Ὁ δ' ἐλθὼν, the messenger ; ὁ ἀγγελος being understood.
8. ὡς ἂν λήσους ἐν τοῦ χειρὶν, as if he would take the city. 127

127 10. *συγχέουσι*, gave his consent.

20. *δυναμίσματα*, ready to throw their javelins. Hesychius says, *Δυναμίσθαι ἐν ἐνῆραι τοῖς δακτύλοις τῇ ἀγκύλῃ τοῦ ἀκοντίου*, to insert the fingers into the thong of the javelin.

24. *τούτων ἐπιμαλῆσθαι*, to take care that all these things were done.

25. *οἱ ἄξιοντες τούτων μὴ χείρους εἶναι*, who thought themselves not inferior in merit to these; where *τούτων* refers to *λοχαγαὶ* and *στρατοχαραί*.

27. *μπεσιδῆς*, crescent-shaped, so that each wing faced the other.

27. *διὰ τὸ χωρίον*, (εἶναι τοιούτων understood,) on account of the ground, or the nature of the ground being such, that is, circular and sloping inwards.

128 14. *ἐκίλινον.*] That is, *ἡ Μισοφῶν ἐκίλινον*.

16. *ἐκπίπτοντας.*] Supply *τοῖς πολεμίοις*· *οἱ εἶσω ἀλούμενοι* refers to the Greeks.

26. *τοὺς ἀχρεῖους.*] Some copies read *ἐφ' ἀρπαγῆς*, for plunder, which must be incorrect. For at this time, while they were in the midst of a strong city of a warlike people, with the soldiers of the enemy pressing them on all sides, the Greeks appear, from the context, to be thinking how they could best retreat. And, if they wished to send out companies for booty, they would not send the *ἀχρεῖους* and *δολίους*. The sense is, that, desirous of retreating, they sent all the useless part of the army and most of the heavy-armed, through the gates, that the slingers and archers might remain to cover the retreat.

27. *τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος*, the greater part of the heavy-armed.

129 5. *ἐτοιμά.*] These words are connected in Jacobs' edition; but they are oftener written separate: — *ἔτιον δὲ ἐνέψαντες*, some one indeed having set fire to it.

10. *παρὰ τὸ πύγμα*. Amaseus renders this, "in ipsis viz faucibus," in front; Weiske, "e regione," on the opposite side. But may not *πύγμα* refer to the gates of the city, as the houses near those would be most likely to incommode the Greeks.

26. *ἄλλῃ καὶ ἄλλῃ*, here and there.

### CHAPTER III.

20. ἐν δικάσει.] Frequent mention is made in history of *tribes* 130  
dedicated to the heathen gods.

25. θησαυρόν.] It was the custom of most of the ancient nations  
to deposit their treasures in the temples of the gods.

4. ἱφύγις.] According to Laërtius, Xenophon was banished *ἐκ* 131  
λακωνισμῷ, on a charge of being a partisan of the Lacedæmonians.

5. Συλλάωντι.] Here Xenophon is said to have written his histo-  
rical works.

8. ἔπει ἀνίλιν ὁ Διός, where the god had directed by the oracle.

18 τοῖς σκηνοῦσιν.] Those who, on the festive day, assembled at  
the feast, dwelt under tents.

30. ἰστί.] There seems to be something understood here, such as  
the participle *φωτίζοντα*, producing: ὅσα ἰστί τρωκτὰ ὄρεα, such as  
produce fruits which, in their season, may be eaten raw.

31. μισγάμ.] The temple of Diana, at Ephesus, was four hun-  
dred and twenty-five feet long, two hundred and twenty broad, and  
had one hundred and twenty-seven columns.

32. ὡς κυπαρίσσειν χρυσεῖ ὄντι, as far as a statue of cypress can re-  
semble one of gold. Hutchinson thinks that the statue of Diana, at  
Ephesus, was not of solid gold, but merely gilded.

2. ΤΟΝ.] Some verb is understood, as δι᾽ or χεῖρ. But this el- 132  
liptical form of the accusative before the infinitive, was frequently used  
for the imperative mode.

6. ΘΗΘΕΩ ΜΕΛΗΣΕΙ. THE GODDESS WILL TAKE VEN-  
GEANCE ON HIM. It will be observed that the *iota*, instead of being  
*subscript*, is *postscript* in capitals.

### CHAPTER IV.

20. διασώθηναι . . . ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, to go safely into Greece.

29. τί ἡμῶν διήκισθι χεῖρασθαι, in what respect do you wish to  
employ us.

3. ἐν τοῦ ἱπὶ θάλασσαν, on the other side of this. Supply μέγα, with 133  
which θάλασσαν agrees.

- 133 12. ἀπὸ ἑκατόν, *by hundreds*. When the preposition ἀπὸ is used with the accusative of a numeral adjective, it generally implies *distribution*.  
 15. ἰμπερὸν, *towards the end*; ἑκίστην, *at the handle*.  
 18. κρόβυλον, *a crest-like tuft of hair*.  
 23. ἱπμαχότατον, *very easy to be taken*.
- 134 11. ὅτι . . . . γιγίνεται, *that the advantages may be as great as the disadvantages*.  
 13. τῷ ὄντι, *in reality*.  
 26. ὀπελυπομένους δὲ μικρὸν τοῦ στόματος, *being but a short distance from the front*.  
 29. εἰ δ' ἄλλω.] *That is, εἰ ὁπλῖται*.
- 135 9. τὸ χυρίον.] *By this we are to understand ἡ μητρέωλις*.  
 12. φυλάττοντα.] *Some editors would prefer φυλάττουσι*. Pomponius Mela, in his Geography, remarks that the Mosynæci elect their kings by suffrage, and keep them in chains under a most vigilant guard, and punish them for their faults by withholding their daily food.  
 15. συσπένον, *accumulated*; from σπένω.  
 20. Κάβρα . . . . τὰ πλατρία, *ὅν ἔχοντα διαφυλὴν εὐδαιμίας*, literally, *flat nuts without any cleft*; a sort of chestnuts.
- 136 5. λοττηγμίνοις ἀνθίμοις, *marked with painted flowers*. The word λοττηγμίνοις seems to imply that the colors were imprinted in the flesh.

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## CHAPTER V.

20. οὐδαρείας.] *Chalybia was famed for its mines, in the age of Homer*.  
 23. ὀνηθῆναι τι, *might reap some advantage*, that is, *might secure to themselves some booty*.
- 138 18. εὐχ ὕβρι, *not from wantonness*.  
 139 1. τὰ ἑαυτῶν δαπανῶντες, *paying their own expenses*.  
 3. ἀλλ' ἢ ἡμῖν ᾗ, *but that it may be in our power*.  
 10. τὸν Παφλαγονίαν, *the Paphlagonian*, meaning the king of the province.

## CHAPTER VI.

3. *προσδεῖν, to need still more, to need in addition.*

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5. *Ἑλλήνας . . . . συμβουλευόντων.]* Ἑλλήσι is governed by *εἵνεκεν*, and *τούτων* refers to the clause *τῷ εἵνεκεν τοῦ εἶναι καὶ τὰ βέλτεστα συμβουλευόντων*. The sense is, *that they would first openly show themselves to be Greeks by this, namely, by their being well disposed towards Greeks, and giving them the best possible advice*. Stephens refers the dative Ἑλλήσι to *ὄντας*, instead of *εἵνεκεν* : either construction is admissible.

14. *ἰερὰ συμβουλὴ.]* In allusion to the proverb *ἰερὸν χρῆμα συμβουλὴ*.

15. *καὶ παρῖναι.]* The idea is, *a favorable opportunity now presents itself to me to show the truth of the saying, that "counsel is holy."*

33. *μυζὼν φρονεῖ, was too high-minded, too haughty.*

29. *ἄντους.]* Xenophon means to convey the idea, that if they 141  
are together they will be superior to all opposing force, but if divided, they may fall before their enemy, and become slaves.

5. *οὐκ ἔτι . . . . παρσιπιάσθη.]* By some of the Latin commen- 142  
tators this is rendered as past time ; but Weiske, much better, would prefer the future potential, — *where so great a force could not again be collected*. It was, indeed, a design worthy of Xenophon, and the execution of it would have been worthy of the glory of the Grecian arms, that such a noble body of troops, preserved amid so many perils in a toilsome expedition against the Persian king, and such as could scarcely be collected together again, should settle at last on the fertile shores of the Euxine, to extend the name and the empire of Greece.

5. *προστατιῦσαι, to use his influence.*

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8. *προέχουσιν μοῖνῃ, to give your thoughts to a settlement here.*

11. *ἀπὸ νομηνίας, from the beginning of the month, or, literally, from the beginning of the moon, as the Greeks reckoned their months from the new moon. See Antiq. Part 7.*

11. *Κυζικηνίαν.]* See Antiq. Appendix.

17. *διὰ τὸ ἐκείθεν εἶναι, from having originated there.*

- 144 7. τὸ μὴ μίγναι, *which is all-important.*  
 11. Ἐξήνγει γὰρ τὸν λόγον, *for he has spread a report.*  
 23. ἀναπαύσασθαι . . . . . χεῖναι, *that they ought also to give over the thought, namely, of settling somewhere here.*  
 145 7. τῆς μοιθοφρεῖας.] That is, τὰ χεῖματα τῆς μοιθοφρεῖας.

## CHAPTER VII.

26. καὶ ἀέλοι ἐνίσταντο, *and they stood together in groups.*  
 146 7. ἀγοράν.] This is used synonymously with ἐκκλησίαν.  
 17. ἴσθι δὲ δύται, ἀνίσχυ ὁ ἰσχύειν.] Schneider thinks that these words are spurious and ought to be expunged.  
 23. Ἀλλὰ γάρ.] This, as has been remarked before, is an elliptical phrase. To supply the ellipsis, ἀλλὰ ἴσθι ἵσται τις ἂν ἡμῶς ἔκπατῃσαι, γάρ, *but it is possible for any one to deceive you, that is, any one may deceive you in the outset; for I could embark you in a calm.*  
 27. Πιῶ δ', *but grant it, but I put the case.*  
 28. καὶ δὲ καί, *and besides also.*  
 147 7. Ἀλλὰ γάρ, "*But I will say nothing more, for methinks I have said enough in reply to the calumnies.*"  
 9. ἢ ἄλλον ἔκπατῃσαι ταῦτα, *or that another deceives him upon these subjects.*  
 12. ὃ εἰ ἴσται, καὶ ἴσται οἷον ὑπεδύκνουν, *which thing, if it spread abroad, and become of such magnitude as it has shown itself capable of becoming.*  
 148 4. οὔτε ἀνηγμῖνοι, *not having yet set sail from the port.* The verb is compounded of ἀνά, *up*, and ἄγω, *to raise*: and takes the signification from *raising up* or *weighing the anchor*. It may be rendered *not having weighed anchor*. Κατάγειν δαί, on the contrary, is, *to be brought into port*.  
 9. σφίς λίγισ.] Schneider reads σφῶς λίγισ, preferring however to exclude the words altogether. It seems to mean, *that they took upon themselves to say.*  
 149 6. Καὶ τοῦτοι εἰ δεικνύσι:] Supply δύσαι. *And what do you think that these feared?*

16. ἐν οὐδὲμιᾳ ἰσχύει, *in no authority.*

25. διπράξαντο, *have effected this.*

31. 'Αλλ' ἡμίτε.] The sense is — "But there is no need to send ambassadors to the Cerasuntians, for we have desired," &c.

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7. τὰ μίσσητα.] This appears to allude principally to the murder of the heralds, which was the most grievous violation of the rights of nations, and of the ordinances of religion.

19. καθαρίεις.] In what manner the purification was performed it cannot be decided, as there were many different ceremonies of purification. See *Antiq. Part 5. Chap. 6.*

## CHAPTER VIII.

22. τῆς φυλακῆς.] The Phœnician vessels were called γαῦλα, and their cargoes γαυλικὰ χεῖματα. Τὸ μίσμα may be rendered, *a defalcation*. The sense of the passage then is this: *Philesius and Xanthicles were each fined twenty minæ, being the amount of their defalcations as guards over the effects taken from the vessels.*

26. ἐκέλευεν εἰπῶν τὸν πρῶτον, πρῶτον λίζεσθαι, *he ordered him who first made the accusation to say first.*

5. οἱ φασὶν ὑπὸ τῆς ὕβριος κόπον οὐκ ἐγγίγνισθαι, *who are said not to feel fatigue in consequence of their viciousness.*

7. ἐκ τίνος αἰτίου understood.

8. περὶ παιδικῶν, *about objects of affection.*

14. κάμνοντα, *a sick person.*

22. τοσούτον ἐγγίγνωσκον, *I knew him so far as this only.*

30. 'Οπίσα γι βούλεται.] The verb βούλεται probably agrees with ἀνὴρ understood, referring to the sick soldiers. While the bystanders exclaim that the soldier is alive, the one who is about to bury him replies, — "Well; it may be so, — just as he pleases, — but I won't carry him any farther."

32. εἰδότες ἐκείναι, *to act like one who knew, &c.*

7. ἴσθαι σώζεσθαι μὲν ἡμεῖς δι' ὑμᾶς, *who ought to be satisfied that they are preserved by your instrumentality.*

15. κατέμαθον ἀναστὰς μόγις, *I perceived that I could scarcely rise.*

152 19. ἰγρίοντα, *flexibility*.

20. ὡς ἐγγὺς ἔσται, *as being the cause*.

27. Εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς πάλαισις ἰγρίοντα, εἰ μὲν ἂν αὖτις ἑαυτοῦ, τοῦ δίκου ἂν ἐξίον λαμβάνειν. *But if they had come into the power of the enemy, what so cruel treatment could they receive, for which they would deem it expedient to call the offender to justice?*

153 4. πρῶτος.] It was the office of the pilot's mate to sit at the prow of the ship, to keep a look out.

15. ἀνέχεσθαι, *he contended*.

18. χαλσινοί, *fierce, mad*.

19. δίδασκε.] Ionic for δίδωμι, from δίδωμι, *to bind*.

29. καὶ ἀντιμνησκόμενοι, *and gave evidence that they were mindful of his kindnesses*.

29. καὶ περιγίγνεται, ὥστε καλῶς ἔχουσιν.] Brodæus, Amaseus, Stephanus, Muretus, Morus, Weiske, D'Ablancourt, and Schneider, all render this passage differently, so that there is a wide field for selection. Brodæus says, "et huc ad ultimum res evasit, ut pulchrè se haberent omnia," and the event was such that all things went well. But the preposition *περί*, in composition, often signifies *superiority*. The verb, therefore, instead of being used impersonally, may have *ἑμιοφῶν* for its nominative. The sense then may be, — and Xenophon was superior to his accusers, so as to be in favor with all.

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## BOOK SIXTH.

### CHAPTER I.

14. *σκιᾶν.*] The *σκιᾶς* were couches made of brush-wood, 154  
and covered with leaves and straw.

3. *Στάλκαν.*] This martial song commemorated the warlike vir- 155  
tues of Sitalces, king of Thrace, in honor of whom it was composed.

6. *καρναίων.*] This was a Thessalian pantomime dance, a de-  
scription of which is here given.

8. *πυκὰ μεταστροφίμους,* often looking round at the same  
time.

26. *διὰ ἱσχυῶντο,* deemed it wonderful.

1. *αὐτοῖς.*] This refers to the *πρίστεις* sent by the Paphlago- 156  
nians.

10. *μιδίμους.*] See Antiq. Appendix.

19. *εἰσὶν αὐτοῖς.*] Supply *ἰναια*, the thought occurred to them.

24. *ἥσσον ἂν ὑστέρειν,* that there would be less delay.

26. *ἐν τῇς πλείονος γνώμης,* That is, *ἐν τῇς πλείονος γνώμης*, from the  
prevailing opinion, according to the majority.

30. *ἐν μίᾳ, partly, in one respect.* This is generally followed by  
*ἐν τῇ*, but this is implied in *ἐπὶ τῷ δ' αὖ*, in the second line of the  
next page.

32. *πρὸς τοὺς φίλους,* to his friends, in Greece and Athens, and  
also to Athens as a city.

6. *παρσενεσμένους δύο ἱεῖα,* having led two victims to the altar. 157

8. *ἐν Δελφοῖς.*] There seems to be something understood here,  
such as *ἐν θιάῳ*. It will be perceived, by reference to page 64,  
that on Xenophon's going to Delphi, to consult the oracle

157 whether he should undertake the expedition, and to inquire to what god he should offer sacrifices, Apollo alone replied to him. The sense of the passage is, 'to whom (Jupiter), above all the other gods, he was commanded by Apollo, at Delphi, to offer sacrifices.

11. *συσταθήμενος*, about to be introduced.

12. *διξίον*.] It was an old superstition, among the Greeks, to look upon all appearances on the right hand, particularly that of an eagle, as an omen of success.

26. *εὖ μίντε ἐμὲ προερίθηναι*, that I indeed should be preferred.

158 4. *μὴ λίαν ἂν ταχὺ σφραγισθῆιναι*, lest I should very soon be taught better.

11. *πολὺ μᾶλλον*.] These words rather qualify *λίγοντις* than *ἐκρίσσαντο*. Some copies read *πλείους*, instead of *μᾶλλον*, which would qualify *ἐκρίσσαντο*. If the present reading be retained, the sentence might be translated, *they rose up exclaiming much more vehemently*: if *πλείους* be substituted, *they rose up in much greater numbers, exclaiming*, &c.

18. *ἰτιδὴ ἰώρα πλείους ἰδίον*, when he saw that it was necessary to speak more openly or plainly.

29. *καὶ μᾶλα ἐμοῦ αὐτὸν σιγάζοντες*, although I strongly enjoin silence upon him. Chrisophus means to insinuate that Xenophon was not in favor with the Lacedæmonians.

159 2. *ἀπεξίμηναι*.] See note, page 148, line 4.

## CHAPTER II.

7. 'Ιασονίαν.] For the account of Jason's expedition, see Anthon's *Lempriere*.

12. *τῇ Ἀχιρρυσιάδι Χερσινήσῃ*, the Peninsula Acherusia. There is a large cave near this peninsula, which was said to be the passage down to the realms of Pluto, and from which Hercules dragged up Cerberus, as here related.

27. *Κυζικηνούς*.] See *Antiq. Appendix*.

160 2. *προϋβάλλοντο*, they proposed to send: imperfect.

3. *οἱ δ' οὐ καὶ Ξειφῶντα*.] Supply *προϋβάλλοντο*

4. *ἰσχυρῶς ἀπιμάχοντο*, declined altogether.

19. ἐν Ἀθηναίων.] Xenophon, whom they considered as really 160 exercising the chief command over the army, although Chirisephus had been named their leader.

30. συνίστησαν, united themselves together.

31. ἐκ τῆς ναύσης.] See note, page 156, line 26.

6. ἕως οὐκ μηδὲς μετέσχοι, that no one therefore might share this 161 with them.

10. αὐτῶν.] Some refer this to Neo, others, and among them Zeunius and Hutchinson, to Xenophon.

11. τῆς στρατιᾶς.] By this we are to understand that part of the army with which he was connected.

### CHAPTER III.

1. Ὁ μὲν οὖν.] From these two recapitulatory lines, some an- 102 cient editor endeavoured to make it appear that this must be the commencement of a new book. But the recapitulation embraces so little compared with the exordiums of most of the other books, that the argument for making this the commencement of a new book is rather weak. Besides, most of the manuscripts are against such a division.

7. λείχες.] For the short time that the Arcadians and Achaïans were separated from the rest of the army, as they had elected ten generals, the λείχες consisted of the tenth part of four thousand five hundred.

8. σύνδυσ, two together, two at a time.

8. Συνεβάλοντο δὲ καὶ λίθον, They had agreed upon a hill, — they had fired among themselves, upon a hill.

12. διαφυγόντις.] The better reading is διαφύγοντις, the present part. The Thracians, as fast as they escaped, assembled together in a body.

15. εἰς τὸ συνειμίμενον, to an appointed place, to a place of rendezvous: χωρίον understood.

18. περίπνται αὐτοῖς.] Supply οἱ Θρᾷκες.

22. οἱ μὲν ἐν πρᾶγμασιν, οἱ δ' ἂν πρᾶγματων, some with difficulty, and some without any difficulty.

- 162 29. *οἱ δέ.*] That is, *οἱ δὲ Θρᾷταις*. But *ἑαίνω*, in the next line, refers to the Greeks.
- 163 1. *πάν μιν*, referring to the Greeks; *πάν δέ*, to the Thracians.  
 3. *παραπῶντες.*] See F. Rule II, Cbs. 8.  
 7. *ἐν τούτῳ ἔρχετο*, in this situation things remain. That is, as the Thracians do not like the terms of the proposal of their giving hostages, there is no agreement about a treaty.  
 27. *ἴσον . . . διαποσεισθαι.*] Xenophon here would not seem to speak with reference to any particular time for supper, but would have the soldiers march as far as they could before supper.
- 164 9. *κατὰ τῆς σωτηρίας ἔχουσαι.*] That is, *to depend for our safety only upon our union*. With a genitive *ἔχομαι* is not unfrequently found, having the signification of *to cleave to, to pursue*.  
 10. *παρὰσεισεσμένους τὴν γνώμην*, having adopted this resolution.  
 31. *ἦλθον . . . γνώμενοι*, found themselves unawares, that is, they reached the hill where the Arcadians had been, before they were aware of it.
- 165 12. *εἰς τὸ αὐτό.*] That is, *εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ χωρίον*.  
 20. *πυθόμενοι τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν*, having learned our situation.

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## CHAPTER IV.

25. *πρὸς τῇ λιμνῇ*, near the harbour.
29. *εἰρήρη.*] Arrian says, that the distance from Byzantium to Heraclea, which is beyond Calpe, is eight hundred stadia: and according to Herodotus, seven hundred stadia were a day's row for a trireme galley.
- 166 7. *ἑκασὶν ἰσχυῶν*, twenty fathoms, equal to one hundred and twenty feet: *ὃ δὲ αὐχὴν*, the isthmus.  
 9. *τὸ δ' ἰσθμῆς*] That is, the space between the main land and the extreme point of the promontory.  
 14. *ναυπηγήσιμα*, suitable for ship-building.  
 24. *εἰς δὲ τὸ πτόλισμα ἂν γνώμενοι.*] It would seem that the word *χωρίον* should be supplied after *τό*, and that the clause is equivalent to

eis δὲ τὸ χωρίον, ὃ ἂν πόλισμα γίνετο, into a place which might easily 166  
become a city, or into a place well adapted for the building of a city.

29. οἱ μὲν καὶ ἄνδρας ἄγοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ προσηλωμένοι χρήματα.] This clause Spelman translates, "some even bring soldiers with them who had spent their fortunes;" thus translating ἄνδρας, "soldiers," and making the article οἱ the relative οἱ. But οἱ μὲν and οἱ δὲ are evidently opposed to each other. Bornemann thinks that ἄνδρας has surreptitiously crept into the text, and should be ejected. It would then read, *some bringing their fortunes, and others having spent their all before they came.* If we read ἄνδρες for ἄνδρας the sense will be good, — *some men bringing, &c.*

3. τῆς εἰς ταὐτὸ συνόδου, of the union of the army at the same 167  
place, that is, at Calpe.

6. τὰ ἱερὰ ἱγίνετο.] The verb ἱγίνετο may be rendered, *were favorable*; καλὰ or χρηστὰ to be supplied.

19. καὶ κατὰ χώραν ἀπείναι, (τὸ στρατόνμα understood), and that the army should march away in the same order it preserved before.

32. οὐκ ἱγίνετο.] See note on line 6 of this page.

32. καὶ Ξενοφῶν . . . . εἶη.] Xenophon here seems to give the 168  
direction of the sacrifice to another, fearing lest the soldiers might suspect him of deception, from a wish that the army should remain at Calpe, and settle there. The verb προσθυμῆσθαι may be rendered, *to give earnest attention*: εἴ τι ἐν τούτῳ εἶη, *if there might be any thing favorable in this sacrifice.*

6. ὡς ἡγούμενος ἱσχυμένον, promising himself as their leader. 169

19. τοὺς λυπούς ἄνδρας, the men who had escaped the slaughter.

## CHAPTER V.

20. καὶ τὴν οὐρανὸν τοῦ κίματος ποιησάμενοι κατὰ τοὺς πρώτους φα- 170  
νέντας νεκρούς, having made the extreme part of the army halt opposite the first dead which appeared. For while the extreme rear of the army were burying the dead, the van were prepared to defend them from the enemy.

27. συνιγνόντες αὐτούς, having collected them together in one place.

- 171 9. *ἰσπελάσθαι τῇ φάλαγγι*, to place behind the main body.  
 13. *πάν.*] That is, *κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν*.  
 18. *τὸν μὲν.*] That is, *τὸν μὲν τάξιν*.  
 19. *ἰπείρεψεν ἰφίστασθαι*, commanded to follow.  
 26. *ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγούμενον.*] Supply *μῆκος*, to the front line.  
 29. *ὅτι βουλῆς οὐκ ἔξιν εἶη, εἰ . . . ῥάσος*, literally, *that it was not worth while to consider whether this ravine should be passed*: meaning that it was undoubtedly inexpedient to pass it.  
 33. *Μιλούμενον.*] This refers rather to *κίνδυνον* than to *μί*, and may be rendered *unnecessary*.  
 33. *διξας . . . εἰς ἀνδριότητα*, *that glory which is consequent upon bravery*. This short address of Xenophon to his soldiers is most energetic and eloquent, and is equally worthy of him as an orator and a general.
- 172 7. *οὐδὲν καλῶ ἵσκει*, *becomes no honorable man*.  
 10. *Καὶ τοῦτους.*] The order is, *Καὶ οἷδ' ὅτι οὐδ' ὁμοῦς ἐλατίζετο τοῦτους, ἰσίωνται μὲν ἡμῶν* (gen. abs.), *διξασθαι ἡμᾶς*.  
 19. *τὸ ἐπίδον.*] This refers to the plain they had already passed, which could not be repassed if the enemy's horse were not conquered.  
 22. *ῥάσος εἰ ῥάσος ὁ Πόντος*; *what a gulf is the Euxine sea?* compared to which this is nothing.  
 33. *ἢ εἰ . . . ἐξιμνησύνοντο*, *than if they fled off*.
- 174 8. *ῥάσος.*] The horse of the enemy, knowing well the ground, and taking advantage of the night, fled to this valley; which they would not otherwise have done, as the place was much more difficult for cavalry than infantry.

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## CHAPTER VI.

26. *καταγγον*, *came into harbour*, *τὰ πλοῦς εἰς τὸν λιμένα* understood.
- 175 1. *Κἀν τοῦτο.*] Supply *χρόνον*. *Κἀν* for *καὶ* is.  
 13. *ἀφαιρῆται*, *takes him away*, that is, takes from Dexippus the man whom he was carrying to Cleander.  
 16. *εἰς προδότην.*] The article has great force here, as if they

had said, *the noted traitor*, the one who secretly sailed away with the fifty-oar galley. 175

33. Καὶ ὑμεῖς . . . . . με ] The sense is, *And you shall not deliver me up, bound, to Cleander.* 176

3. εὐχόμεθι τι, *and may you return safe.* 177

19. κλιόμενος.] This, as well as ἀφιλόμηνος, agrees with ἐγώ.

29. Τούτων οὖν τινῶν ὄντα ἀφιλόμηνον, *such therefore is the character of the fellow from whom I rescued the man; ἀφιλόμηνον governing two accusatives.*

30. Εἰ δὲ σὺ ἤγεις, *But if you had been carrying him away.* This is a very artful and happy compliment to Cleander.

9. εἰ καὶ οὕτω, *although you think.* 178

16. τινῶντος.] Cleander appears to judge rather hastily of the man's character, taking his own statement in his own case, without proof.

3. νῆμαι.] This is the Doric form of the infinitive, for νέμειν. 179

4. μὰ τὰ Σιών.] Σιών was the old Doric for Θεός. Σιών, being in the dual number, means, *the two divinities*: μὰ τὰ Σιών, *by the two divinities*, meaning Castor and Pollux; which form of swearing was prevalent among the Lacedæmonians.

23. διαδίδμενοι, *having exposed for sale*

## BOOK SEVENTH.

### CHAPTER I.

- 180 11. *ἴσα δέου*, what ought to be done.
- 181 15. *εἰ ὃ μὲν*.] See note, page 98, line 26.
24. 'Ο ὃ.' That is, 'Ο ὃ' 'Αναξίβιος.
27. *ἵτι αὐτοὶ αὐτὸν αἰτιάσινται*, that he should attribute the blame to himself. There seems to be a designed ambiguity in the expression, which Anaxibius would wish to have the soldiers interpret, — if you do not receive the promised pay, blame yourselves, not me.
28. *ἄρῃ*, entirely, wholly.
- 182 3. *Κονίσιος*.] Zeunius thinks that this was a Lacedæmonian, who was carrying on a war with the Thracians.
28. *ἔξω*.] The sententious brevity of this sentence is admirable, and seems to correspond with the hurry of the moment which it describes. Some copies read *ἔσω* after *ἔξω*.
28. *καθύλλεν τὰς τριήρεις*.] See Antiq. Part. 9. Chap. 1.
- 183 6. 'Αλλ' ἰδ.] By ordering the soldiers to stand to their arms, it was his design to overawe any who might be straggling through the city, in quest of plunder.
11. *εἰς ὀκτώ*, eight deep.
- 184 30. *καθημένους*, remaining in quiet expectation.
32. *στρατηγιῶν*, ambitious to be a general.
- 185 1. *Δίλτα*. That portion of Thrace which extends from Byzantium to Salmydessus, is called *the Delta*, from its triangular shape. See Map.
- 186 3. 'Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλῶν ἰδίῃ αὐτῷ, literally, but when there wanted many to him, that is, "when he needed many more provisions, in order to distribute even one day's allowance to each soldier."

## CHAPTER II.

11. Σιούθῳ.] Seuthes was king of Thrace. See page 180, 186 line 19.

18. ἀποδιδέμεναι, *disposing of, selling.*

26. Ἰσεν οὐ παρὶν ἤδη εἰς Ἑλλάς ποτεν, *that he would instantly be in the Hellespont; that he was that instant about to be in; that he was all but in.* To supply the ellipsis and translate it literally, *that he was now as far as he could be present and not be present.*

12. Πέρινθος.] Perinthus was a city of Thrace, near Byzantium. 187

23. οἷόν τι εἴη.] οἷος is used in the sense of *ready; as, αἷς εἰμι ὑπὲρ πατρίδος κινδυνεύειν* — *able; οἷος τι λίσσιν, able to speak; in the neuter, possible; οἷόν τι ἔστιν, it is impossible.*

28. ἰρήμοις.] That is, *which were not attended by any guards.* 188

33. Ἴθι νῦν, *come now: ἀφύγηται*, imperative, and addressed to 189 Μνησάδης, who reports to Σιούθῳ; Xenophon's answer.

6. Οὐκ ἔφηθα οἷον τ' εἶναι, *you said that what I proposed could* 190 *not be effected.*

25. καὶ ἰκαθίζομεν ἑνδιφθίος, *as I was sitting on the same seat with him at table.* The Thracians used to sit at table, and not recline after the manner of the Greeks. The word *ἰκίτης* is very expressive of his destitute situation, being generally applied to those persons who were obliged to leave their native country for some misfortune or crime, and went to a foreign power as *suppliants* for protection.

## CHAPTER III.

19. τὴν μὲν ἀρὸς Ἀρίσταρχον ἰδὼν ἱᾶσαι, *not to go to Aristarchus; 191 literally, to neglect or let alone the way to Aristarchus.*

3. σέῳτο βουλεύεσθαι.] That is, *whether you will obey Aristar-* 192 *chus, or go to Seuthes.*

23. ἱξυίεσθαι.] From ἱκίζω.

- 192 30. τὰ ἡμετέρινα, *what is customary*; that is, double to the λαχαγοί, quadruple to the στρατηγοί.
- 193 2. μαρτυρίαν, *to search out, discover*.  
13. εἶρημα.] See note, page 46, line 23.
- 194 26. φαγῶν διπλός, *an enormous eater*.  
27. οὐα χαίρειν.] This elegant phrase may be translated, *did not attend to*. So Æschines ἰδομεν χαίρειν, *missos faciemus, we will bid good bye to*.  
27. περιχόωντον.] The voracity of this man is indeed apparent from this word, since one χοῖνίξ was a common day's allowance.
- 195 28. στυγαίοντιδάρτα.] It was a custom among the Thracians for those who, at a feast, had drunk sufficient themselves, to pour out the rest from the cup upon those they had pledged in drinking. Xenophon, probably, is particular to observe this custom, in honor of his host, who afterwards pours out μετ' αὐτοῦ, *with him*.

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## CHAPTER IV.

- 198 1. ἴζηται, *alone, without a leader and apart from the rest of the troops*.  
13. οὐα πείσονται, *what they would suffer*: see παράγω.  
24. ζυγέαι.] These were loose garments extending nearly to the feet. They may be translated *cassocks*, or *trousers*. It is probable that they were drawn over the inner clothing, as an additional defence from the cold.  
25. τῶν αἰχμαλώτων.] For τοὺς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων.
- 199 26. ἐν τοῖς . . . . Θρηξί, *among those Thracians who are called the mountain Thracians*.
- 200 12. οἱ δὲ τοῖς σκυτάλοις ἵβαλλον, *others attacked them with clubs*.  
13. ἴφασαν.] The captured Thynians seem to be understood.  
19. ἐτῶν . . . . ἐκτοκαίδεκα. Schneider observes that Xenophon seems to have remarked on the age of the youth, because the strength of a full grown man would appear to be requisite for blowing the trumpet.
- 201 9. ἱερῶν.] See note, page 199, line 26.  
10. περιπλασίαν.] That is, three times the number he had when the Greeks first came to his assistance.

## CHAPTER V.

26. *ἔτι ἄνω*, still farther up, that is, at a greater distance from 202 the sea.

28. *οὐδὲν . . . ἴσται . . . ἤ*, quite as well as: *σφῆς* refers to the generals, whom Heraclides had summoned to Seuthes.

12. *ἐκίλλουσι καὶ ἐκρίπτουσι*, strike upon the rocks and are 203 wrecked.

## CHAPTER VI.

14. *κλιῖνι παραγγιν*, ordered that they should be brought in, 204 that is, the Lacedæmonian ambassadors.

17. *ἐπὶ ξυνίᾳ*.] *Τραπίζῃ* understood, to an hospitable banquet.

15. *τὰ ὑμῖντετα ἔχοντα παρὰ Σεύθου τιχνάζων*, that I, having your 206 pay which I have received from Seuthes, am artfully deceiving you.

21. *ἡμῖν*.] That is, to Xenophon and Seuthes.

21. *ἔνι πρᾶττεσι αὐτὸν τὰ χρήματα*, if you exact the money from him.

25. *πολλοῦ . . . δυν . . . ἔχων*, to be very far from having.

27. *συνοστησῆς*.] Not drawn up together, but regularly organized 207 and equipped.

29. *ἰντινασῶν*.] These words are sometimes separated, *ἰντινα ὄν*.

4. *καὶ ἐν τῇ μίρῃ καὶ παρὰ τὸ μέρος*, both in his official station and 209 out of his official station, as an officer and as a man.

14. *Οὐ μὴν*.] That is, *Οὐ μὴν καί τις ἰδοῖται ὑμῖν εἶναι*, *π. τ. λ.*

## CHAPTER VII.

15. *ῥῆτι*.] This is a form of the pluperfect mid. for *ῥητι*. 211

32. *τούτους ἐπιτερίψαι*, to submit the question to these people. 212

2. *ὃν ἴρη*, said that he would not, that is, "that he would not 213 leave it to the decision of the people in whose country they were."

24. *σφροσίζων*, to produce reformation in any one.

- 214 33. *ἐν αὐτῷ . . . . . περιέσονται*, in the first place, therefore, the confidence of men, which has procured for you your kingdom, is bartered away by you for this sum of money, that is, for this sum which you owe us, and have refused to pay.
- 215 13. *ἡ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐρίσθους*, your annual income.
- 216 11. *ἰσῆα.*] Governed by *ἴχιν* two lines below.  
24. *ταυτῶν ταῦτα*, to make me in as high standing.
- 217 15. *Ἄρ' οὐκ.*] The sense of this passage is, *Since indeed, my situation is dangerous, would it not be better that I, by going away, should get clear of the stones with which I am threatened?*  
27. *λαφυροτάτας*, persons who sell, in small parcels, plunder which they obtain in great quantities.  
19. *ὃ γὰρ πρὸ ψήφου αὐτῷ ἰσῆατο*, for the vote was not yet passed upon him. See the Life of Xenophon.

## CHAPTER VIII

- 218 3. *τὰ ἱέρηνα*, the dreams, which was probably the well-known name of the picture.  
3. *Λυκίῳ.*] The Lyceum.  
14. *ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Μυλίκιος*, *Milichian*, *Jupiter*, or *Jupiter the Placable*. This was the name by which Jupiter was addressed when sacrifices were offered to him after the completion of any great undertaking, that he might look with placability upon any faults that had been committed, or any duties neglected.  
15. *ὀλοκαυτῖν.*] To offer an *holocaust*, was to lay the whole victim upon the altar, to be burnt.
- 220 18. *Ἀγασίας.*] whose bravery is recorded in Book IV. Chap. 7, and Book V. Chap. 2, and who had fought unharmed till the present occasion.

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